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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| EXPLORING PERSONAL AND COLLECTIVE TRANSFORMATION IN THE DIVERSITY AND SOCIAL JUSTICE CLASSROOM: HOW STUDENTS NAVIGATE TENSIONS AND CHALLENGES OF ACQUIRING A HEIGHTENED CONSCIOUSNESS . . . . . | 1   |
| Briauna Johnson, California State University, Northridge  |     |
| Jonathan Rich, California State University, Northridge  |     |
| Moshoula Capous-Desyllas, California State University, Northridge   |     |
| Earl Houston, California State University, Northridge   |     |
| Sanaz Sazegar, California State University, Northridge  |     |
| MEDICAL EDUCATION FOR THE PROMOTION OF SOCIAL JUSTICE . . . . .   | 18  |
| Jinelle Ramlackhansingh, Memorial University of Newfoundland and Labrador   |     |
| THE EFFECTS OF A SCIENCE-BASED CURRICULUM ON THE OUTCOMES OF PREK STUDENTS . . . .  | 28  |
| Donna McCrary, Texas A&M University-Commerce  |     |
| Tami Morton, Texas A&M University-Commerce  |     |
| David L. Brown, Texas A&M University-Commerce   |     |
| Jennifer Dyer Sennette, Texas A&M University-Commerce   |     |
| THE IMPACT OF MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION TRAINING FOR PRE-SERVICE TEACHERS . . . . .   | 42  |
| Janet Brady, New Manchester High School   |     |
| Ashraf Esmail, Dillard University   |     |
| THE CLAIM OF U.S. EXCEPTIONALISM IN THE FACE OF ITS ECONOMIC INEQUALITY . . . . .   | 54  |
| Komanduri S. Murty, Fort Valley State University  |     |
| Julian B. Roebuck, Clark Atlanta University   |     |
| ADULTS' AND MOTHERS' PERCEIVED LEVELS OF CARE: ADOLESCENT DAUGHTERS' SEXUAL BEHAVIOR . . . . .  | 69  |
| Eartha L. Johnson, Dillard University   |     |
| Steve A. Buddington, Dillard University   |     |
| Ashraf Esmail, Dillard University   |     |
| INTERNATIONAL SCHOOLS IN NIGERIA: UPHOLDING THE BRITISH TRADITION . . . . .   | 81  |
| Nkechi W Emenike, Consultant Researcher, ASCANE Consults  |     |
| Azumah C Dennis. Open University, UK  |     |
| THE AGROFORESTRY APPROACH TO FOOD AND ENVIRONMENTAL EQUITY IN THE LOWER NINTH WARD OF NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA . . . . .  | 97  |
| Celina P. Carson, Southern University at New Orleans  |     |
| MACROSOCIAL BULLYING AS A PARADIGM FOR RACISM IN EDUCATION . . . . .  | 111 |
| Alonzo Arien Morrow II, North Carolina State University   |     |
| Tanya Hudson, Fayetteville State University   |     |

DEFEATING BULLYING CONSEQUENCES EXPERIENCED AMONG STUDENTS WITH DISABILITIES 117  
    Kaycee L. Bills, Fayetteville State University

CONTRIBUTORS ..... 130

# EXPLORING PERSONAL AND COLLECTIVE TRANSFORMATION IN THE DIVERSITY AND SOCIAL JUSTICE CLASSROOM: HOW STUDENTS NAVIGATE TENSIONS AND CHALLENGES OF ACQUIRING A HEIGHTENED CONSCIOUSNESS

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*Abstract:* This article highlights findings from a qualitative research study with undergraduate sociology students enrolled in a social justice course that utilized intergroup dialogue, discussion, and personal reflections to explore an intersectional analysis of privilege and oppression. In order to capture students' complex and multilayered thought processes, we facilitated a focus group with ten students and engaged in ten individual in-depth qualitative interviews. We were interested in capturing the ways in which students acquired a heightened sense of consciousness and navigated tensions and challenges related to learning about social justice issues. We were also interested in identifying any ethical issues that the students faced in their interactions with family members, friends, and community. Our findings revealed strategies, perspectives and praxis of eighteen students at the micro, mezzo, and macro level. We conclude with pedagogical implications for teaching and learning from an anti-oppressive perspective.

## INTRODUCTION

Growing attention has been placed on prioritizing and centering issues of diversity and social justice within class curricula and student outcomes in sociology and social work classrooms (Castellanos & Cole, 2015). Educators are increasingly employing methods of critical pedagogy and grounding student knowledge in ideas of empowerment, social justice, and awareness of privilege and oppression. However, many students still enter the classroom with a limited understanding of concepts related to systemic oppression and social inequality. Diversity courses offer the opportunity to enhance students' consciousness towards issues of social justice and bring about a greater sense of empowerment.

At the same time, students may face a number of significant challenges as a result of their increased awareness of social inequality. For example, a student may begin to feel frustrated and alienated from peers who engage in problematic behaviors that lack social consciousness. This points to a pressing need for diversity educators to gain a deeper understanding of student learning outcomes related to privilege, power, and oppression at the individual, social/cultural, and institutional level. Although a number of previous studies have explored the particular challenges faced by educators and students who are resistant to learning about social inequality, little research has explored challenges faced by students who have successfully acquired a heightened sense of consciousness. Once students complete a diversity course and leave the classroom, they continue about their life journeys and may find themselves in situations with family, friends, co-workers, fellow students, and community members who pose difficulties related to their newly acquired heightened social awareness.



The purpose of this research is to explore how students navigate the various challenges, dilemmas, and dynamics that arise after successfully acquiring knowledge related to diversity and social justice, with a particular focus on the tensions students face with their communities and the methods they employ to resolve and overcome these tensions.

## LITERATURE REVIEW

For many academics and college administrators, diversity is viewed as a valuable means of dismantling social inequality (Coates, 2007; Adams, Blumenfeld, Castaneda, Hackman, Peters & Zuniga, 2013). In recent years, there has been a proliferation of diversity courses offered on college campuses, both at the undergraduate and graduate level (Castellanos & Cole, 2015). In many fields, particularly sociology and social work, a great degree of attention has been paid towards centering social justice and diversity in class curricula (Miranda et al., 2014).

A number of studies have attempted to assess the impact of diversity courses on student development. An increased focus has been placed on the role that diversity courses play in increasing positive student outcomes, such as enhanced self-efficacy, moral development, civic engagement, and academic success (Miranda et al., 2014). Although definitions of social justice self-efficacy vary across disciplines, a common theme focuses on an increased awareness of the reality of social injustice, a development of a deeper understanding of the socio-political context of social issues, and a heightened desire to engage in activism to bring about change (Miller et al. 2009). Researchers have also found that diversity courses increase academic self-efficacy, giving students greater confidence in their academic pursuits (Cammarota, 2011). Studies demonstrate that diversity courses have a positive impact on students' cognitive development, including increasing critical thinking abilities—particularly among students from privileged backgrounds (Bowman, 2009). Longitudinal studies also highlight numerous positive benefits from diversity courses, including increased psychological well-being, racial bias reduction, enhanced civic engagement, and increased commitment to social justice activism (Parker III et al., 2016). For example, one study found that diversity courses decreased racial prejudice and encouraged students to engage positively in dialogue about racial injustice (Cole et al., 2011). Castellanos & Cole (2015) found that diversity courses increase student civic engagement, leading students to engage in action toward disrupting oppressive structures in their communities.

Despite the positive benefits associated with diversity courses, there are a number of challenges that educators face in implementing a social justice curriculum. Because diversity courses, by their very nature, address emotionally charged issues and topics related to marginalized groups, it is critical for educators and classroom facilitators to create a classroom atmosphere that is safe and open, so that students may feel free to exchange ideas and openly discuss concepts in a welcoming environment (Morrison-Dore, 1994).

There are several methods that educators can utilize to create a safe, open space. Previous research has suggested that self-disclosure can be an impactful teaching technique to create a safe classroom environment (Goodman, 1995; Swan, 2002). Self-disclosure demonstrates the instructor's transparency and willingness to share, which helps foster student openness and trust (Samuels, Ferber, & O'Reilly Herrera, 2003). It is important for educators to embrace a "pedagogy of discomfort" by being aware of

their own social identities and to create classroom dynamics that avoid enacting “power-over” relationships that recreate hierarchies of oppression (Dutta et al., 2016). Students are more likely to be receptive to potentially controversial topics in a cooperative rather than confrontational learning environment (Morrison-Dore, 1994; Razack, 1999). It is also critical for educators to balance the emotional and cognitive components of the learning process, while being supportive of individuals with marginalized identities (Ropers-Huilman, 1999). Successful techniques for increasing student engagement include the use of reflection papers, journaling, classroom activities, and group discussions (Goodman, 1995; Razack, 1999). Intergroup dialogue through face to face interaction is also a powerful tool that can be utilized in the classroom setting (Nagda et al., 1999; Hahn Tapper, 2013).

Previous research has explored the challenges that diversity educators face in dealing with students who are resistant to learning about privilege and oppression. In many cases, students from privileged backgrounds demonstrate resistance and even hostility when forced to confront their own oppressive beliefs and behaviors (Allen & Rossatto, 2009). However, this illustrates the need for diversity educators to take a holistic approach that recognizes that there is no hierarchy of oppressions (Hedley, 2000; Vodde, 2000). Students often conceptualize oppression as being the result of direct harm caused by ill intentions on the part of individuals, rather than the result of unconscious biases (Kleinman & Copp, 2009; Goshal et al., 2013). The focus on individual intentions can lead to defensiveness and guilt on the part of students, particularly those from privileged backgrounds (Allen & Rossatto, 2009). Diversity educators can employ a number of different methods to overcome student resistance, including shifting students’ focus away from intentions towards the consequences of actions (Ropers-Huilman, 1999; Kleinman & Copp, 2009).

## THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

The present study was informed by three related but distinctive theoretical perspectives: critical pedagogy, social identity theory, and intersectionality. Our project sought to integrate these three theoretical traditions into a coherent synthesis, as these theoretical approaches also align with the instructor’s pedagogical perspective and praxis within the classroom. Although previous research has utilized each of these theoretical perspectives, this project is unique in its attempt to integrate these three perspectives to inform a qualitative research project. Each of the three theoretical approaches will be examined below.

Critical pedagogy is a method of social justice education practice rooted in the work of Brazilian educator Paulo Freire (2000) that sees teaching as a way to reduce disparities in social opportunities and resources among marginalized groups (Hahn Tapper, 2013). Critical pedagogy emerged as a challenge to traditional models of education, which Freire (2000) compared to a “banking system” whereby educators attempt to deposit knowledge into students’ minds. In the traditional teaching model, students are passive receptacles of knowledge given to them from teachers, who are objective imparters of truth. Critical pedagogy challenges this perspective in multiple ways. First, critical pedagogy aims to disrupt power dynamics that exist in the classroom, such as the “power-over” relation between students and teacher. Second, critical pedagogy views education as a dialectical process, where knowledge is co-created in the process of dialogue between educators and learners (hooks, 1994). Lastly, critical pedagogy values commitment to social justice as a vital learning outcome (Kumashiro, 2000).

Social identity theory, the second theoretical perspective explored in this project, posits that a person's identity is an integral part of their core sense of self (Tatum, 2013). Each person holds a unique individual identity – a personal identity that makes up an individual's inner sense of who they are. These personal identities are socially constructed and formed through membership in a social group (Hahn Tapper, 2014). In turn, these social groups are shaped and defined by systems of power that operate at the micro, mezzo, and macro levels (Adams et al., 2013). Social group identities allow individuals to negotiate their place in the world and navigate their relation to others through a sense of belonging to a social group (Tajfel, 1982). Students bring their social identities with them as they enter into the classroom setting, and therefore social group identity becomes an integral aspect of education for both learners and educators (Samuels et al., 2003).

The third theoretical approach that informed this project was intersectionality, which was developed by Kimberle Crenshaw (1989) and is rooted in critical legal studies and black feminist thought. Intersectionality builds upon social identity theory but adds the insight that social group identities are experienced through a system of unequal power relations (Hahn Tapper, 2014). Individuals experience privilege, oppression, and marginalization as a product of unequal structures constructed around power and identity. These unequal social structures serve to privilege some social group identities while marginalizing and oppressing others. Intersectionality posits that the various social identities we hold link together to form an interlocking matrix of domination (Collins, 2002). In this sense, an individual may experience privilege in one dimension of their social identity while experiencing oppression in another. For example, a white woman experiences simultaneous oppression as a woman as well as privilege as a white person. Intersectionality offers the insight that an individual's lived experiences are a combination of the various power dynamics of privilege and oppression that operate on the basis of their multiple social group identities along the lines of race, gender, sexuality, class, disability, and religion. Intersectionality holds that social justice can only be achieved by challenging all intersecting oppressions, rather than just focusing on oppression for one group.

## LOCATING OURSELVES

Our ascribed and achieved social identities are multi-layered and complex, crossing numerous borders while facilitating relationships and community building. Our research team includes three cis-gender women and two cis-gender men, all involved in the field of sociology within academia. This education and academic position confers social class privilege in various ways. We embody diverse sexual identities, varying from heterosexual to queer, with involvement in the LGBTQ community as both members and allies. Our ages range from late 20s to early 60s. A majority of us hold some form of legal status, and in some cases hold dual citizenship, facilitating transnational identities. Our racial and ethnic identities are prevalent to our lives and often intersect with our religious identities, as two of us are Black, one of us identifies as a Greek immigrant, one of us identifies as a Persian Jew, while another identifies as an Ashkenazi Jew. We primarily identify as temporarily able-bodied, and one of us identifies as neurologically atypical. We are all committed to anti-racist organizing, with many of us involved in progressive activism within and outside of academia as a central part of our lives.

## THE DIVERSITY AND SOCIAL JUSTICE CLASSROOM

This course exposes students to an intersectional analysis of privilege and oppression, relying on intergroup dialogue, discussion, and personal reflections. Every week consists of an in-depth exploration of various forms of diversity and oppression based on race, ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, religion, (dis)ability status, and social class. The students were assigned various readings each week from the textbook “Readings for Diversity and Social Justice” (Adams, et al. 2013). This reader was used to familiarize students with basic conceptions of social justice, and to help facilitate classroom discussion. The working definition for social justice used in the class was based on the Adams, et al. (2013:21) text, which defines social justice as both a “process and a goal” aimed at achieving the “full and equal participation of all groups in a society that is mutually shaped to meet their needs.” This definition of social justice was used by the instructor to guide the teaching of the class, following a critical pedagogy approach.

Our roles in this project consisted of the professor teaching the course, three graduate students enrolled in the course, and one graduate instructional assistant who had already taken the course in the past with this instructor. The course is inspired by critical feminist pedagogical approaches to education, thus students’ voices, lived experiences and multiple ways of knowing are central to the course and content. This method of teaching and learning embodies a critical pedagogical approach to knowledge, a relationship between teacher and student in which we all simultaneously learn from one another, rather than a hierarchical passing of knowledge from teacher to student. As a research team, we all came to this project with various roles and experiences, but all shared a similar desire to explore if and how students transformed after participation in the course. Through multiple discussions of our personal and political efforts to navigate tensions and various challenges that took place for us within and outside of the classroom, we were inspired by our unique journeys of acquiring a heightened consciousness around social justice issues. Our goal was to see what this process was like from the perspectives of both teachers and learners.

### PURPOSE OF OUR PROJECT

As a research team, we were interested in exploring if and how students’ experiences in the classroom served to transform their thinking around diversity, privilege, and oppression. We placed a particular focus on the initial perspectives on diversity, oppression, and privilege that students brought to the class, and how these views changed over time. At the end of the semester, after students began to acquire a heightened consciousness related to issues of diversity and social justice, we were interested in examining what challenges and tensions students experienced. Specifically, we wanted to understand any ethical issues that the students faced in their personal life, their interactions with family members, friends, and community, and how their knowledge regarding diversity obtained in the course led to a shift in how they conceptualized their lived experiences.

## METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

Our class was facilitated as a weekly discussion where students rearranged their desks in a circle and engaged in critical dialogue and self-reflection about the course content. We decided to select a methodology that would mirror the format of the course; thus, we engaged in a focus group with 10 students at the official conclusion of the course (after grades had already been submitted by the instructor, in order to eliminate any potential ethical issues). We also engaged in 10 in-depth interviews with additional students who had taken the course in the past. We captured a total of 20 diverse student voices and perspectives. Prior to conducting the focus group and in-depth interviews, we received ethics approval from the Institutional Review Board.

### COLLECTING VOICES THROUGH FOCUS GROUP

A focus group is a carefully planned discussion designed to obtain perceptions on a defined area of interest (Krueger, 1988). Through focus group method, the researcher relies on intergroup interaction and discussion, serving as a moderator. This approach allows for speaking with several participants at once, mirroring our classroom discussions. As the central methodology, focus groups allow the researcher(s) to study how people engage in collective sense-making (Wibek, Dahlgren & Oberg, 2007); they also provide the opportunity to observe the co-construction of knowledge (Wilkinson, 1998) and interactional processes that would otherwise be invisible (Peek & Fothergill, 2009).

Focus groups also allow participants to engage, verify and confirm their experiences with others in similar situations and with similar intersecting identities. Focus groups are also valuable for understanding collective experiences of marginalization, developing structural analysis of individual experience, and challenging taken for granted assumptions about race, gender, sexuality and class (Pollack, 2003; Kitzinger, 1994; Montell, 1999; Wilkinson, 1998). Perhaps most importantly, they are a form of collective testimony (Madriz, 1998). This form of communication and interaction among participants can dismantle walls of silence, since the focus is on empathy and commonality of experiences, while fostering self-disclosure and self-validation (Madriz, 1998).

To augment our focus group data, we also engaged in in-depth interviews with 10 different students who had taken the same course within the past year. These lasted anywhere between 30 to 60 minutes. The same questions that were asked in the focus group were also asked in each individual interview.

### PORTRAIT OF THE PARTICIPANTS

Purposive sampling was used to invite students that were consistently self-reflective, critically thoughtful and willing to share their lived experiences throughout the semester for participation in the focus group. Similar criteria were used to invite additional students to participate in the in-depth interviews. The participants who engaged in the focus group and individual interviews embodied diverse intersecting identities. Table 1 highlights the demographic data of the students who participated in this research. Although working-class cisgender Latinx Catholic identities were overrepresented among our participants, this is in line with the overall demographics of sociology majors at our university.

Table 1: Participants’ Intersecting Identities

|                     |   |
|---------------------|---|
| Racial Identity     | 4 White; 13 Latino/a/x; 3 multi-racial (2 Black/Latina; 1 white/Latina) |
| Social Class Status | 1 upper-middle class, 3 middle class, 16 working class                  |
| Gender Identity     | 3 cis-males; 17 cis-females   |
| Sexual Orientation  | 4 LGBTQ-identified students   |
| Ability Status      | 2 students with a disability (mental health)                            |
| Age                 | 20s and 30s   |
| Religious Identity  | Christian, Atheist, Jewish, Catholic, Spiritual                         |
| Citizenship Status  | 1 undocumented student  |
| Language            | 11 Spanish speakers   |

## ANALYSIS PROCESS

Our analysis and interpretation of the data consisted of engaging in a thematic analysis of the transcribed focus group data and the ten individual interviews. Thematic analysis is a data reduction and analysis strategy where the focus group and interview transcript data is segmented, categorized, summarized and reconstructed in a way that captures the important concepts within the interview data (Ayres, 2008). We began this thematic analysis process by independently reading and then re-reading the interview transcripts while documenting initial reactions to the interviews, words and quotes that stood out. In thematic coding, the researcher frequently begins with a list of themes known (or at least anticipated) to be found in the data (Ayres 2008). We began this process by initially identifying the micro, mezzo and macro level factors in the participants’ lives that related to understanding and experiencing privilege and oppression, and then exploring the students’ responses to these factors and their various strategies for negotiating value tensions within these arenas in their life. Through this process, we formed thematic codes that were documented in the margins for each individual interview. Coming together, we collectively compared findings and searched for patterns of experience within each interview and then identified overarching unifying themes among all of the interview data. Our engagement in this dialogical, cross-case analysis process provided the opportunity to compare emerging themes and identify common, over-arching themes that emerged.

## FINDINGS

### INCREASED AWARENESS AND HEIGHTENED CONSCIOUSNESS

One of the main themes present in the focus group discussion and interviews with the participants regarding their experiences after engaging in social justice education was that of generalized increased awareness and heightened consciousness about issues of power, privilege and oppression. This was shared by nearly all of the participants in a variety of ways. For some participants, gaining a higher consciousness after completing the course came as a surprise to them because they thought they were already fully aware of various oppressions in society. Some participants candidly expressed that they did not anticipate learning anything that they did not already know prior to taking the course. Julie, a biracial (Black & Latina) cis-female, supported this idea by stating, “I kind of thought I had known it all.” Florence, who identified as a white cis-female, agreed with Julie, expressing, “I think the class kind of did open my eyes to the fact that I didn’t know everything that was out there. I only knew from my

very limited experiences. I thought I had a very good understanding and I did have a good understanding, but I didn't have a comprehensive understanding." Although many of the participants were interested in diversity prior to taking the class, their awareness of social justice was primarily rooted in their own lived experience with oppression.

Upon completing the course, participants described an overall greater awareness of the multiplicity of subjugation of what they characterized as the different "isms" or forms of oppression. Kitty, a cis-female Latina, stated, "I have this new lens that I didn't have before." For most of the participants, this new lens was focused primarily on three types of "isms" that were previously chartless territory for them: ableism, adultism, and ageism. Candy, a temporarily able-bodied cis-female Latina, expressed, "there's like adultism, ageism...like there are all of these different other forms of discrimination...I kind of became more aware of them." Cinnamon, another temporarily able-bodied cis-female, echoed Candy's sentiments by stating, "coming into this class, I had no idea that even ageism and ableism was such a thing." Similarly, Florence stated, "[when it came to] ableism, for example, I didn't realize how big of a problem little day to day things were." This lack of awareness surrounding other lesser known forms of oppression can be attributed to the greater invisibility of these marginalized groups. Andrea, a temporarily able-bodied cis-female, expressed this by stating, "before entering the class, I was naïve to the issues that other individuals of society were facing. I was only aware of my own personal experiences with oppression and diversity rather. I learned about the struggles of ageism and those of the disabled." Many of the participants identified as able-bodied adults and admitted to taking for granted their privilege with regards to their ability status and age.

Virtually all of the participants were initially unaware of the fact that they inhabited a space of both privilege and oppression. For many participants, it was easier to acknowledge their oppression than their privilege. They were unaware that one can be both oppressed and an oppressor simultaneously. Julie self-reflected on her experiences by stating, "it really transformed my mind because I got to see where I was privileged and which of my identities gave me privilege...It got me to realize where I was privileged, when I thought I had none. Where I was the oppressor where I thought I was only being oppressed, and how limited my knowledge of diversity was." This newfound epiphany was experienced by several other participants. Candy supported Julie by stating, "regarding privilege, I used to think there's just like, white privilege. I wasn't really aware that I also have privileges, like cis-gender." For some cis-gender male participants, becoming aware of their privilege was a substantial revelation for them. Tony, a cis-male who identified as heterosexual, was very open when he stated, "I did not realize how oppressed women in general were treated...I used to be very sexist before. After this class, I was able to understand more. I was wrong in every way, and the people I knew were very wrong." Becoming aware of one's own privilege was extremely impactful for the participants. For many, this heightened sense of consciousness led to a transformative attitude that allowed them to acknowledge the ways in which they contributed to forms of oppression.

While participants were grateful for their new-found knowledge, many also positioned it as a double-edged sword. Christina, a cis-female Latina, encapsulated this thought by stating, "it is a little overwhelming. It is like a blessing and a curse. Now I am more aware of it, I know it, and I catch myself before speaking, before acting, before even meeting a new person." Jasmine, a cis-female identifying

as biracial (Black and Asian), emotionally supported Christina by stating, “I have been completely challenged with acquiring this knowledge because I guess it is fair to say that it changes us, and we’re not the same people. It has really affected me.” Learning about various forms of oppression in society became a crushing reality that many participants wanted to ignore. Florence described the urge to ignore the oppressions that others experienced in order to return to her “happy place” of privilege. However, Florence fought this urge by stating, “I try to stay aware because they don’t have that privilege to shut it off... That’s been a struggle. Just me wanting to be like, I can’t deal with this anymore. I can’t hear that anymore. It is upsetting me. Then realizing, guess what? It is also upsetting members of this community and they can’t just turn it off.” Once these students acquired a heightened sense of consciousness, they no longer could ignore privilege and oppression.

#### UNDERSTANDING THE MICRO, MEZZO, AND MACRO FACTORS THAT IMPACT THEIR LIVES

Acquiring specific knowledge surrounding privilege and oppression increased participants’ awareness and gave them language to identify what they previously could not. Some of the tensions that participants experienced was connected to macro-level processes, such as the culture, neighborhood, and community that the students belonged to. Paula, a cis-female Catholic Latina, struggled with being an LGBT ally within her Hispanic culture. Paula described this tension by stating,

I have really close friends who are gay and trans and I’m always hearing those rude and negative comments that sometimes you hear because it’s the culture that they’ve been brought up with... I’m Hispanic. I can say that my culture makes a joke out of it... I can’t say I have gotten’ over that. They still make comments and it still annoys the hell out of me.

The knowledge Paula gained in the class led to an increased tension with others from her same cultural background. Paula struggled with belonging to one group while having acquired knowledge that the others in her community did not have. Jasmine described how the socioeconomic struggles of her neighborhood impeded the consciousness of the community, explaining, “a lot of my community, even if they wanted to wake up, the struggle is so real for them. They can’t worry about that. They have to worry about their kids, how they’re gonna’ eat. How are we all supposed to wake up if the struggle is so real for some of us, you know?” Jasmine believed her educational attainment and the knowledge she acquired through her social justice education was a privilege that many others from her community did not have access to.

Some participants experienced tensions primarily within the mezzo sphere of their lives. In other words, some participants described feeling conflicted between the new knowledge they acquired in the class and the everyday realities of maneuvering within their work space. Violet, a white cis-female, described how ageism had affected her experience at her job, stating, “it is weird being at work right now. They think that I am kid age. No, I am 22 and I am your staff right now. They think I am a kid.” For Violet, handling tensions at work had become harder after gaining awareness and acquiring the language to identify the oppression she was experiencing. For Jasmine, work place tensions led her to question her career choices. Jasmine, who interned for an organization designed to help youth, dealt with a situation where one of the clients attempted suicide. However, the way her non-profit organization handled this attempted suicide angered and disappointed Jasmine. She stated,



The way my organization handled it and everything, it has completely turned me off... I am like so discouraged in the field of social work cause I kind of bounced around, lived in some, worked in some, utilized resources in some and you see that it is the same shit everywhere... It's mind blowing to me too because I thought social work was what I wanted to do but if this is what social work is... I just can't do it.

Similarly, Florence experienced discomfort and tensions while working in the social work field. While working at a women's homeless shelter, Florence witnessed transphobia amongst her supervisors. She recounted, "my supervisor would say, 'you know, what I don't get is that she doesn't look like a woman. I don't get it. I can't understand. I can't wrap my mind around it.' Sometimes she would slip up and say 'he' and stuff like that." This created a conflict between Florence's consciousness of transphobia and her role as an employee at the women's shelter. As a result, Florence was forced to ignore her supervisor's transphobic comments in order to maintain a civil work environment.

Some of the more emotional tensions took place within the micro sphere. Many participants encountered painful emotional struggles with their family members and loved ones. Jack, a cis-male gay Latino, struggled with how he presented his masculinity amongst his male family members. Jack described his familial tensions, stating "every guy in my family is about sports and machismo. The women are suppressed and 'under' the man. I'm not like that due to my mother raising me, [which was] always a trouble with my parents, my dad specifically. After taking this class, I know it's heterosexism and adultism that has been affecting me." Priscilla, a cis-female bisexual Catholic Latina, also dealt with deeply personal tensions with her family due to her sexual orientation. This tension was greatest from her mother, due to her role as a pastor. Priscilla expressed,

You know, we don't talk about it too much. When we do talk about it, it usually ends up in one of us getting angry... I feel like she's stuck in the middle, because she's a pastor that has to follow the rules of being straight and heterosexual. She's caught in the middle because I'm her daughter, her youngest daughter.

On the other hand, Jasmine's deepest emotional tension derived from her friendships. In fact, the newly acquired knowledge she received from the course led to her losing a number of close friends. Jasmine recalled, "I pretty much lost about five friends just this semester. I don't know if it's because I've changed." Jasmine explained how learning that "doing nothing" perpetuates oppression so she supported her decision, albeit painful, to end friendships and relationships that no longer aligned with her newly found awareness.

#### NAVIGATING TENSIONS AND ADDRESSING CHALLENGES

Like Jasmine, many of the participants navigated their tensions by speaking up while in the presence of oppressive circumstances. The knowledge participants acquired from their social justice education empowered them to speak up. Christina recalled a moment where she was able to work through tensions with her brother, explaining, "I felt like if I hadn't taken this class, I would not have known what to say to him once he approached me with that concern." A similar situation happened with Adam, an undocumented cis-male gay Latino, who stated, "now, I am not afraid... instead, I have empowered myself by knowing that I am educated and have knowledge on how society should be and not how it was

created to be.” This feeling of empowerment ultimately led to a feeling of liberation when addressing social justice issues. Julie highlighted this notion by explaining,

Before this class I used to really care how people thought and that’s why I wasn’t debating people and having these conversations...but now I take a little bit more pride in it and it definitely comes from this class. So, when I say I’ve been liberated and free, I mean that literally because I feel the chains on my body have been released.

For Ivory, a cis-female Latina, finding empowerment in social justice education led to important conversations with her male partner regarding tensions that she previously did not have the courage to address. Ivory was accustomed to the poor treatment she received from her partner and therefore excused his actions. However, after taking the course, Ivory felt empowered to tell her partner how he made her feel as a woman. Ivory stated, “I was finally like, no...it’s not ok.” After taking a stand against her boyfriend’s behavior, Ivory followed up with further talks on feminism, creating opportunities for mutual understandings and purposeful dialogue on the topic of sexism.

Although some participants decided to challenge their tensions head on, others were faced with the dilemma of whether or not to confront loved ones who said or engaged in oppressive behavior. Although Ivory felt more empowered than ever before to speak up on social justice issues, she still found herself apprehensive in certain situations. She explained, “one of the conflicts that I have is that I don’t know what to say because I do not know what type of response I will get. This makes me nervous.” The anxiousness that Ivory felt from the possibility of eliciting hostility was also felt by several other participants. Candy described her cis-male partner as a “sexist” who exhibited “every type of ‘ism.” Candy explained that she would often ignore her boyfriend’s oppressive language and attitudes, even though it would conflict with her desire to be an advocate of social change. Candy stated, “I find myself in a contradiction. It is really hard. You are a feminist; you call yourself a feminist. Participating in class and then you go home and wash the dishes. You cook every day and do laundry. There is no way I can stand up to him because of how I was raised, and he was raised the same way.” Candy felt ashamed for not being able to speak up to her boyfriend. At one point in the interview, she even referred to herself as a “hypocrite.” On the other hand, some participants explained that they have found inner-peace and empowerment in opting to ignore certain tensions. Bethany, a cis-female Latina, attested, “I no longer curse at racist people who stare at me as though my children and I are vermin. I now navigate those challenges by not allowing those individuals who exhibit racism to demonize me. I remain calm and surprisingly, I remain at peace. I let them carry their hatred and go on with my day as my father always says.” Where other participants found liberation in speaking up, Bethany found freedom in not giving certain individuals the satisfaction of her response.

Regardless of whether participants addressed tensions around injustice by being passive or confrontational, all of the participants expressed that finding support from others helped ease the tensions they faced. For example, Julie sought support through research and reading materials. Paula found this support in her classmates and other close friends. Paula recalled relying on and supporting a particular classmate by stating, “one of the friends that was in that class with me...he’s been a really good support system for me as well as I have been for him. It’s just having that support system.” Paula was not the only participant seeking solidarity with others in order to navigate tensions derived from

newly acquired knowledge about social justice. Bethany also believed that lending support to others was the best way to navigate tensions. She explained, “the tensions that I commonly endure are those of seeing injustices occur to groups who have been fighting for hundreds of years to resist further oppression. I navigate those tensions by being supportive [to them].” For Bethany and many other participants, being a part of a social justice course was an inspiration to become more supportive of others. This helped participants form a sense of unity that allowed them to reconcile tensions and collectively fight oppression.

Another way that participants addressed challenges was by ending contact with others. For example, Florence shared,

Friendships have ended...because sometimes it is really not worth it to get into it. Sometimes people’s minds just aren’t going to change. If they are coming at you from a place where they don’t want a discussion, they just want to argue, then, I have to cut ties with some people for sure after trying to have conversations and realizing that they are right and they’re not going to listen.

Participants had to decide whether they would end friendships or relationships, or whether they would be persistent and patient with those who mattered in their lives. Often, participants struggled with family members and loved ones and expressed the need to have patience with them on important topics. Priscilla shared how she maintained persistence with her father on topics related to race. She said,

So, I have this issue a lot with my dad, because he’s, like, “Okay, like, we get it, like, black lives matter but why doesn’t everyone’s life matter?” And I’m, like, constantly and constantly and constantly arguing with him because it’s like, you don’t see the bigger picture! And it sucks because he’s my dad so it’s not like he’s going anywhere. But I think now, just knowing that I’ve given him the idea to second guess his own thoughts is a move in the right direction. Whereas before he was so resistant to everything I would tell him and now he’s kind of like, ‘You know what? I kind of do see this, but I do think this.’ So, I think it’s just that consistency of getting him to be aware of what’s going on has kind of given me hope that one day he’ll change his opinion on things. But I think being consistent and having valid points to give someone gives them the opportunity to second-guess their opinions.

Similarly, Florence shared how she engaged in conversations with her little brother about micro-aggressions. She explained,

So, trying to figure out when is it worth it, when is it not worth it. My little brother... the rest of my family wrote me off when we was talking about something and my little brother goes, “wait, what are micro-aggressions? Explain this to me.” So, I got to tell him what was going on and he actually listened and was learning from me. So that was nice. Little things like that. Maybe if I just keep going a little bit at a time it will get there and I won’t have to argue. I’ll just plant little tiny seeds here and there.

It was common for participants to explain how they were intentional in trying to educate family members and bring awareness of social justice issues to people who mattered in their lives.

## IMPLICATIONS FOR PEDAGOGY

The findings from this research have numerous pedagogical implications for teaching and learning from an anti-oppressive approach. The first implication of our research is that anti-oppressive educators should strive to set ground rules, or discussion guidelines, for their classes to encourage openness and trust between students and educators, and to facilitate strategies for dealing with potential conflicts (Phan, Vugia, Wright, Woods, Chu, & Jone, 2009). This allows students to take responsibility and ownership for the learning process and to develop a sense of honesty in sharing their lived experiences in front of others. Discussion guidelines also foster an atmosphere of mutual respect and accountability. An important aspect of setting ground rules is identifying and encouraging the use of people-first language. This avoids unconscious dehumanization of marginalized people's identities through the use of pejorative linguistic terms. When discussing intersecting oppressions, students may unintentionally use oppressive language or behaviors which can trigger other students and cause a break-down of trust within the learning environment. Anti-oppressive educators can seek to overcome this problem by stressing the importance of both intentionality and awareness of the impact of one's words and actions on others in the classroom.

A second major implication of our research relates to the need for anti-oppressive educators to help students avoid falling into the trap of competing over victimhood status. Anti-oppressive educators must maintain constant awareness of the dynamics of power, privilege, and oppression that operate in the classroom and take a holistic approach that does not emphasize the importance of one form of oppression over another. This is crucial so that students do not feel that one identity group is being pitted against other groups. One way to do this is for anti-oppressive educators to devote attention to all forms of intersecting oppressions (Grant & Zwier, 2011), including those that are not highly visible, such as ableism, ageism, adultism, cisgender privilege, and Christian hegemony. Instead of getting into fruitless debates over who is the most oppressed, educators can emphasize the intersecting nature of oppression as informed by intersectionality theory, and highlight how everyone has a stake in fighting for the liberation of all.

In addition, anti-oppressive educators can encourage and promote a safe space for sharing stories and lived experiences (Holley & Steiner, 2005). Stories can be a transformative process, since we learn from one another through story-telling (Walsh, Shier, Sitter, & Sieppert, 2010). The dynamics of storytelling can create an opportunity for students to reflect on life experiences and perceptions, thus urging students to find a deeper connection to one another's struggles while cultivating empathy. By hearing a personal story, students can also make connections between the micro-level experience of classmates with the macro-level factors that perpetuate experiences of privilege and oppression. Honoring different lived experiences and knowledge also contributes to generating ideas for collective action for challenging injustice at various levels.

A final implication of our research is that it is crucial for anti-oppressive educators to help students cultivate tools and strategies to navigate conflicts and tensions that they may deal with regarding their heightened social consciousness around privilege and oppression. One way that this can be achieved is through providing strategies for students to address situations where they may encounter micro-aggressions related to their marginalized identities. Educators can also focus on how students from

privileged group identities can work to become allies to oppressed groups, while maintaining a constant awareness of their own power and privilege. Anti-oppressive educators can provide students with concrete strategies for dealing with oppression that they may encounter outside of the classroom at the micro, mezzo, and macro level, including within their own communities and amongst their friends, families, and co-workers. Knowledge about oppression can be overwhelming for some students and may lead to guilt, powerlessness and despair. Therefore, it is important for educators to focus on positive actions students can take to enact change in the world around them. The crucial pedagogical challenge for the anti-oppressive educator is to help students develop a sense of social justice self-efficacy as they navigate the complex dynamics of oppression and privilege in their communities.

## AREAS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

There are various areas for further research with regards to social justice pedagogy. Research studies can explore the personal and social impacts of having to terminate personal and professional relationships because of social justice value conflicts. Further exploration can focus on how this impacts individuals in their personal, interpersonal and community relationships. Studies can also examine the specific ways in which students reconcile value tensions in order to advocate for others and raise awareness of important social justice issues. Longitudinal research can also go deeper in the exploration of how a heightened sense of consciousness after enrolling in a social justice course impacts students' motivation to engage in social and political action.

Related to our methodology, further research can explore the role and impact of holding focus groups at the end of a course as an extension of nurturing collective consciousness and building community. Many of the students in our classroom often found themselves taking courses together as they majored in sociology with an emphasis in social justice and social welfare. Having the opportunity to participate in a focus group to assess learning outcomes and to process the course content can contribute to fostering community among students and continuing dialogue around important personal, social and political issues.

## CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

Rooted in feminist, collaborative, and activist approaches to pedagogy, our anti-oppressive lens for learning and engaging in social justice coursework served as a platform for exploring how students gained a heightened sense of consciousness and how they navigated value tensions from a place of liberation. Highlighting and centering students' voices and lived experiences can serve to illustrate how agency and resilience can operate alongside and work to counter dominant, oppressive narratives in their lives. A dialogical approach to knowledge engagement and embodied ways of knowing through storytelling, as illustrated in these student testimonies, can facilitate students' social justice self-efficacy. Findings from this study invite us to rethink what it means to challenge oppressions within and outside of the classroom setting, to embrace contradictions in the lives of students and to re-envision ways to work through resistances from friends, family, communities and society at large.

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# MEDICAL EDUCATION FOR THE PROMOTION OF SOCIAL JUSTICE

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*Abstract:* Health inequalities continue to exist in both developed and developing countries. The increasing commodification of health through market justice places physicians in situations where difficult decisions need to be made. Recognizing how the social determinants of health contribute to health inequalities is one of the first steps required to reduce poor patient outcomes in marginalised groups. In Canada, medical schools are accountable to the public to produce physicians that are able to provide culturally-appropriate care to diverse populations. Paulo Friere advocated for a ‘critical consciousness’ when approaching education. This critical consciousness helps medical students and physicians advocate for their population, who may be marginalised and silenced in the current political climate. Medical schools should provide students with the opportunity to be meaningfully engaged in a social justice curriculum either as part of their professional learning or as a separate instructional project. Instruction should be based on theories such as those of John Rawls or Norman Daniels to demonstrate how health is a basic human right for the underprivileged. This review examines the role of medical education in creating physicians who are able and willing to adopt a social justice perspective in the treatment of their patients. I argue that developing a culturally competent medical curriculum will support social justice pedagogy for the benefit of the population.

## INTRODUCTION

Canada’s population is becoming increasingly diverse with a growing number of immigrants. Given this, and in the wake of the current focus on the recognition and reconciliation of Indigenous well-being in the country, social justice needs to be a prominent topic in a health professional’s education. Health and social inequalities are major concerns for all health professionals as the quality and accessibility of health care impacts individuals’ daily functioning, which eventually impacts the overall society. Recent reports of continuing health inequalities amongst marginalised populations including Canada’s Indigenous populations and racial minorities are concerning (Huria, Palmer, Beckert, Lacey, & Pitama, 2017; Vogel, 2016). Social justice provides a framework which can help health professionals empathize with the context of the lives of vulnerable populations.

Medical education in Canada is based on the CanMEDS framework<sup>1</sup>, a list of seven attributes expected to be displayed by physicians (Royal College of Physicians and Surgeons Canada, 2014). These seven attributes include four that are directly related to the physician being a champion for social justice: professionalism, advocacy, leadership and communication. Thus, it is critical for medical schools to provide a social justice curriculum for learners which fosters culturally safe care, allowing learners to confront their own biases and judgements when treating diverse populations. The ability of learners to critically reflect on and question norms of practice that may be embedded in discriminatory legacies will be a step forward in creating a socially just society. Medical schools, which are accountable to tax-paying Canadian society, have a duty to provide critical pedagogy to foster reflection and action in our future physicians.

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<sup>1</sup> CanMEDS framework is a list of core competencies organized around seven physician roles. The physician is expected to integrate these roles to provide the best care to the patient.

## LITERATURE REVIEW

Social justice implies that a person should be able to achieve a state of value or well-being throughout their lifetime (Powers, 2006). This contrasts with distributive justice, which focuses on desert<sup>2</sup>. Distributive justice is concerned with the just and suitable distribution of resources, including benefits and burdens (for example, opportunities and taxes) and the rights and responsibilities of all members of society (Beauchamp, 2009). However, social justice frameworks tend to focus on the complex contextual factors and patterns that influence health for vulnerable groups of people. A social justice lens requires an awareness of the factors (e.g., socioeconomic determinants, education, and literacy) that affect a person's capacity or potential (Clingerman, 2011). Thus, a social justice framework is appropriate to emphasise in medical education training in Canada given the diverse population and continuing inequalities in health and its social determinants.

## HEALTH AND ETHNIC DIVERSITY IN CANADA

It has been shown that inequities exist in the prevalence of chronic disease in subpopulations defined by education, income, race, ethnicity and English language proficiency (Barnett, McKee, Smith, & Pearson, 2011). Canada's population is becoming more diverse, with around 20 percent of the population being foreign-born (Oxman-Martinez, Abdool, & Loiselle-Léonard, 2000). In fact, non-white populations are quickly coming to represent a larger proportion of the younger age groups in the country. Despite growing in size, minorities continue to face health and social inequalities (Ethnicity and inequalities in health and social care, 2008; Wallace, Nazroo, & Bécares, 2016). Tuberculosis is an illness which is well-controlled throughout most of the country but continues to cause morbidity and mortality in Indigenous populations (Gibson, Cave, Doering, Ortiz, & Harms, 2005). Recently, an Indigenous child died from tuberculosis in Labrador (Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, 2018; Tobin, 2018). This illness is a marker of injustice and profound health inequalities, which continues to predominate in the lives of Canada's Indigenous peoples as a result of colonization and assimilation policies (Gibson et al., 2005).

Statistics show that rates of morbidity and mortality among Indigenous people are still higher than the Canadian average (Adelson, 2005; Browne, 2017; Wilk, Maltby, & Cooke, 2017). These facts contribute to the argument that the care provided to Aboriginal people and other marginalised and vulnerable people needs to be strengthened.

## MEDICAL EDUCATION IN CANADA

Medical education in Canada is composed of undergraduate medical education, which is normally a four-year program, and post-graduate medical education, in which qualified students undertake specialist training leading to specialist certification by Royal Colleges. Finally, learners have to receive continuing medical education, in which physicians are required to keep abreast of the current management of patients in their respective fields of practice.

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<sup>2</sup> Desert refers to the individual share of resources that a person can obtain from society. It is based on the person's status like social class, economic or political.

It has been found in both Canada and the United States that medical students tend to be white and from higher socio-economic classes(Kirch, Nivet, & Berlin, 2012; Milne, Doig, & Dhalla, 2015; Qaiser, Dimaras, & Hamel, 2016). This elite ‘whiteness’ may make it difficult to address issues of white privilege as students may refer to their own ancestor’s struggles moving to a new country(Kolowich, 2015). The idea of being white giving the student privilege, even though they may still face struggles, can sometimes be lost. White privilege has been defined as ‘the lack of struggle in a very specific and profound aspect of life. It does not mean no struggle, just not that struggle’(Kolowich, 2015).In Canada, it has been suggested that medical schools tend to favour admissions to students who are able to volunteer abroad(Qaiser et al., 2016). The increasing competitiveness in admission to medical schools results in students paying to participate in volunteer activities to strengthen their resumes. This means that *‘financially elite’* students are the ones who can accrue this ‘cultural capital’ and eventually transform it to economic capital(Qaiser et al., 2016). Thus, situations can arise in which students may be out of touch with the patient population they are treating. It is thus the responsibility of the medical school to encourage cultural competence through critical reflection on medical practice.

Rudolf Virchow, an esteemed pathologist, declared that physicians are ‘natural attorneys of the poor, and social problems fall to a large extent within their jurisdiction’(Virchow, 1941). The Association of Faculties of Medicine of Canada adopted a social accountability vision, placing the responsibility on medical schools to provide a culturally-competent curriculum for students and physicians(Cappon, 2001). This vision is guided by the World Health Organisation(WHO) (1995) as framework for medical schools’ responsibility for social accountability,

The obligation to direct their education, research and service activities towards addressing the priority health concerns of the community, region, and/or nation they have a mandate to serve. The priority health concerns are to be identified jointly by governments, health care organizations, health professionals and the public(Association of Faculties of Medicine of Canada, 2001).

The CanMEDs framework provides the competencies upon which medical pedagogy is based. The framework calls for physicians to be advocates for their patients and display professionalism, leadership and be strong communicators. Advocacy involves the person with greater power and status speaking out for those who are marginalised. This becomes increasingly important with the commodification of health. A recent example of this was the protests by Canadian physicians who spoke out against the federal government when cutbacks were made to refugee health(Arya, 2013). This also happened in the U.K., with physicians calling for an end to asylum seekers, especially children being detained for prolonged periods(Health Professionals Against, 2016). Improving the cost effectiveness of health services has taken priority over the well-being of patients, and physicians need to be equipped to advocate for patients who have to confront hospital bureaucracy(Glenn, 2012). On a global perspective, the development of vaccines and HIV medications has been under the control of ‘big pharma’, with capitalist greed overtaking the health of patients and their ability to afford these medications(Farmer, 2006; Graham & Mishra, 2011). Physicians as leaders and advocates in society need to be aware of these issues and act on behalf of their patients.

The traditional healing methods, spirituality and connection to the land of Indigenous people need to be appreciated by physicians (Baskin, 2016). Indigenous people are sometimes condemned for preferring traditional healing methods over biomedicine (Picard, 2017). It is recognised that no or very little training occurs in medical schools to equip learners to have a social justice role. If it does exist, it is often voluntary participation rather than mandatory learning (Bhate & Loh, 2015). Thus, medical schools will need to take action to incorporate social justice pedagogy within its teaching framework; not as a stand-alone course without relevance to other subjects but one that is intertwined within the curriculum of teaching.

## CULTURALLY-COMPETENT CARE

Culture can be described as ‘...the set of actions, values, and experiences that surround the involved people. Persons outside a cultural group...evaluate that group based on the norms of their own culture’ (Ortiz & Casey, 2017). Physicians are expected to treat their patients holistically; however, the emphasis has traditionally been on biomedicine, with a lack of training on psychosocial aspects of health (Constantinou, Papageorgiou, Samoutis, & Mccrorie, 2017). This despite evidence that cultural backgrounds including, for example, a person’s language, religion, sexual identity, ethnicity, and age can influence health and health outcomes (Constantinou et al., 2017). At the 2016 Public Health Conference in Toronto, it was pointed out that apathy continues to exist in the health system regarding Indigenous health, from medical training to actual hospital care (Vogel, 2016). This scenario may also hold true for all marginalised groups in the country. It has been reported that physicians may be unaware of their own bias, ignorant of other cultures and unable to communicate with people of different cultures (Powell Sears, 2012). Culturally-competent care has been defined by Meleis as,

Care that is sensitive to the differences individuals may have in their experiences and responses due to their heritage, sexual orientation, socioeconomic situation, ethnicity, and cultural background. It is care that is based on understanding of how those differences may inform the responses of people and the processes of caring for them (Meleis, 1999).

It is expected and necessary for physicians to be able to provide culturally-competent care. The reasons for this necessity include the increasing mobility of people in today’s global market, which means physicians are likely to meet individuals who have different perspectives and understandings of their health. Patient adherence to medications and ultimately outcomes of care have been shown to be linked to doctor-patient relationships based on respect and mutual understanding (Betancourt, Green, Carrillo, & Ananeh-Firempong, 2003). Also, cultural competence has been regarded as a tool that reduces health inequalities amongst minority ethnic groups (Betancourt et al., 2003).

It has been argued medical education may need to go further than simply addressing the concept of culturally safe care and should openly acknowledge the issues of ‘race’, racism, power and privilege (Ly & Crowshoe, 2015). Anti-racist pedagogy ‘seeks to provide students with the ability to critically reflect on the ways in which oppressive power relations are inscribed in their own lives, as well as the lives of others’ (Hassouneh, 2006). Indigenous people of Canada experience stereotyping, which can impact their health care experiences (Ly & Crowshoe, 2015). Furthermore, it has been established that unconscious bias resulting from stereotyping can affect physicians’ clinical decision making (Geiger, 2001). Thus,

medical schools in Canada need to address the responsibility of learners to acknowledge stereotyping in ways that do not cause embarrassment or shame, which may further result in resistance to change(Kernahan & Davis, 2007).

Stereotyping patients can also result in a lack of awareness of other important characteristics of a patient. Using an intersectional framework, physicians can acknowledge that people may experience varying degrees of discrimination, in different social locations. These different social locations such as gender and race interact, resulting in different meanings in patients' lives(Bauer, 2014). These multiple social locations are experienced concurrently and are jointly reinforcing, and therefore must be considered together rather than independently(Bauer, 2014). These social locations intersect and combine to serve as the "basis for discrimination and inferior life chances"(Powell Sears, 2012).Intersectionality training for physicians may be helpful to improve communication and reduce racial disparities in health care(Powell Sears, 2012).

## HUMAN RIGHTS AND HEALTH

Rudolf Virchow asserts, 'Do we not always find diseases of the populace traceable to defects in society? Physicians must continue to seek and remedy 'defects in society' if health is to be recognized as a basic human right'(Hixon, Yamada, Farmer, & Maskarinec, 2013). There is a lack of competencies surrounding the need to understand health as a basic human right. The WHO (1978) asserts that basic health care is a 'fundamental human right'(WHO, 1978). The CanMEDs framework does not explicitly imply this; rather, it uses substitutes of attributes, in particular, advocacy and professionalism, to act as a de facto for patient health care as a human right. There is no one gold standard definition of social justice; however, philosophers John Rawls and Norman Daniels provide frameworks which can be used to integrate learning for students and physicians. Students and physicians learning about these concepts may be inspired to take action to advocate for the health of vulnerable and marginalised patients. John Rawls' theory of justice states that basic liberties such as freedom of thought, income and fair equality of opportunity should be guaranteed(Huddle, 2013). Applying this to health care, for example, can mean people with lower incomes should have health care costs, in particular, the costs of dental care should be reduced or subsidised(Rivkin-Fish, 2011). John Rawls did not include health care as a basic liberty; however, Norman Daniels elaborated on Rawls' theory to include health care as a basic human right.

The ability to appreciate, understand and act on the concepts introduced by Rawls and Daniels requires the development of a 'critical consciousness'. The concept of critical consciousness was first developed by the Brazilian educator Paulo Freire. Freire claimed that 'education has the potential to be liberating or domestication, a process of empowerment or learned intellectual and social passivity'(DasGupta et al., 2006). Critical consciousness allows for critical reflective thought about the social context of the instructors' teaching(Coria, Mckelvey, Charlton, Woodworth, & Lahey, 2013). Critical reflection being '...thinking in ways that connect individual identity, social context, and reflexivity'(Naidu & Kumagai, 2016). The core idea of critical consciousness is to take a step back and realise one's own assumptions, biases and values and take note of the difficulties others may have to deal with. The action resulting from this process is the essence of critical consciousness(Kumagai, Jackson, & Razack, 2017).

Traditional education resulted in what Freire called the ‘banking model of education’ (DasGupta et al., 2006). In this model, information is ‘deposited’ into learners without much thought. This is common in medical education, where knowledge is passed on from seniors to juniors. This ‘gift’ of knowledge of medical education is imparted on occasion through humiliation by learning (Lempp & Seale, 2004). This imparts the ideas of ‘powerlessness’ as the learner believes that s/he is less important than the knowledge learned (DasGupta et al., 2006). In fact, ‘The truth is, the real secrets of modern medicine are protected by tradition, group-think, and system constructs that punish inquiry and self-examination’ (Newman, 2008). Freire called for a new system in which learners are challenged and allowed to think critically about issues. Medical educators should encourage learners to ‘...question answers rather than merely to answer questions...in this pedagogy students experience education as something they do, not as something done to them’ (Shor, 2000). Thus, there is a need for educators to become critical teachers to foster greater reflectivity amongst learners.

### APPLYING SOCIAL JUSTICE TO MEDICAL EDUCATION

Traditional didactic models of teaching do not adequately teach cultural competence or critical reflection. Social justice and accountability often get taught in unison ethics teaching in the realm of professionalism instruction. Professionalism mandates a ‘social contract’ between the physician and society (Friedson, 1970; Friedson, 1975). However, the professionalism contract fails to include health inequalities and health as a basic human right (Hixon et al., 2013). Paulo Freire called for a ‘problem-solving’ model in which the learner is an active agent in his/her own learning (Kumagai et al., 2017). The design and implementation of culturally-competent medical education require the support and dedication of institutions to provide the resources for learning. The curricula should provide meaningful cultural experiences as a basis for this learning (Clingerman, 2011). Integrated learning experiences will be essential to link learning with actual cultural encounters.

An American medical school instituted a mandatory rotation for first-year primary care residents treating homeless patients. The researchers found that the residents as a result were more likely to volunteer at the clinic for the homeless in the subsequent years of training; further, they found the residents’ attitudes changed, with less stereotyping being reported (O’toole, Hanusa, Gibbon, & Boyles, 1999). Another school implemented an elective in Social Justice leading to a ‘Dean’s Certificate of Distinction’ (Schiff & Rieth, 2012). The administrators of the school realised the need for training socially accountable physicians and thus decided to fund a new initiative. The elective involved the students being actively engaged in projects with marginalised populations as well as didactic instruction. Group discussions encouraged self-reflection and the exploration of individuals’ own biases and stereotyping. This opportunity to practice implementing classroom learning in the community was well received.

Medical schools should also integrate intersectional frameworks into a cultural competency curriculum. This can give learners the opportunity to self-reflect on their intersectionality locations. The medical school can teach interview skills, which could help students locate and understand a patient’s intersectional locations (Powell Sears, 2012). These interview skills can be based on Cole’s analysis: i) Who is included within this category? (ii) What is the relevance of these locations to the patient’s health experience? (iii) What role does inequality play? (Cole, 2009). The questions would force

the students to think about diversity, power and privilege(Cole, 2009). For the physician, understanding that the different locations can be summative will go a long way to reduce health inequities(Powell Sears, 2012).

## CONCLUSION

The provision of culturally-competent care is a means by which physicians can act as advocates for social justice for marginalised, and vulnerable populations. Improving awareness of the summative effects of the intersectionality framework is the first step in providing appropriate care. Fostering critical thinking and reflexivity amongst learners, through experiential learning using current case examples, for example Indigenous health care can be a first step to developing a critical consciousness. Initiating mandatory clinical placements in underserved communities may help to build community networks and expose students to the difficulties of marginalised groups. Further work needs to be done to determine how best to incorporate this learning in a longitudinal way, from undergraduate training through residency and onto continuing medical education. The ability of physicians to communicate and confidently treat a diverse population will help to reduce health inequalities. The importance of including a comprehensive social justice curriculum into medical school should not be overlooked.

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# THE EFFECTS OF A SCIENCE-BASED CURRICULUM ON THE OUTCOMES OF PREK STUDENTS

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*Abstract:* Systematic science instruction is limited during the preschool years. As a result, this study seeks to examine whether children made gains in the Hands On Science Outreach (HOSO) science curriculum that was embedded within literacy-focused PreK Head Start classrooms. The study used quantitative and qualitative methods to investigate PreK children's outcomes as measured by The Learning Accomplishment Profile-3 (LAP-3) and teacher's perceptions of the implementation of the intervention. The study revealed that children made gains on cognitive and language development over time among PreK children's outcomes. In addition, teacher perception of implementation of the HOSO program will be described. Implications for policy and practice are discussed.

## INTRODUCTION

Scientific innovation has been linked to the post-WW II economic growth rate in the United States and is now recognized as the leading driver of economic growth (Rai, Graham, Doms, 2010). Preschool children who enter U. S. schools today will enter a global employment arena in the next 20 years that will be nourished by information and fueled by advanced problem solving skills. Success will depend upon the ability to use science to analyze, solve, and predict dilemmas that arise in both local and global societies (Rai, Graham, Doms, 2010). Therefore, it is important to focus on the current landscape of science education within U. S. schools. Young children who come to school primed with a natural curiosity of the natural world must be supported in their attempts to understand the world in which they are living and growing.

## EARLY CHILDHOOD SCIENCE INSTRUCTION

Despite the increased emphasis on accountability in science learning across the nation, there is limited research regarding science practices and policies at the preschool level. However, a growing body of research is emerging that underscores the importance of capturing children's curiosity of the natural world as an integral component of academic readiness skills (Connors & Perkins, 2009; Duschl, Schweingruber, & Shouse, 2007; Eshach & Fried, 2005). Moreover, young children have demonstrated the ability to understand scientific concepts and reason scientifically by developing their own hypotheses (Eshach & Fried, 2005). When early childhood programs capitalize on this curiosity and ability, and specifically address science instruction, they have the potential for improving the depth and breadth of scientific knowledge in young children. As a result, science instruction programs can provide a strong foundation for children in the PreK years as they advance their science knowledge during the elementary years. It is also reasoned that scientific development impacts other content areas of the elementary years (Albert Shanker Institute, 2009; Greenfield, et. al, 2009).

Effective early childhood programs that embrace science instruction focus on ways children can internalize science concepts and emphasize the skills of observation, explanation, and prediction (Blake, 2009). In these programs, children engage with science by relating what they are learning to their own personal experiences and they can see how scientific topics connect with other areas of their lives

(Bredenkamp, 2011). When implemented within the course of the child's natural play experiences, science instruction becomes full and meaningful (Berk, 2010; Stegelin, 2003).

In addition to benefiting from being exposed to strong science instruction programs, children benefit from teachers who strengthen the child's relationship with science. By providing appropriate resources and prompting children to ask questions, make predictions, observe and draw conclusions about natural phenomena, teachers can support children in making connections between their experiences and scientific concepts (Berk, 2010; Neuman & Roskos, 2007).

These connections provide the basis needed for more intense scientific concepts children are expected to understand in the later grades (Eshach & Fried, 2005). Science proficiency goes beyond a surface level of merely repeating science information. This proficiency is based on the notion that children must respond critically to new questions, answers, and ideas they encounter in their world. Additionally, students are expected to engage in making observations and manipulating information in ways that enable them to predict future occurrences of the events they investigate.

As indicated by the NAEP (2009) and TIMMS (2007) findings, children in the U. S. are scoring below expectations. As stated by Eshach & Fried (2005), the authors believe that exposing children to science content and processes in preschool settings provides the basis needed for more intense scientific concepts children are expected to understand in the later grades. With the expectation of having an impact on the future development of children's scientific content and process knowledge, this study describes an early childhood intervention in which a science-based curriculum is embedded within literacy-focused classrooms.

## RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The purpose of this quasi-experimental study was two-fold. First, the study investigated the effects of a science-based curriculum embedded within literacy-focused classrooms on PreK children's outcomes. Researchers hypothesized that the children would make progress in each of the school readiness skills as a result of experiencing a curriculum that is intentionally and systematically devoted to literacy and science instruction. Additionally, the study qualitatively examined teacher perceptions concerning the implementation of embedding a science based curriculum within literacy-focused classrooms.

## METHODOLOGY

### SETTING

Three hundred thirty children within 31 multi-age PreK classrooms participated in the intervention. Although the intervention was applied to entire classes, this paper presents data on approximately 50 percent of the children in those classes. A sample of 167 children in 15 classes was randomly selected from a population of 330 students within an urban Head Start program in the southwest region of the United States. In the 15 classrooms that participated in the study, the teachers used the Scholastic PreK Curriculum as the literacy focused planning guide and the HOSO early childhood science curriculum as a supplemental guide for science instruction. The Head Start program from where the sample was selected serves over four thousand children in an urban metropolitan area in the southwest. The agency's Head Start program seeks to address education, nutrition, health, and parental involvement. All children in the center qualify for services by meeting federal poverty guidelines. In each of the participating classrooms there were two adults, a lead teacher and an assistant.

## PARTICIPANTS

*Children:* All children were between three and five and a half years of age. Although the student population included children with and without disabilities, as labeled by the local Head Start center, the current study did not investigate the effect of student disability on learning outcomes. The Head Start centers were comprised of 40 percent or more Hispanic children. English Language Learner and children with disabilities were excluded from this study but be included in a follow up study.

*Teachers:* Ninety teachers with three or more years of experience, out of the 200 teachers in the population, were eligible for participation in the study. New teachers with three years or less were not eligible to participate because of their limited teaching experience and ongoing new teacher orientation training. Of the 90 eligible teachers, 34 teachers were randomly assigned to the classrooms participating in the study. Further, of the 34 teachers selected, 26 teachers were interviewed for the qualitative section of the study. Demographic data indicated that the 34 teachers in the study were female with 80 percent between the ages of 30 to 50. Ethnicity was divided between three major groups: 50 percent were African American, 46 percent were Hispanic, and 4 percent were Anglo. The largest percent of teachers, 66 percent, held a Child Development Associate (CDA).

## INTERVENTION

The intervention utilized two early childhood curricula. The Scholastic Early Childhood Program (SECP) is a literacy-focused curriculum that includes a range of content areas. The Hands On Science Program (HOSO) is a science based curriculum. The preschool curricula are described in detail below.

*Scholastic Early Childhood Program (SECP).* SECP is a PreK curriculum aligned with the tenets of early Reading First legislation (Scholastic, 2011) and is available in English and Spanish. The program is built around the three core elements: (a) researched based curriculum, (b) professional development, and (c) home-school connections.

SECP is implemented through a series of thematic units that are based on the real world experiences of young children. Throughout the school year children will encounter themes such as *Friends and School, Home and Family, Inside and Outside Me, Staying Well, Staying Safe, and Our Community.*

Each unit includes four elements: (a) Early Learning Kit, (b) Clifford's Kit, (c) Big Book Boxes, and (d) professional resources. Early Learning Kits contains thematic material that can be integrated into content areas. Content areas emphasize math, technology, science, and social studies. Teachers are led through the curriculum to balance purposeful play and teacher-led instruction. Pedagogical methods include circle time, story time, learning centers, open ended inquiry, independent practice, and discussions. Moreover, inclusion tips are included within specific lesson plans to help teachers differentiate instruction for individualized learners (Scholastic, 2011).

In addition, oral language, phonological awareness, alphabetic knowledge, concepts about print, letter knowledge, and vocabulary are the focus of the literacy base of the curriculum. Songs, finger plays, and CDs are used to teach these literacy-focused activities throughout the course of the unit.

Clifford's Kit provides resources to help develop children's social/emotional skills. Big Book Boxes house fiction and nonfiction books that accompany each curricular theme. Professional resources offer teachers the opportunity to build pedagogical knowledge through research-based resources.

The professional development component is delivered to teachers through a DVD and face-to-face workshops. Resources are provided that help teachers with room arrangement, time management, and classroom management. In addition, teachers are given assessment tools and lesson planners.

Teachers receive specialized professional development that focuses on ways to build relationships with families. A special emphasis is included that focuses on families who are English Language Learners (Scholastic, 2011).

*Hands On Science Outreach program.* Embedded in this literacy focused curriculum is the Hands On Science Outreach program (HOSO). In 1985 HOSO was awarded a National Science Foundation grant. HOSO subsequently became an international program reaching 33 states, South America, Europe and Asia. Goodman (1993) found that children involved in the HOSO curriculum made significant gains in their knowledge and attitudes concerning science content.

HOSO uses simple materials to explore science concepts and practice the process of science skills. Most of the themes children encounter requires the construction of a product that the children take home to share with his/her parents. This take home component of the HOSO kits is to engage parents in what the children are studying and assist them in understanding science. The program is organized around a three year cycle of activities for four age groups.

During year one the Pre-K students focus on a guiding theme of *Structure and Change*. This theme is divided into three subthemes to be studied throughout the school year. In the fall, children explore anatomy using the topic of *Two Feet, Four Feet*. In the winter, they discover chemistry concepts through the *Water Chemical Magic* unit. In the spring, the focus is on earth science through the *What's Up* unit.

In year two of the program cycle the overarching theme is *Science Patterns*. The HOSO curriculum guides children to discover the subtheme *Physics of Color and Light (Under the Rainbow)* in the fall, *Architecture and Engineering (Mother Goose Construction Company)* in the winter, and *Physics of Sound (Flight Hears to Ears)* in the spring.

Year three of the program cycle focuses on the overarching theme of energy. In the fall, the subtheme *Natural Non-Solar Energy (Water, Water Everywhere)* is explored. In the winter, *Mechanical Energy (Machinery in Me)* is explored and in the spring children examine *Solar Energy (Here Comes the Sun)*. After the third year, the curriculum is recycled and returns to the overarching theme of year one, *Structure and Change* (Katz & McGinnis, 1999).

*Training.* HOSO training was accomplished through a train the trainer model that included HOSO representatives, Head Start education coordinators, education specialists and teachers. The training began at an off-site location with the HOSO representatives and education coordinators. After the initial training, the Head Start education coordinators returned to the local Head Start program and provided training to Head Start educational specialists and Head Start teachers over a five day period. Training occurred on the various themes that would be implemented during the fall, winter, and spring. Copies of the materials were provided to participants during the training. The training was inquiry-based with teachers participating in various HOSO activities working in teams of two and three carrying out HOSO science experiments. Additionally, education specialists attended the ongoing HOSO training to provide technical support for teachers throughout the implementation year.

Education specialists provided individualized assistance to teachers by participating in the process of planning several science lessons and then observing the teachers as they carried out the lessons.

During this observation phase, the education specialists completed a fidelity implementation measure to document the level of fidelity of the intervention. The fidelity instrument utilized 11 questions that prompted the education specialist to observe and rate discrete aspects of the science lesson on a three point Likert scale. Questions involved ideas such as, “Are children involved in hands-on activities” and “Does the teacher engage children in a discussion of the science concepts?” In addition, the fidelity instrument asked the education specialists to rate the extent that various scientific concepts such as earth science, life science, physical science, and science skills were integrated within a science lesson. The fidelity instrument included a narrative section for education specialists to describe the implementation of the lessons.

*Implementation of HOSO Curriculum.* The teachers implemented lessons within each theme using a hands-on inquiry based approach in their classrooms. These weekly lessons were supported by the education specialists who provided on-site modeling and classroom based training during the implementation of the HOSO curriculum. The curriculum was implemented over a period of nine months from August through May of the treatment year.

*Instruments.* The Learning Accomplishment Profile-3 (LAP-3) developed by researchers at the University of North Carolina (Sandford, Zelman, Hardin, & Peisner-Feinberg, 2004) was used to measure the children’s cognitive and language development. The profile measures skills in the following seven domains: gross motor, fine motor, prewriting, cognitive, language, self help and social skills. The coefficients indicate strong internal consistency for each domain ranging from .78 to .98. These results indicate the LAP-3 is a reliable measure of children’s developmental outcomes.

*Data collection.* Quantitative data involving LAP-3 scores were collected in September and November during the fall, and in May during the spring of the same school year. Although the children were assessed three times during the intervention, data from beginning to end of the school year were utilized in this analysis. In addition, to the quantitative data, intervention researchers conducted interviews of 26 of the 34 treatment teachers to collect the qualitative data during the spring.

## RESULTS

The following section describes the results of both quantitative data analysis of student outcomes and the qualitative analysis of teacher perceptions.

### QUANTITATIVE DATA ANALYSIS

Repeated measure ANOVAs on the mean scores of seven areas of the LAP-3 tool were conducted to determine student developmental progress as an effect of the science-based curriculum embedded within literacy-focused classrooms. Statistically significant results over time, at alpha level  $\alpha = 0.05$ , were obtained when comparing children’s mean scores at the beginning, middle, and end of the school year starting in the fall and ending in the spring. For example, significant gross motor scores were obtained for three year olds,  $F(2, 1178) = 95.717, p < 0.001, \eta^2 = 0.14$ . See Table 1 for all seven ANOVAs of three year olds. Similarly, significant results were obtained for four year olds on all seven measures of the LAP-3 tool. See Table 2 for all seven ANOVAs of four year olds. We can, therefore, conclude that there were significant developmental gains within both age groups over time.

Based on the end of the year assessments, scores on the Lap-3 revealed a higher age equivalency than their actual chronological ages. Table 3 lists the developmental ages of the three and four year olds as they rated in each developmental area.

Table 1  
*Repeated Measure Analyses of Variance for Effects of the Hands On Science Outreach (HOSO) Curriculum on Seven Dependent Variables for Three Year Olds*

| Variable and Source    | <u>df</u> | <u>SS</u>   | <u>MS</u>  | <u>F</u> |
|------------------------|-----------|-------------|------------|----------|
| <b>Gross Motor</b>     |           |             |            |          |
| Between groups         | 2         | 30,661.655  | 15,330.827 | 95.717*  |
| Within groups          | 1,178     | 188,677.680 | 160.168    |          |
| <b>Fine Motor</b>      |           |             |            |          |
| Between groups         | 2         | 16,404.508  | 8,202.254  | 98.347*  |
| Within groups          | 1,175     | 97,996.430  | 83.401     |          |
| <b>Pre-Writing</b>     |           |             |            |          |
| Between groups         | 2         | 9,643.558   | 4,821.779  | 88.603*  |
| Within groups          | 1,179     | 66,718.840  | 54.420     |          |
| <b>Cognitive</b>       |           |             |            |          |
| Between groups         | 2         | 52,392.668  | 26,196.334 | 77.007*  |
| Within groups          | 1,178     | 400,731.080 | 340.179    |          |
| <b>Language</b>        |           |             |            |          |
| Between groups         | 2         | 21,280.076  | 10,640.038 | 59.542*  |
| Within groups          | 1,177     | 210,327.130 | 178.698    |          |
| <b>Self-Help</b>       |           |             |            |          |
| Between groups         | 2         | 13,801.707  | 6,900.853  | 103.769* |
| Within groups          | 1,221     | 78,272.830  | 66.502     |          |
| <b>Personal-Social</b> |           |             |            |          |
| Between groups         | 2         | 12,745.005  | 6,372.502  | 55.393*  |
| Within groups          | 1,173     | 134,944.410 | 115.042    |          |

\*P < .001



Table 2  
*Repeated Measure Analyses of Variance for Effects of the Hands On Science  
 Outreach (HOSO) Curriculum on Seven Dependent Variables for Four Year Olds*

| Variable and Source    | <u>df</u> | <u>SS</u>   | <u>MS</u>  | <u>F</u> |
|------------------------|-----------|-------------|------------|----------|
| <b>Gross Motor</b>     |           |             |            |          |
| Between groups         | 2         | 15,204.973  | 7,602.486  | 102.114* |
| Within groups          | 1,217     | 90,607.070  | 74.451     |          |
| <b>Fine Motor</b>      |           |             |            |          |
| Between groups         | 2         | 9,055.668   | 4,527.834  | 93.293*  |
| Within groups          | 1,192     | 57,852.100  | 48.534     |          |
| <b>Pre-Writing</b>     |           |             |            |          |
| Between groups         | 2         | 9,643.558   | 4,821.779  | 88.603*  |
| Within groups          | 1,226     | 66,718.840  | 54.420     |          |
| <b>Cognitive</b>       |           |             |            |          |
| Between groups         | 2         | 85,125.013  | 42,562.506 | 93.865*  |
| Within groups          | 1,238     | 561,363.140 | 453.444    |          |
| <b>Language</b>        |           |             |            |          |
| Between groups         | 2         | 49,722.927  | 24,861.464 | 77.472*  |
| Within groups          | 1,233     | 395,681.020 | 320.090    |          |
| <b>Self-Help</b>       |           |             |            |          |
| Between groups         | 2         | 4,386.080   | 2,193.040  | 55.643*  |
| Within groups          | 1,221     | 48,123.180  | 39.413     |          |
| <b>Personal-Social</b> |           |             |            |          |
| Between groups         | 2         | 6,369.433   | 3,184.717  | 46.799*  |
| Within groups          | 1,224     | 83,294.320  | 68.051     |          |

Table 3  
*Developmental Age Equivalencies for Three and Four Year Old Children in the Study*

| Age of Students<br>by Years | Developmental Domain   |
|-----------------------------|------------------------|
| 6                           | Gross motor            |
| 5                           | Fine Motor             |
| 5                           | Pre-Writing            |
| 5                           | Cognitive              |
| 4.5                         | Language               |
| 5                           | Self-Help              |
| 5                           | Personal-social Skills |

### QUALITATIVE DATA ANALYSIS

Researchers conducted interviews of 26 treatment teachers using a structured interview format designed for open-ended responses. In structured interviews, “the interviewer records the responses according to a coding scheme that has already been established by the project director or research supervisor” (Fontanta & Frey, 2005, p. 702). Individual interviews were conducted during the months of May and June. A series of seven questions were asked regarding the implementation of HOSO modules. The questions focused on six major topics: curriculum support and training, teachers’ content knowledge, organization and arrangement of curriculum materials, satisfaction with the science activities, parental involvement, and teacher challenges. The researchers asked the following questions around these topics: 1) Are you able to integrate the HOSO science modules into the existing Scholastic curriculum? If so, how? 2) How has the training provided by the education specialists affected your teaching and the arrangement of your classroom environment for science and math? 3) Has this program had an impact on your content knowledge in science? How? 4) What did you like or dislike about the materials provided in the kits (booklets, pipettes, seeds, etc.)? 5) What were some of the most successful HOSO science activities and experiences during the year? 6) How have you involved the parents in the HOSO Science program? How are the parents reacting to the lessons their children are learning? 7) What kinds of challenges have you had while implementing the lessons?

The interviews were transcribed and coded using constant comparison analysis (Miles & Huberman, 1994). The purpose of the key informant interviews was to ascertain information regarding the impact of the literacy-focused, science based curricula on teacher practice, and implementation of the HOSO modules. Additionally, the interviews sought to gain information on curriculum support and training, teacher’s content knowledge, organization and arrangement of curriculum materials, satisfaction with the HOSO activities, parental involvement, and teacher challenges.

The following section will present the questions asked during the interviews and selected responses. The responses reveal the teachers thoughts about implementing and integrating the literacy-focused and science based curricula. Question one focused on whether teachers were able to navigate the use of the combined literacy-focused, science-based combined curricula.

Narrative data revealed that embedding a science-based curricula within in the literacy-focused classrooms was effective in the classroom. By embedding the HOSO modules into the existing Scholastic curriculum, the teachers were able to integrate both curricula into the lesson. Overall, the teachers were comfortable inserting HOSO into Scholastic and reported no major problems. Some teacher's responses reflect challenges when they first began the integration. They noted that the integration between the two curricula was initially difficult but proficiency increased with continued use.

Question two helped investigators analyze the effects of the training teachers received concerning the HOSO program on classroom environment and teaching pedagogy. Teacher responses revealed that the training experiences helped them feel confident about teaching science. After receiving training, teachers felt more comfortable implementing the units with their children. The education specialists, teachers, and director received ongoing training support from HOSO training representatives from the beginning through the end of the school year. Education specialists supported teachers with ongoing training, demonstrations, and feedback on lesson activities. As a result, many teachers were able to make significant changes in their pedagogy. They reported a greater use of science centers and they focused more on specific instructional strategies linked to science outcomes. As indicated by interview data the major transformation was that science was happening systematically.

Question three helped teachers synthesize their beliefs about their personal knowledge of science content. Their responses revealed a new awareness and appreciation for ways to use a process oriented approach to acquire scientific knowledge. The researchers were told repeatedly by the teachers that they lacked the science content knowledge that was going to be covered in the HOSO modules. The program and ongoing training support by education specialists provided the teachers with science content knowledge and enabled them to feel more comfortable with what they were going to teach in their classrooms. As a result of implementing the science modules some teachers reported they researched terminology and concepts that were used in the science lessons. Additionally, teachers reported that the children were now using the terminology in their discussion of science content. Teachers overwhelmingly said their science content knowledge has been impacted. In response to the teacher's comments, regarding the impact of the intervention, researchers concluded that teachers' science content knowledge developed as they embedded the science-based curriculum within the literacy focused curriculum. The HOSO training reflected the theme based units the teachers encountered in the training. Further, teachers were engaged in hands-on science training conducted HOSO representatives and the education specialists during the academic year.

Question four examined teacher beliefs about the supplementary kits that were included with the HOSO teaching materials. Teachers reported that they liked having enough materials for all children to explore. Moreover, having the materials and manuals in a central location together made preparation for the science lessons convenient and teacher friendly.

Question five asked teachers to describe their successful experiences with HOSO. Their answers revealed a new appreciation for science instruction and ways to include it within a PreK program. The successes and excitement of the children motivated the teachers to continue to implementing the HOSO experiments. They could see their planning and preparation was worth the effort. Several teachers reported that the children enjoyed the hands-on activities; moreover, the children were engaged and had the opportunity to discover natural science phenomena.

Question six sought to help investigators understand the relationship that teachers developed with parents during year. Teacher responses were mixed concerning parent involvement with some parents choosing high involvement and others minimally participating. The children's engagement within the science instruction appeared to be a catalyst for greater parent involvement. Teachers reported varying degrees of parent participation. Their goal was to increase the families' involvement with science activities within the classroom and extend those activities into their homes. However, limited data was available to determine parent's perceptions of the impact of this program.

Question seven sought to help investigators ascertain challenges and barriers teachers encountered during the course of the project. Teachers reported that some science vocabulary was difficult to explain to three and four year olds and the teacher's content knowledge was also challenged during the course of the intervention year. There were many challenges reported. Classroom management was often problematic. Teachers reported a marked difference between the responses between the three and four year olds to the lessons. Moreover, the three year olds were engaged in discovery and inquiry, however, their shorter attention spans made a more in-depth analysis difficult. Contrastingly, four year olds were able to use methods such as Think Pair Share, Venn diagrams and KWL learning strategies. Other challenges were absenteeism by teacher assistants, staff shortages, conflicts with home visits and parent conferences.

Table 4 provides a summary of selected teachers responses to each of the questions asked during the interview.

#### SUMMARY OF NARRATIVE DATA.

The results of the qualitative analysis revealed that the teachers were able to successfully integrate the HOSO science curriculum with their existing literacy-based curriculum. Data revealed that teachers benefited from the training provided by education specialists, education coordinators, and HOSO representatives. Moreover, teachers gained content knowledge in the area of science.

Table 4  
*Selected Quotes From the Qualitative Analysis of Teachers' Experiences with the Hands On Science Outreach (HOSO) Program*

| Major Topics   | Selected Pithy Quotes from Interviews  |
|--|--|
| Curriculum support and training                      | It was helpful because it was hands-on. We did some of the activities from the kit. We did a lesson plan. We acted out some of the lessons and it was fun.   |
| Teacher's content knowledge                          | I learned a lot of words - the meaning of some words I didn't know. They were in the book and the book gave the definition and broke it down.  |
| Organization and arrangement of curriculum materials | Everything I needed was in the box. The kits helped bring science and math to the classroom. Before, I kept repeating the same science activities, so the kit with new activities was great. The manual was self-explanatory.  |
| Satisfaction with the science activities             | They liked the poem, "Mix and Pour." They still know it. They liked the spider. We made the spider and the caterpillar and put them in the camouflage. They looked for critters on their nature walk. I enjoyed it. I made a critter of my own with the students. I was excited too. |
| Parental involvement                                 | We tried to explain it to them when they first came out. I would like to have had more involvement.  |
| Teacher challenges                                   | Language was my biggest challenge. Some of the kids would translate to their classmates. It was harder to explain absorption or the water things versus the animals.   |

## DISCUSSION

The purpose of this study was two-fold. First, the study investigated the impact of a science-based curriculum embedded within literacy-focused classrooms on PreK children's outcomes. The researchers hypothesized that the children would make progress in each of the readiness skills included in the LAP-3 assessment as a result of experiencing the intervention. Second, teachers' perceptions on implementing both the science-based and literacy-focused curricula were qualitatively examined. The qualitative analysis sought to support the quantitative results, and explain why children's outcomes improve when teachers utilize curricula they embrace. The results of the study revealed that there were significant improvements over time on each of the readiness skills assessed. Further, teachers reported that implementing the science-based curriculum embedded within literacy-focused classrooms was effective

in helping children achieve cognitive and language growth as measured on the LAP-3. During the intervention, children participated eagerly in a wide range of HOSO science activities that encouraged language, vocabulary, and concept development. Interview data revealed that teachers were able to successfully navigate the HOSO and Scholastic curricula to accomplish the desired outcomes for three- and four-year olds. The teachers also reported that their content knowledge was impacted after having used the science curriculum systematically. In regards to the organization and arrangement of curriculum materials in the HOSO science modules, teachers reported a high level of satisfaction with the organization and arrangement of curriculum materials. These results suggest that children from a low socioeconomic status (SES) can obtain high outcomes when immersed in educational settings such as the one described in this study and when teachers utilize curricula they embrace.

## LIMITATIONS

Although findings from this study provide data that support the use of a science-based curriculum embedded within literacy-focused PreK classrooms, additional questions remain. This study had two limitations that should be considered when interpreting the results. The first limitation is that the study only examined one science curriculum. Second, the study assessed children's outcomes over one academic year only. Longitudinal data might yield difference results. Therefore, findings are only generalizable to the curriculum within this study and cannot be generalized to additional science curricula.

## RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH AND PRACTICE`

The analysis of the science-based curriculum embedded within literacy-focused classrooms revealed significant changes over time in children's outcomes and resulted in teachers reporting positive experiences while using the curricula within a PreK setting. However, further research is needed to determine the long-term effects of other PreK science programs not only on children with typically developing trajectories, but on special populations such as children with disabilities or children who are English Language Learners. In addition, information is needed regarding how teachers with Child Development Associate degrees such as the ones in this study may expand their content knowledge in science over a period of several years. Finally, research is needed in establishing criteria on what constitutes a quality science-based curriculum.

Our findings are consistent with Greenfield et al.'s (2009) synthesis of research on preschool science. Additionally, Pearson, Moje, & Greenleaf (2010) recommend embedding science curricula within literacy-focused classrooms. Through the integration of both curricula, a bootstrap effect emerges in which children's development of science skills supports the development of other skills. Moreover, as reported by Eshach & Fried (2005), students in this study demonstrated the ability to understand scientific concepts and reason scientifically by formulating hypotheses of the natural world. The early childhood science curriculum used in this study integrated basic science content and process skills around various science-based themes. Further, it integrated a broad range of content areas such as language, math, fine arts, and physical/motor experiences within its scope. Students who participated in the science-based curriculum embedded within literacy-focused classrooms created questions, related ideas, and made connections between the content areas. In summary, throughout the implementation of

the intervention, children were encouraged to construct both scientific conceptual and procedural knowledge that helped them in their development of other domains.

There are several implications for policy and practice. At the policy level, the results showed that more programs serving the needs of students with low SES are needed and could impact young children's impact in science. The study demonstrated that these children can achieve high outcomes, even beyond those expected for their age as shown by the age equivalencies of the LAP-3. The study provided evidence to suggest that embedding a science-based curriculum in literacy-focused PreK classrooms is viable, as expressed by the teachers, and may reduce the existing gap between children with high and low SES. At the practice level, the authors recommend that programs that have been successful with involving parents be used to support the implementation of science-based programs. For example, based on this study's mixed responses by teachers regarding the level of parental participation, today, a Family Math-Science Night has been instituted in one school. Curriculum developers should build on the promising results of this study, and offer educators modules on how to involve parents more effectively. Finally, the authors also recommend that developers publish alternative science-based curricula that can be embedded within literacy-focused curricula because the results of this study suggest that systematic science instruction can transform teachers' perceptions and can be used to bootstrap other subject areas and make them stronger, thereby improving outcomes for children.

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# THE IMPACT OF MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION TRAINING FOR PRE-SERVICE TEACHERS

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*Abstract:* Multicultural preparation is an important area of research because preservice teachers are empowered with skills that enable them to teach a culturally diverse population. The purpose of this study was to investigate the lack of multicultural preparation for preservice teachers. This study was based on the 5 dimensions of multicultural education that focused on diverse experiences and cross-cultural activities. The research question investigated what are teachers' perceptions about the lack of multicultural preparation for preservice teachers. Quantitative data from a Likert survey and qualitative data from face-to-face interviews were gathered to examine the perceptions of preservice teachers. Seventy six pre-service teachers completed the survey and 11 of the 76 preservice teachers were interviewed. Quantitative data were analyzed using descriptive statistics, which revealed that preservice teachers had a positive attitude toward multicultural education. Qualitative data were analyzed inductively, which revealed that teachers were positive about the idea of multicultural education, but can improve on their acceptance of other cultures different from their own. The data from the survey were categorical in nature, whereas the interviews allowed for access to a broader understanding of the survey. Findings suggested that multicultural education training may help teachers work more effectively with a diverse population.

## INTRODUCTION

The concept of multicultural education emerged as a direct result of the radical changes initiated by the Civil Rights movements. This was largely due to the initiatives of African Americans and other people of color who challenged the discriminatory practices during the civil rights struggles of the 1960s. Activists, community leaders, and parents requested consistency with the racial diversity in the country (Banks, 2004; Gollnick & Chin, 2009; Nieto, 2009). As K-12 schools, universities, and other educational institutions and organizations scrambled to address the concerns of these and other historically marginalized groups, a host of programs, practices, and policies emerged that slightly changed or added to the traditional curriculum. The separate actions of these various groups who were dissatisfied with the inequities of the education system, along with the resulting reaction of educational institutions during the late 1960s and 1970s, together helped to define the earliest conceptualization of multicultural education (Banks, 2004).

During the 1980s, there was an emergence of a body of scholars on multicultural education by progressive education. These activists and researchers refused to allow schools to address their concerns by simply adding token programs and special units on famous women or people of color. Banks, one of the pioneers of multicultural education, was among the first multicultural education scholars to examine schools as social systems from a multicultural context (1981). He based his conceptualization of multicultural education in the ideology of "educational equality." According to Banks (1989), to maintain a multicultural school environment, all aspects of the school had to be examined and transformed, including its policies, teachers' attitudes, instructional materials, and assessment methods, counseling, and teaching styles.

Multicultural education reduces race, ethnic class, and gender separation by giving students the tools in a democratic society to become a partner in social change (Banks & Banks, 2001). There is still an upsurge of diversity in the public school system, especially in the students' language practices. The percentage of children ages 5 to 17 that speak a language other than English at home has increased in recent years. Between 1979 and 2006, this statistic has risen from 8.5 percent to 20.3 percent (National Center for Education Statistics, 2009). Although the nation's students are steadily increasing in cultural diversity, most of the nation's students are steadily increasing in cultural diversity; most of the nation's teachers are White, middle class, and female. The National Center for Education Statistics (2010) reported that 58 percent of public school teachers are female and 83.5 percent are White. Institutions that train teachers are responsible for training pre-service teachers to make them well aware of the fact that their socioeconomic and cultural backgrounds have an effect on their student's educational experience. These demographics are important to understand, especially when teachers and students have dissimilar backgrounds (National Center for Educational Statistics, 2010).

The U.S. Department of Education (2003) reported that the enrollment in public elementary and secondary schools was 63 percent White and 37 percent students of color (including Hispanics, Asian/Pacific Islanders, and American Indian/Alaskan Natives). In contrast, the teaching force was comprised of 84 percent White educators and 16 percent individuals of color. These statistics suggest that a large number of White teachers will require additional preparation for their adjustment of their attitudes, skills, understanding, and nature necessary for teaching students from racial and ethnic backgrounds that are different from their own (National Center for Education Statistics, 2004).

These tendencies indicate that the American student population is becoming more diverse, while the composition of the teaching force is becoming more mono-cultural. Among those candidates who complete a teacher education program, few are provided the skills required for successfully teaching students from diverse, racial, ethnic, and language groups (Darling-Hammond, 2006). The concepts of diversity and multicultural education include accepting, respecting, and understanding that each person is unique along the dimensions of race, ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, and socioeconomic status (Banks & Banks, 2005). Previous researchers have often focused on aspects of race and ethnicity (Bodur, 2003; Flores, 2007). However, the definition of diversity includes historically marginalized sociocultural groups, instead of the constricted approach with emphasis only on racial and cultural perspectives (Becham, 2004).

Researchers have shown that there are significantly more White teachers in United States schools today and they are required to address the educational needs of an emergent diverse population of multicultural students (Sleeter, 2007). This change creates numerous challenges for pre-service teachers in inner-city schools (National Collaborative on Diversity of the Teaching Force, 2004). There is a major disconnect between teachers and students in inner city school populations which results in undesirable outcomes in the students' educational experiences. Teachers from the suburban areas have difficulty adjusting to culturally diverse students in the classroom, thus they inevitably have to face these experiences in a multicultural setting (Bergeron, 2008; McKinney, Haberman, Stafford-Johnson & Robinson, 2008). Left unchecked, this inequity will continue to widen the gap between teachers and students resulting in larger numbers of under-achieving students. To resolve this problem, the

administrators of educational programs need to closely review the core content of the education curriculum. Moreover, they need to include the subject of diversity as a continuous theme in each subject area.

## PROBLEM STATEMENT

Although the United States is an increasingly diverse society, pre-service teacher education programs and support for additional training regarding diverse student populations occur sporadically. A lack of multicultural preparation for pre-service teachers exists, which stems from the fact that most teachers come from an isolated mono-ethnic background. However, even though many teachers are White middle class females, they may have past multicultural training, years of experience working in a culturally diverse classroom, and may have lived in a multicultural neighborhood. In circumstances where the student population is extremely diverse and the teachers have inadequate cultural understanding, satisfactorily meeting the educational need of students is likely to be a challenge (Mahon, 2006).

The vast population of immigrants to the United States is one of the greatest challenges in the schools, especially in the language department (Garrett, 2005; Orfield & Lee, 2007). The emigration of Hispanic and Asian students to the United States has increased rapidly each year, causing the United States to be more racially and ethnically diverse (United States Census Bureau, 2008). This factor escalates the demand for an increase in the sensitivity and knowledge of multicultural diversity among pre-service teachers.

Because there are so many different languages represented in American schools today, it is not possible for monolingual teachers to address the communication challenges that they face in the classroom (Levin & McCullough, 2008). Teachers in the education mainstream, who are trained for this purpose, are more comfortable in educating English Language Learners (ELL) than their secondary school counterparts, who are not trained (Reeves, 2006). For this reason, the patterns of segregation and abandonment are more noticeable in high school (Coulter & Smith, 2006). Ford (2002) stated that pre-service teachers must be given additional training to prepare them for an increasingly diverse classroom.

## RESEARCH QUESTION

The research question: What are teachers' perceptions about the lack of multicultural preparation for pre-service teacher?

## THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

In spite of the changing population over the years in schools in the United States, the need for experiences that educate pre-service teachers on the learning needs of students is still imperative (Gomez, Strage, Knuston-Miller & Garcia-Nevarez, 2009). Pre-service teachers still fail to build their own knowledge base relating to multiculturalism and they are unable to apply new knowledge to the classroom and their teaching. For this reason, teacher education programs are being structured to eradicate these limitations (Putnam & Bork, 2000). Ladson-Billing (2004) suggested a new direction in multicultural education. These dimensions include:

Content integration  
Knowledge construction  
Prejudice reduction  
Equitable pedagogy  
Empowering school culture and social structure (Ladson-Billings, 2004).

Content integration requires the teacher to use examples, data, and information from a variety of cultures to illustrate the content of the curriculum. This facilitates the students' learning experiences. Knowledge construction, on the other hand, integrates the principles of social, behavioral, and natural sciences into the norms, biases, and cultural trends in the acquisition of knowledge in other cultures. Prejudice reduction means focusing on the characteristics of students' racial attitudes and strategies that can be used to develop more positive racial attitudes. It alludes to the sensitization of the student's mind to the issues of diversity in learning. It is suggested that to achieve the interpretation of multicultural education, pre-service teachers should be provided with diverse experiences and cross-cultural activities through service learning (Solomon & Sakayi, 2007; Stephan & Vogt, 2004).

## METHODOLOGY

The purpose of this descriptive mixed method research study was to investigate the lack of multicultural education preparation for pre-service teachers. The quantitative data collection method was an online survey to collect numeric data from pre-service teachers to gather information to determine the level of pre-service teachers' attitudes and perception toward multicultural education. The qualitative data were collected through face-to-face interviews to explain the lack of multicultural preparation for pre-service teachers.

The mixed methods approach helps researchers to compare and contrast data, thereby triangulating and validating outcomes (Plano, 2010). Mixed method research also helps researchers to answer questions that cannot be answered by qualitative or quantitative approaches alone. Qualitative research provides different data collection methods to establish rapport and credibility for the study (Creswell, 2003). In this study, the author's methods included face-to-face interviews that required interpretation, direct participation from participants, and access to written evidence when needed (Creswell, 2003). Quantitative methods are more concrete and focus on surveys and experimental modes of inquiry (Creswell, 2003).

Quantitative data were accessed through a five point Likert Scale survey activated by surveymonkey.com. Quantitative data were accessed using descriptive statistics mean, median, mode and standard deviation.

## POPULATION

The participants for this study were drawn from a population of pre-service teachers in their third year who are enrolled in the undergraduate education program of Diversity/Multicultural Education program. The targeted participation pool for this study were pre-service teachers enrolled in a state mandated course focusing on issues relating to teaching students from a diverse cultural background and was conducted at a public four-year higher educational institution located in Georgia. The sample population

of pre-service teachers was 50 percent female and 50 percent male. The sample had an ethnicity breakdown of 35 percent Blacks, 25 percent Hispanics, 10 percent Asians, and 30 percent White. The participants' ages ranged from 18-35. This pool was targeted because these pre-service teachers were anticipating enrollment in the Teacher Education Program and planned to go on for a teacher certification. By sampling these pre-service teachers of diverse ethnicities, it created a balance in the study of multicultural education.

Demographic information was collected from the pre-service teachers. This information included gender, status, in school, major, race/ethnicity, age and whether the student had received any prior multicultural training. Pre-service teachers used the Teacher Multicultural Attitude Survey (TMAS) to indicate their personal attitudes about specific questions on a scale that ranged from strongly agree to strongly disagree (Ponterotto, 1998). The interview questionnaire was the next device used for gathering data. The interview questions offered a wealth of detail about the viewpoints of applicants as they replied to the questions presented by the investigator (Northcutt & McCoy, 2004).

The interview procedure developed for this study consisted of 14 open-ended questions to deal with any recognized problems or fears that may have arisen from the research or the survey device. The types of questions that were on the interview questionnaire included:

- Do you know what multicultural education means?
- What does multicultural education mean to you?
- Do you think that pre-service teachers believe they are knowledgeable about minority students?
- Do you think that pre-service teachers believe they are knowledgeable about cultural diversity?
- Why do you think multicultural education is important?
- In your opinion, are there prejudices of culturally diverse students in your classroom?
- As a pre-service teacher, how would you deal with prejudices of culturally diverse students in your classroom?
- Do you think that multicultural education should be implemented within the curriculum? Why or why not?
- What are the challenges that may arise from the implementation of multicultural education curriculum?
- What are the attitudes of pre-service teachers, in general?
- What are the possible changes in attitude of pre-service teachers that will occur after the completion of multicultural training?
- Do you think that pre-service teachers believe their internship address issues of diversity?
- In your opinion, did your student teaching experience affect your attitudes about multicultural education and diversity?
- What recommendation(s) would you suggest to college and university teacher education programs to prepare future teachers to teach culturally diverse students?

Interviews were tape-recorded, transcribed, and analyzed by the researcher. The outcome from the interview procedure was assessed and summed up in a report. Participants' availability and heterogeneity sampling (Maxwell, 2005) were based on gender and ethnic background. The interview instrument was reviewed by three experts in the field of multicultural education at the university.

## DATA COLLECTION

As part of the IRB process to make contact with the participants, the researchers sought permission from the program director at the university to conduct the study through e-mail with a follow up phone call and a letter with signed permission. The participants were given a confirmation of the interview appointment and the survey was mailed electronically. Orchestration of the interview was done at the convenience of the participants on campus or another location of the participant's choice. Participants involved in the study were requested to sign a document acknowledging that their participation is purely voluntary and that their identities would remain confidential. Interviews were conducted with 10 pre-service teachers. The consent form was sent ahead of time to the pre-service teachers who agreed to be interviewed so they could review, sign, and return to the researcher before the start of the interview.

## IRB CONSIDERATIONS

The researchers followed the ethical guidelines in Ethical Principles in the conduct of Research with Human Participation as specified in Publication Manual of the American Psychology Association (APA, 2009). The participants were informed that there would be no compensation provided for participation in this study and confidentiality would be insured at all times.

## RESULTS AND FINDINGS

The section will present and analyze the findings of the study. The first part consisted of a survey, and the second part was face-to-face interviews. The rate of return was based on 100 surveys being sent to pre-service teachers. During the month of June 2013, the survey was sent to 100 pre-service teachers. The demographic makeup of the survey was 76 undergraduate pre-service teachers. The breakdown was as follows: 30 males and 46 females, with an ethnicity breakdown of 33 African American, 13 Hispanic, 20 Caucasian, 5 Asian, and 5 Native American. Based on the responses, the pre-service teachers had overwhelmingly positive attitudes toward multicultural education. Of the 76 surveys collected, 73 pre-service teachers strongly agreed or agreed that they could learn a great deal from students with culturally different backgrounds.

The data gathered from the survey showed that 73 of the pre-service teachers who attended the university disclosed great gratitude of multicultural education and are supportive of the need for multicultural education.

Pre-service teachers' opinion of multicultural education was scored using a five point Likert scale survey with 5= strongly through 1= strongly disagree. Of the 76 responses 68 pre-service teachers disagreed or strongly that multicultural training for teachers is not necessary. Teachers must be prepared to address problems of concerns, such as adjusting the program of study for non-English speaking student or providing positive support for students from under-represented groups (Lee & Dallman,

2008). Clearly from this data, an overwhelming number of pre-service teachers agreed to the need for multicultural training and awareness.

An investigation of the interviews was prearranged and codes were established to focus on themes, patterns, and concepts of the interview. These themes were derived from the interviews. A coding system was designed to help control the information and patterns. The following coding categories were used: Multicultural education definition (MCED), Cultural Diversity (CD), Minority student (MS), culturally diverse students (CDS), Attitudes of pre-service teacher (APST), and Issues of Diversity (ISD).

The multicultural education definition given by each pre-service teacher was the focus of the interview. The definition helped monitor their answers to the other interview questions. All of the pre-service teachers that were interviewed gave analogous definitions. All multicultural definitions given by the pre-service teachers revealed that they knew what it was. As pre-service teacher 5 (PST) stated, "Multicultural education attempts to offer all students an equitable educational opportunity, while at the same time encouraging students to critique society in the interest of social justice." Banks (2006) defined multicultural education as the combination of thought or process involving people of color, women, and other groups. It values cultural differences and affirms the pluralism that students, their communities, and teachers reflect.

#### KNOWLEDGEABLE ABOUT CULTURAL DIVERSITY

In response to the question on cultural diversity, six pre-service teachers stated that they were knowledgeable about cultural diversity. Five pre-service teachers agreed that they were not knowledgeable about cultural diversity. Research suggests that when teachers have had the benefit of multicultural teacher education preparation, they are less likely to embrace a cultural deficit view (Irvin, 2003). Moreover, teachers who have learned culturally responsive pedagogy are more confident and believe they are effective in their instruction of diverse children (Pang and Sablan, 1998). Pre-service Teacher 1 (PST1) commented, "*Working in an impoverished inner city school will most likely require the teacher to know more about the students in his or her classroom.*" This type of school will have a higher minority rate, which creates an atmosphere that would make teachers knowledgeable about minority students. According to Sleeter (2001), "without training in multicultural education pre-service teachers will be lacking the knowledge to work with students in a diverse population."

#### IMPORTANCE OF MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION

All pre-service teachers were very positive about the importance of multicultural education. Pre-service teachers who were interviewed felt that multicultural education is important. Pre-service Teacher 1 (PST1) stated that: "Multicultural education is important because it addresses each student in the classroom. It is comparable to differentiation, which meets the needs of every learner in the classroom. Multicultural education not only addresses the educational background of the student, but is also a direct way to approach the learner at his or her comfort level, which may result in actual learning taking place. Not every culture embraces education in the same manner and as a teacher it is important to know this so one can prepare to relate content in a variety of ways."

## IMPLEMENTING MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION WITHIN THE CURRICULUM

Most pre-service teachers thought that multicultural education should be implemented within the curriculum. Pre-service Teacher 1 (PST1) commented that, Multicultural education should be implemented within the curriculum because students should be taught about the world around them, along with the core courses that are offered within every curriculum. This would alleviate the biases that could be created from students not learning about other cultures, and include cultures that could be presented in the classroom. Irvin and Armento (2001) provided specific examples for implementing multicultural education into planning language arts, mathematics, science, and social studies lessons for elementary and middle school students.

Creating learning goals and objectives that incorporate multicultural aspects such “Developing students’ ability to write persuasively about social justice concerns” (p. 56).

Using frequency matrix to ensure that the teacher includes a wide variety of ethnic groups in a wide variety of ways in curriculum materials and instructional activities.

Introducing different ethnic groups and their contributions on a rotating basis. Multicultural education is most successful when implemented as a school wide approach with reconstruction of not only curriculum but also organizational and institutional policy.

There has to be an abundant amount of resources that illustrate how cultures are different without bias being shown for any culture. Challenges and issues for implementing multicultural are:

- Curriculum orientation
- Pedagogy and resources
- Language development

The curriculum is the means by which learning outcomes will be achieved.

Multicultural education is not to be taught as a “stand-alone” subject; rather, it is to be infused throughout the curriculum (Banks, 1994). In terms of pedagogy and resources, some general considerations would be children’s books, images, songs, and other resources used in the classroom or playroom setting representing realistic linguistic, cultural, and social practices of the children.

## QUALITY OF DATA

The data were evaluated and steered with the greatest esteem for research. The data from the study placed the precedence in order of quantitative to qualitative. Through thorough data gathering and evaluating, sign of quality was possible. To determine the truthfulness of survey data, surveys were reexamined by the researchers and checked from the raw data and matched to the compiled surveys. No inaccuracies were found and the data was then coded for SPSS. Data was again tested for correctness by rereading the entry in SPSS. Data collection control for the interview of completing a preliminary draft of each of the written text. After each interview was transliterated in a draft, the recording was listened to a second time and the complete transcription was re-examined to guarantee verbatim correlation. After transcribing, each pre-service teacher was asked to verify that his or her own transcript was accurate (Creswell, 2007) as a means of member checking my findings for validation and quality



(Hatch, 2002). All participants accepted transcripts as written. Member checking, as defined by Merriam (2002), is usually employed in qualitative research to warrant validity.

## OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY

In this mixed method research study, results found that teachers were constantly looking for better materials to help them deal with the varying inhabitants in school cultures. Multicultural education training is a significant and germane topic to pre-service teachers. Multicultural education training would offer plenty of material that would be valuable to instructors of all tiers. This was verbalized during the interview process with the pre-service teachers.

The purpose of this descriptive, mixed method research study was to investigate the lack of multicultural preparation for pre-service teachers.

## INTERPRETATION OF THE FINDINGS

The research question of this mixed method study was answered through the survey and interview questionnaire data analysis. The information from the survey (n=76) supplied foundational data for the interviews and each section of the survey was examined by means of SPSS for descriptive statistics giving the mean, median, and mode of answers (central tendency), number of frequencies, and proportions-percentages. The data collected from the survey indicated that a bulk of the pre-service teachers attending the university revealed high appreciation of multicultural education and are supportive of the need for multicultural education beliefs in teacher preparedness to teach culturally diverse student population.

The pre-service teachers did not indicate any attitudes and or biases toward diversity. The only fears that were shared were that the pre-service teachers did not desire a multicultural education training that would furnish any exculpation for diverse scholars and eventually lower the prospects of what is being taught. Multicultural education is an additional possibility that can aid teachers in classroom; therefore, providing educational accomplishment for all pupils. Overwhelmingly, from the interview responses several of the pre-service teachers agreed that changes were necessary in higher educational institutional programs in terms of preparing pre-service teacher to teach culturally diverse students. Numerous pre-service teachers specified the need for more coursework on multicultural education, added field experiences, and workshops that addressed improving multicultural educational skills.

Based on the data analysis, a needs assessment for multicultural education resources should be established before multicultural education is enforced within the curriculum. Guskey (2003) stated that, “educators need time to intensify their discernment and cultivate new approaches to instruction” (p.1). All pre-service teachers connected to the topic at hand and felt that multicultural education could be beneficial. As pre-service teachers interacted during the interview, they expressed dissatisfaction of the lack of multicultural training offered by universities and colleges. The outcomes of this study show that multicultural training does have an effect on pre-service teacher’s attitudes toward multiculturalism and culturally diversity. Through institutional programs curricula and field experiences, pre-service teacher need to become more culturally aware and gain new views regarding pluralism (banks, 2001).

Throughout the country universities and colleges is making every effort to find successful systems to enhance the preparedness of pre-service teacher to teach in diverse classroom, therefore, the accountability of developing effectual multicultural education to train pre-service teachers rest with the educational institution program. It is imperative for teachers to construct classroom settings that are kind, caring, and culturally friendly for all students. Educators need to be empathetic of the cultural makeup of their classroom and embrace the cultural deviation in their students. Educational institutions can successfully train pre-service teachers to instruct in racially and linguistically diverse environment when the institution of higher education merges with schools and boroughs with diverse pupil populace and integrates this service learning into their course of study.

### IMPLICATION FOR SOCIAL CHANGE

This study was important for instructors, administrators, and higher educational institutions to increase the awareness of multicultural education for persons affected in teaching in a culturally diverse population. Supplying teachers with specialized training will help them feel added comfort with their skill to offer pupils with optimum learning opportunities that are comprehensive of multicultural conceptions and skills mostly in leading classroom dialogue about complex issues associated with race and racism.

### LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

According to Creswell (2003), the researcher should use different strategies to make sure of the quality and accuracy of the study. The limitations of the study consisted of the following:

- Participants completed surveys and interviews on a voluntary basis, hence the insights and practical knowledge were that of the pre-service educators who were willing to participate.
- The data gathered indicated their lack of evidence based knowledge and skills to teach students of culturally diverse backgrounds.

Another limitation was the lack of personal resources available to train pre-service teachers, and the lack of professional development and training. Understanding their own concerns and effectively coping with job stress, while increasing teaching effectiveness and job satisfaction are skills lacking among pre-service educators who are not equipped to educate students of multicultural backgrounds.

### RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

There were some recommendations for further study made. The following recommendations are noted:

- Conduct an investigation equating the attitudes of pre-service teachers in urban educational institutions with the attitudes of experience teachers in urban public school towards multicultural education.
- Observing pre-service teachers' temperaments toward multicultural education, in advance, throughout, and after training for diversity, might yield valuable understanding into pre-service teachers' prospective decisions about whether or not they feel assured in their ability to successfully present multicultural educational practices.

The investigators need to germinate sensitive tools to assess the inclinations of pre-service teachers toward problem surrounding diversity and their readiness to instruct culturally diverse pupil populations.

## CONCLUSION

This study conveyed an important understanding to multicultural education training. Discovering methods to develop the way we instruct is an unending procedure. If the given facts are inquiry based, have been proven to work, and discerned to fit the needs of all, then we as instructors must permit it to become a part of our normal custom. Being cognizant that the world is diverse and the scholars that we educate are likewise culturally diverse, as instructors we should try to make a change. Unlocking the teaching space to multicultural education would connect us to a better foundation for instructing the future. This research study was designed to investigate the lack of multicultural preparation for pre-service teachers. The research design for this study was a mixed methodology.

Overall, the research study furnished insight into the perceptions of pre-service teachers on their preparation to teach culturally diverse student populations. As stated by the pre-service teachers' responses, higher educational institution programs should provide pre-service teachers with the information, abilities, and temperaments needed to successfully educate all students irrespective of cultural upbringing. As educators, we need to offer an improved core curriculum that instills multicultural values within educators preparation programs that machinate pre-service teachers for culturally diverse pupils. The theoretical achievement of pupils in our nation's school rests profoundly on the attitudes and specialized preparation of teachers. Consequently, it is vital that educators recognize and appreciate the cultural diversity existing in classroom across the country in order to facilitate learning and raise educational accomplishment (Gorski, 2000).

The literature review focused on the various themes about multicultural education and teacher preparation that this study is built on. Moreover, the literature review described studies in detail, illustrating not just the data they have gathered, but also the methodology which they used. These methodologies used in the past studies concerned with multicultural education were considered in the building of the current study. The literature review emphasized the training for pre-service teacher, the literature review also emphasized the important need for multicultural education.

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# THE CLAIM OF U.S. EXCEPTIONALISM IN THE FACE OF ECONOMIC INEQUALITY

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*Abstract:* American exceptionalism has been debated often among scholars and policy makers. While some claim that the U.S. is both destined and entitled to play a distinct and positive role on the world stage, others question whether the doctrine of exceptionalism is still relevant to the U.S. in the face of growing economic inequality. This paper examines both historical developments and contemporary views of the exceptionalism with reference to the U.S.; and, revisits Stephen M. Walt's argument on the myth of American Exceptionalism. Additionally, we discuss strategies proposed by various scholars to address existing economic inequalities, with the hope that, if proper steps are taken, the nation may be back on the track of its exceptionalism status that it once cherished.

## INTRODUCTION

American exceptionalism is currently the subject of many books, scholarly articles, and popular publications. Though the statements supporting this concept have varied somewhat over the years in format, articulation and presentation, a central core of claims and doctrines remain intact: that is, the presumptions that American values, political and economic systems, and history remain unique, and superior to that of other nations; and, that the U.S. is both destined and entitled to play a distinct and positive role on the world stage (Walt 2011). Others have claimed that the U.S. is the greatest and most commendable nation on earth, and the leader and protector of the free and democratic worlds; and that therefore it must maintain a strong and an ever-ready military force (Restad 2015; Richard 2012). The hubris of such claims is mindful of the doctrines of former president Theodore Roosevelt, a war monger par excellence. Perhaps more Americans should read Edward Gibbon's classic work, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* that met the needs of many but was finally brought down with the great help of the rise of Christianity.

## SOME BRIEF HISTORICAL NOTES ON AMERICAN EXCEPTIONALISM

The idea that the United States has been singled out by God's providence to play a redemptive and regenerative role in human world-wide affairs has become one of the most frequently heard shibboleths of the hard right in the United States; though, it is hard to distinguish between those who believe it, and those who enunciate it as a political weapon (see Lewis 2011). And some scholars still absurdly maintain that fundamental Christian values remain a part of U.S. exceptionalism (Bradley 2011). Accordingly, the United States may act as an exemplary nation at times, or as a more regenerative country that is intervening in world affairs for the universal good at other times. Consciousness of an exemplary nation or land preceded the founding of the nation in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The New England puritans saw their migration to the new world as an enactment of the biblical Exodus; that is, a move to the "promised land." John Winthrop wrote that "We shall be as a shining city upon a hill; the eyes of all the people are upon us." Another early example of this belief is a quote from the Federalist Papers (in 1788), wherein Alexander Hamilton describes the American political experiment as one of universal relevance for the future of all people. He said, "It seems to have been reserved to the people of this country to decide, by their conduct and example, the important question, whether societies of men are really capable or not, of establishing good government from reflection and choice, or whether they are forever destined to

depend, for their political constitutions, on accident and force” (Bailey 2012:18). The revolutionary generation saw the Revolutionary War as a world event.

Later on, Abraham Lincoln proclaimed that those who died in the battle at Gettysburg gave their lives so that “government of the people, by the people, and for the people shall not perish from the earth” (Prothero 2013, Para 7). In the twentieth century many Americans came to think of themselves as a more regenerative nation rather than an exemplary one. On April 2, 1917, when President Woodrow Wilson asked the U.S. Congress to declare war on Germany, he stated: “We are glad to fight this war for the ultimate peace of the world, and for the liberation of the people...” President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, (arguably the most democratic president the U.S. ever, had with the help of his Vice President Henry A. Wallace) told the U.S. Congress on July 6, 1942, when the U.S. entered World War II: “Our objectives are clear, establishing and securing the freedom of speech and religion, and the removal of fear and want—everywhere in the world” (Rosenbaum and Brinkley 2003:120).

William Graham Sumner, an eminent professor of sociology at Yale University delivered a speech in 1899 entitled *The Conquest of the United States by Spain*, that argued against U.S. expansion, imperialism, and war—all he said were against the best traditions, principles, and interests of the American people; and, that a war would plunge us into a network of difficult problems and political perils, that we might have avoided; and, which offers us no corresponding advantage in return (Sumner 1911:326). Richard Gamble noted that Sumner feared the then so-called “new exceptionalism”—the belief that Americans were somehow secure from changing circumstances, immune to limits on power and resources, and exempt from the impact of war and empire that had seduced the public into believing that their prosperity, liberty, and security were inevitable blessings accruing to a special people, rather than to the fragile products of abundant land, a small population, and benign neighbors. Once these circumstances changed, America would discover that liberty and democracy required hard work to sustain” (Gamble 2012: Para 21).

The George W. Bush administration was marked by U.S. military invasions into several countries; war in Iraq and nation building—all in so-called noble causes. Since then the U.S. has engaged in military invasions of Afghanistan, Libya, Pakistan, Syria, and Yemen at the costs of millions of lives, and heavy costs of millions of dollars in defense spending—that could have been spent on more worthy needs. Bush’s major difficulties began with the Homeland Security Act passed during his first term in office in response to the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks on U.S. soil, that denoted the de-territorializing of U.S. citizens; and, the global extension of U.S. imperialism whether in military, economic, or political terms; thereby challenging the ideology of American exceptionalism (Meinel 2014).

#### ADDITIONAL EARLY HISTORICAL NOTES

So-called democracy did not come to America on the Mayflower. While New Englanders were governed by a white clerical oligarchy the middle and southern colonies were ruled by white landowning settlers and plantation owners (many of whom owned African American slaves). Everywhere it was generally accepted that elites should rule, and that common folk should defer to their betters especially in governmental affairs. This acquiescence prevailed in the main until the two presidential “spoils’ system”

terms of Andrew Jackson (1829–37); that is, despite the July 4, 1776 Declaration of Independence, the adoption of the U.S. Constitution in 1787, and the passage of the Bill of Rights in 1793. All of these democratic documents were applied to whites, but not to African Americans or to U.S. Indians/Native Americans (Guyatt 2016; Tocqueville 2002). However, the absence in the new world of feudal institutions, a hereditary class system and a dynamic frontier provided a partial leveling effect that has been overemphasized.

Despite some leveling forces, Andrew Jackson’s spoils system did not promote any individual, social class, or racial democracy. He distrusted the Eastern U.S. liberal elites; promoted a tyranny of majority rule; maintained a strong sense of white identity for himself and others; expressed and demonstrated a violent policy toward other races than whites; assured an air of superiority as a slave owner, Indian fighter, slaughterer, and remover of Native Americans (Cha 2015). Even Alexis de Tocqueville, who studied some forms of democracy in America from 1871–1932 noted the undemocratic divisions of the U.S. population into three races (whites, Indians/native Americans and blacks) and the problems thereto that have existed in many ways to the present day. He even suggested the miscegenation of whites and blacks as a plausible solution to black-white racial problems, a very radical view at that time (see Guyatt 2016).

Currently, American exceptionalism has become an article of faith that must be accepted and promulgated by U.S. politicians, especially those running for the presidency. For example, Hillary Clinton in several of her political speeches during the last presidential nomination process enunciated statements such as: “Most of all, Americans are indispensable and exceptional because of our values. So let us never stop claiming good and being great. Let’s keep America exceptional.” Barak Obama was chided by many for making the following response to a question at the 2009 G-20 summit press conference: “I believe in American Exceptionalism just as I suspect that the Brits believe in British Exceptionalism, and the Greeks believe in Greek Exceptionalism” (Bigelow 2012: Para 10).

Donald Trump, a billionaire, speaks of “Making the U.S. great again” though he has picked a cabinet of right wing billionaires and millionaires; has announced an aggressive nationalistic policy wherein billions of dollars must be spent on national defense, the military; and proclaimed an extensive and questionable immigration ethnic curtailment plan; while at the same time calling for drastically reducing the taxes and deregulating corporate restrictions to benefit the members of the richest capitalistic class (top 1 percent of the U.S. population)—a trickle down economic policy that has been tried often before and consistently failed. And where does the money come from to support his erratic undemocratic plans while at the same time providing help for the working class? The song and dance man is not a magician (according to many); and, he will probably be called out soon as just another rash, rich champion of the superrich (see Rapoport, Abramowitz, and Stone 2016).

One difficult and complex problem facing those who wish to examine the presence and extent of U.S. exceptionalism, as Janda et al. (2012) and Reich (2015) point out, is that procedural political democracy has been spelled out in the U.S. legal system; that is, universal participation; political equality; majority rule; representative democracy; and, governmental responses to public opinion—all under the rule of law. However, there is no U.S. official definition of, or call for any kind of, or control of economic equality; though, in fact much economic inequality has always existed in the U.S.; and

moreover, is now increasing at a more rapid rate than in the past (see Grusky and Hill 2018). The following analysis attempts to shed some light on America's so-called exceptionalism and the need of a more equalized economic society.

### SOME ILLUSTRATIVE CONTEMPORARY VIEWS

A review of the research literature during the past twenty years on American exceptionalism discloses that authors on this subject became interested in this topic during the mid-twentieth Century as a means of explaining just why socialism had not caught on in the U.S. as it had in other countries. Perhaps fewer Bernie Sanders (a senator from Vermont) were around then as now; and, perhaps fewer astute economists were about to note the rapid increase in U.S. economic inequality. And as Bradley Lewis (2011) has pointed out, current writers on U.S. exceptionalism vary on the definition of this slippery topic. These authors agree with Lewis from their review of the literature on this subject, wherein they find a *mélange* of views expressed by various writers that could be placed roughly in two different but confusing camps: that is, (1) views that have championed U.S. exceptionalism while at the same time debunking it; and, (2) views that debunk the concept in an analytic and reasonable fashion. Some illustrative views on this contradictory subject follow.

James Q. Wilson, a long-term political scientist at UCLA and Harvard University, has expressed some views debunking U.S. exceptionalism while at the same time accepting and praising others. He first has noted that many U.S. scholars find that the U.S. is in decline; that is, in comparison with other rich nations in regards to: the support and provision of public education; universal governmental health care; voter participation; provision of a strong labor movement. He also notes that the U.S. is behind other western nations in adequate welfare and unemployment services; is the only rich country without a government universal health care system; has fewer governmental employees than many other countries; has no strong socialist party; and sadly, has an acceptable higher crime and incarceration rates; that is, as compared to other rich countries. Despite these negative factors, Wilson suggests that certain U.S. exceptional characteristics outweigh them. For example, he claims that: (1) the U.S. has a higher standard of living than has other rich countries; (2) has a more liberal enlightened constitution; (3) has a superior political system and political culture than other nations, and has a unique Bill of Rights; (4) has lower tax rates than other rich countries; and, (5) the U.S. is the leading country for the destination of many immigrants—who are well integrated and intermarried into the U.S. general population (see also Schuck 2016).

We tend to disagree with 2, 3, and 5 above. Over the years of our teaching careers in the U.S. from coast to coast, we observed that most white citizens who were not reared in central big cities like New York, Chicago, and Los Angeles prefer that only a limited number of immigrants should be accepted by the U.S.; and that most of these should be preferably whites from western European countries; and that marriage is highly preferable among couples of the same white "race." Perhaps more people including some scholars should take a closer look at the apparent whites (and their gender) among the members of the U.S. Congress and their staff. Additionally, rich people should pay their fair share of taxes.



Further, the claimed so-called “glad hands” for U.S. immigrants reminds one of these authors of Dr. O.E. Baker (one of his graduate school population professors years ago, who also was employed as a U.S. population expert in some U.S. government agency) who lectured that the physical resources of the world were limited; were not inexhaustible; and that eventually the overflow of hungry people in overcrowded countries wherein the physical resources were depleted would eventually migrate peacefully or violently into less crowded countries that afforded more ample physical and social resources. The questions are: If and when should rich countries with ample resources let in immigrants? If so, what kind of immigrants should they be? Immigration is a complicated economic, political, geographical, and complex issue that all rich nations face. Needless to say, there will always be plenty of refugees at hand from war torn and poor countries to be taken care of—where should they be taken care of? The claims that the U.S. has superior political and economic systems and superior political cultures are highly questionable. Finally, other countries should check out their own political and economic systems and change them if necessary—and not to imitate those in the U.S.

Noam Chomsky (2016), a world-renowned political dissident and professor emeritus at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, points out that the subject of American exceptionalism is a mixed bag for many U.S. scholars and politicians, including himself. First he says that the U.S., unlike other countries, is defined by a set of universal, political, and economic values (namely—liberty; democracy; equality; private property and markets); and, that the U.S. has a transcendent purpose to establish equality and freedom in the U.S. as well as in the rest of the world (just like that in the U.S.). Others have disagreed. On the negative side, he observes that a recent international poll by WIN Gallup has found that the U.S. ranks as: (1) the leading mistrusting country in the world for world peace; (2) that the U.S. claim of exceptionalism has been negated by the most respected scholars in England; (3) that the U.S. has pushed the English out as the leader of the world and tried to replace her; (4) that the U.S. has rejected plausible decisions of the World Court; (5) that the U.S. has not accepted the jurisdiction of the International Criminal Court; (6) that the U.S. invaded Iraq and made war; (7) that the U.S. has rejected several plausible decisions of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights; (8) that the U.S. has acted at times as a rogue state, and feels free to resort to force at will in violation of international law; (9) that the U.S. has always acted harshly toward Cuba; and, has taken on isolationist actions toward this country—and the negative list goes on according to him and some other unnamed scholars. Yet, Chomsky concludes brashly that the leaders of the World should adopt as guidelines the necessary work to make the claimed model of U.S. exceptionalism come true, especially in its foreign policy measures (Chomsky 2016). We strongly disagree with this last point because there is no perfect democracy, so why try to make one?

James A. Holifield, professor of political science and director of the Tower Center at Southern Methodist University, declared in his article entitled *Debunking American and Rescuing Liberalism* (2015) that we rescue liberalism from the right and make the slogans of U.S. Exceptionalism come true (though he does not point out how this can be done). In so doing he praises the U.S. Civil Rights Movement and its shift in racial immigration policy. Again, why try to create a utopia? The world’s famous philosophers have failed to envision a perfect utopia, though some claim that George Hagel and Karl Marx come close.

## THE MYTHS OF AMERICAN EXCEPTIONALISM

Stephen M. Walt, professor of international affairs at Harvard University's Kennedy School of Government, describes and analyzes American Exceptionalism within a historical (up to 2011) cultural mythological format that these authors agree with and adopt herein; that is as paraphrased, authenticated, and supported with some of their own historical and current supporting data. Walt explains how Americans by focusing on their supposedly exceptional qualities have blinded themselves to the ways they are a lot like everyone else (meaning other great powers):

### MYTH 1

*There is Something Exceptional About "American Exceptionalism";* that is, different from that of other powers; and that these differences have required its leaders to take on special burdens. However, most other great powers have mistakenly (at times) considered themselves special and superior to others. Thinking you are special among many nations is the norm, not the exception. Many great powers have believed that they were advancing some greater good in the world when they imposed their policies on others. The British have enunciated the "white man's burden" while the French colonialists at one time invoked la mission civilisatrice to justify their empire. Portugal did likewise. Rome was Rome without comparison, so said the Romans. Many officials of the Soviet Union believed they were leading the world to a socialist utopia; and Hagel and Karl Marx (despite some of their plausible ideas) would have agreed. There are no fixed economic laws and no such thing as scientific socialism (Walt 2011). Still some Americans claim a special U.S. providence. President Obama was right when he reminded all that all countries praise their own political qualities. So again the U.S. claim to superiority is the norm, but not the exception.

### MYTH 2:

*The United States Behaves Better Than Other Nations Do.* This is negated by the fact that the U.S. has been one of the most expansionist countries in modern history. Beginning as 13 small colonies it extended itself across North America, sieging by military force Texas, Arizona, New Mexico and California from Mexico in 1846; and, while along the way eliminating most of the native population; and, confining its survivors on impoverished Indian reservations. Soon after 1619, America's African Americans were enslaved, and have been treated differently and mistreated since; that is, as race relations in the U.S. clearly demonstrate. By the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century the U.S. had pushed Britain out of the Pacific northwest and consolidated its hegemony over the western Hemisphere. By the 1880s, the U.S. had created a continental white settlers empire. Following the Cuban revolution with Spain, the U.S. needlessly declared war on Spain; and, at her defeat in 1898 gained control over five island territories with over 11 million inhabitants including the Philippines and the Hawaiian archipelagoes as well as Guam, Cuba, and Puerto Rico. The suppression of Filipino freedom fighters later on by the U.S. military and American sugar and fruit companies following their rebellings led to a messy civil war. The Platt Amendment set the terms of Cuban independence in what would become a common pattern of Proxy Empire; that is, "formal intendere rule" by those who cooperated with American business men; that is, with military intervention if necessary. This Plattismo as Latin Americans called it became the

characteristic structure of “American empire” throughout the western Hemisphere (see Bacevich 2002; Parkinson 2016; Kinzer 2017).

The grab of the Panama Canal Zone by force and the later construction of the Panama Canal; and, its operation is another example of U.S. empire building by territory grabs with military force. Over time, the American colonists, or later the U.S. has engaged in many wars; e.g., the French and India wars of 1689–97 and the French and Indian War, 1754–63 that pushed the French out of America and made for American territorial increase later on; the Revolutionary War, 1775–83; War of 1812–14; Mexican American War, 1846–48; Civil War, 1861–65; World War I, 1914–18; World War II, 1941–45; Vietnam War, 1957–75; Korean War, 1950–53; the Iraq war and the invasions of Libya, Afghanistan, Yemen, and Syria; nation buildings and terrorists killings, and incarcerations under the George W. Bush and later U.S. administrations. The behavior of the U.S. in these conflicts has been no more humane than that of its adversaries. Steven Weinberg (2003) points out that the U.S. backed the wrong side (the rich landowners) in the contra war in Nicaragua, wherein 30,000 Nicaraguans were killed; and, that currently U.S. drones and Special Forces are killing suspected terrorists and innocent civilians in at least five different countries.

In brief, U.S. leaders have done what they thought they had to do just as what other national leaders have done elsewhere when faced with what they have perceived as destructive foreign dangers; and have paid little attention to moral principles in so doing. George W. Bush administration’s water boardings is another case in point here among many others, along with the incarcerations without trial at Gitmo. The mass bombing of German cities toward the near–end of World War II is still another example, wherein thousands of German civilians were killed. Many Germans still hold these mass bombings against the U.S. because they claim they were unnecessary and brutal; that is, the war had already been lost according to them (These bitter feelings are verified by one of the authors who lived in Germany immediately after World War II and at other brief times since). So, the claim that the U.S. is uniquely virtuous may be comforting to many Americans, but it is simply not true.

Further, and very importantly, white Americans, frequently called Anglo Americans, have never treated the so-called U.S. people of color; e.g., African Americans, Hispanics, Native Americans, Asian Indians, Filipinos, Orientals (e.g., Chinese, Japanese, and Vietnamese), Puerto Ricans, Haitians, Cubans, Central Americans, and African immigrants as equals (Wills 2003, 2005; Gordon-Reed and Onuf 2016; Guyatt 2016; Parkinson 2016).

MYTH 3:

*America’s Success is Due to its Special Genius.* Americans tend to attribute their rise to world power as a direct result of the brilliant political insights of their founding fathers; their special views on freedom; the virtue of the unique and sacred U.S. Constitution; the priority of individual liberty; the creativity and hard work of its people, etc. It is true that many immigrants have come to the U.S. in droves in search of economic opportunity; to escape from their despotic political leaders, poverty or war, etc.; and that U.S. scientific and technological achievements and economic opportunity are deserving of praise. However, as a new nation the U.S. was lavishly endowed with rich natural resources; traversed by large navigable rivers; founded far from competing great powers; populated with a dispersed in-advanced native population that was susceptible to European diseases; and a population without fire

arms for its defense. Additionally, the European great powers were at war during the new republic's early history which facilitated its expansion across the continent. Therefore, America's success as a nation owed more to good fortune than to any claimed (personage) special genius or Manifest Destiny (a self-fulfilling prophecy) which claimed that "providence" caused the westward advance of the colonists from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean (and the possession of all of this territory within these boundaries). The Louisiana Purchase was bought by Thomas Jefferson and the French and Indian wars were won primarily by England. And as to the insightful political views of the American founding fathers, they were far from original. In fact, they originated with the empiricists philosophers of the British Isles: John Locke, George Berkeley, and David Hume, along with the political views and influences of the Frenchman Voltaire, Charles Montesquieu, and Jean-Jacques Rousseau. Still further legal scholars have found that American constitutionalism is neither unique nor sacred; that is, that the U.S. Constitution as well as other official U.S. documents in format and content are quite similar to that of other such official documents as found in the historic records of some other nations (see Versteeg and Zackin 2014); and, England's Magna Carta of 1215 A.D.

#### MYTH 4:

*The U.S. is Responsible for Most of the Good in the World.* The specious claims for this myth follow: The provision of a superior democratic political system; positive and special international development; the spread and promotion of democracy and freedom throughout the world; the development of a U.S. style world order in an open economic system; free trade; contributions to peace and human rights; and ethnic equality (see Walt 2011). Some of these claims may be in part true; but, the claim that all good things come from Washington, D.C. and the rest of the U.S. overstates U.S. contributions to the world by a wide margin. One of the authors lived in D.C. for 12 years and when he arrived there, he was told, "If you want a friend here, buy a dog!" One of the first things he found out about the U.S. government was its gridlocks. Moreover, he found that the claim of peace, human rights, and ethnic equality in Washington, D.C. and the rest of the U.S. was a very bad joke. Many southerners think that Washington, D.C. is one of the most racially segregated cities in the U.S.

#### MYTH 5:

*God is on Our Side.* This absurd metaphysical claim is counterproductive and mindful of the same hubris expressed by Ancient Athens, Napoleonic France, imperial Japan, and some other countries that have faced catastrophic results from their hegemonic endeavors. Despite America's many material successes, it has encountered many dire problems and setbacks during the end of the twentieth century; and according to many scholars, it is now facing additional problems in the first quarter of the twenty-first century. For example, some authors note that the U.S. has been in decline since the Vietnam War (1957–75), that is, in comparison with other wealthy nations; e.g., the failure of its unique and unsuccessful employee and private insurance company health care system; increase in public school dropouts; lower high school graduates; the dearth of national spending on public education; poor salaries for public school teachers; lower percent of its gross domestic product spent on infrastructure in comparison with that of many other countries; ever-increasing college and university tuition fees and other costs; high student debt that permits only the rich students to enroll in its prestigious universities; the error of spending more on prisons than on their universities; that the U.S. furnishes less upward

economic mobility than that found in many European Countries; has more governmental gridlock than many European countries; that the U.S. is in the midst of relinquishing its pre-eminence on many levels (that is, in comparison with other rich nations); that the U.S. population has been overexposed to so-called “American exceptionalism” via the movies, cartoons, comics, the media and other entities for all their lives; that the majority of the people in the U.S. won’t admit that the U.S. has defects like every other country in the world. This last listed collective denial forces politicians to lie should they expect to be elected. Finally, politicians in the two major different U.S. political parties degrade one another and the other’s constituents rather than cooperating to fix the country’s problems (Krugman 2008; Noah 2012; Mathews 2017; Rachman 2017).

In his recent book *Our Revolution: A Future to Believe In*, Bernie Sanders, one Democratic presidential candidate in 2016, agrees with much of what Krugman (2008) and Noah (2012) have found, while also noting that in 2008 the United States suffered its worst economic downturn since the U.S. Great Depression (1929–41). According to many economic experts, this horrific recession was precipitated by the passage of legislation enacted during Bill Clinton’s administration that deregulated Wall Street, and promoted legislation that rendered large financial and tax interests to the richest capitalistic class in the U.S. Sanders states in his recent book that among other things, money dominates and intervenes in everything that goes on in the U.S. Congress; and that Wall Street, the pharmaceutical industry, the coal and oil companies, agribusiness, and the rest of Corporate America spend billions annually on lobbying and other governmental pressures that support the rich. In Washington, he says, you get what you pay for, and that the rich and powerful are well attended to; though the pain of working-class families is ignored.

One former U.S. president, Jimmy Carter, during his re-election “malaise speech” of 1980 told the truth about the bad economic conditions existing in the U.S. during his four years as president; and, he lectured to the people in this speech about some structural changes that had to be made in the U.S. political and economic systems. Thereby he carried only four states one election year later. Obviously, the U.S. people did not want to hear about the awful economic and political situation in the U.S., then but only to hear about things that supported their sickness; that is, U.S. exceptionalism.

Timothy Noah (2012), a prominent U.S. journalist, documents and analyzes the economic problems that fester and receive support from the rich and their backers in his book the *Great Divergence: America’s Growing Inequality Crisis and What We Can Do About It*; that is, the extreme level and growth rate of inequality in income and wealth in the U.S. population; that is, as compared with that of most of the organizations for Economic Cooperation and Developed Countries (the leading world democracies). He points out that the U.S. has dropped to 29<sup>th</sup> place (just above Mexico) when one calculates the ratio of median income to the highest income below the threshold for the bottom 10 percent; and that when one calculates the percentage of national income that has gone to the top 10 percent, the U.S. is the champion among other western countries. The measured income distribution in the U.S. is more unequal than that of any other OECD nation; and that as of 2007 the American richest 1 percent possessed nearly 24 percent of the nation's pretax income. Today annual income in the U.S. is more unequal than in Germany, France, and the United Kingdom. Also, he finds that income heritability is greater and economic mobility upward is lower in the U.S. than in Denmark, Australia,

Norway, Finland, Canada, Sweden, Germany, Spain, France, and Italy. He also finds that most of the western European countries provide more adequate health care to its people and a greater economic safety net for the poor and unemployed than does the U.S. In brief, the American Dream is really a fictitious wish, and so is the claim of U.S. exceptionalism. According to Noah, the upper class is growing smaller and much richer, the middle class is getting much smaller and poorer, and the lower class (where African Americans and working-class whites are highly concentrated) is getting much larger and poorer. The African American middle class members as well as the white middle class members are decreasing; and, the very large national lower class is gaining in numbers and getting even poorer—and African Americans are more segregated in slum areas than ever before along with an increase in single motherhood and other problems of family life in slum areas.

The Republican party's attempts with success to reduce the size and power of all welfare programs; to apply the infamous and erroneous trickle down and supply side theory; to reduce many necessary governmental regulations on corporate and business enterprises; to reduce the percentage of income taxes on the rich; to reduce taxes on big business and corporate enterprises and activities; to reduce all property taxes of the rich, including capital gains; to minimize the power of labor unions as well as their membership. All of this has created a subclass of very rich men along with their money managers, lobbyists, and "conservative" political party members, who serve them in an "unequal government." Further, this subclass blocks (in the House of Representatives and Senate) any federal or state programs that benefit the poor and middle class; and backs those government programs that support the rich. Eighty-one percent of the U.S. stocks are owned by the top 10 percent of the U.S. population. Is this inequality indicative of a democracy?

MYTH 6:

*America has produced (birthed) a majority of the World's most distinguished people in the crucial fields of human cultural knowledge, such as World Literature, World History, Philosophy, Religion, Fine Arts, Geography, Economics, Physical Science, Mathematics, Medicine, etc.* This is an extension of Professor Walt's exceptionalism list of myths. Many historical sources suggest that it is a farcical and erroneous claim. For example, Hirsch, Kett, and Trefil (2002) suggest that Eastern religious philosophy (Hinduism and Buddhism) influenced the views of Western philosophers like Immanuel Kant (1724–1804), Arthur Schopenhauer (1788–1840), and Jurgen Habermas (1929–). None of these were born in the U.S., but in Germany. And, many of the distinguished scholars who claim U.S. citizenship are foreign-born. Therefore, the myth that America birthed a majority of the world's brilliant scholars is erroneous.

## WHAT TO DO PROPOSALS

Noah (2012) recommends the following illustrative remedies to reduce the ever-expanding income inequality in the U.S.: an increase in the federal income tax rates including dividends and capital gains) of those earning \$250,000 or more a year; eliminating shelter schemes for the rich; deduction of tax credits that enrich the already rich; eliminating the U.S. regressive FICA payroll tax; fattening government payrolls that benefit the poor and middle class; universalizing government funded preschool; imposing price controls on colleges and universities (e.g., tuition and other costs); regulating wall street; breaking up big banks ownership; electing Democratic presidents; reviving the labor union

movement; and, restricting money transfers by the rich to foreign bank accounts to evade taxes; and, importing more skilled labor. In brief, Noah says “we must soak the rich.”

Paul Krugman (2008) and Joseph E. Stiglitz (2012), two Nobel laureate economists support Noah’s economic analysis. Additionally, Stiglitz proposes that the U.S. Government block the American financial brokers from politically engineering market advantages (e.g., rent seeking); block economic returns that are derived via U.S. government’s pending giveaways to big businesses without effective regulations; and, reducing the influence that corporations and the wealthy have over every aspect of American governance for the rich. He also insists that the huge growing income divide between the richest 1 percent and the other 99 percent of the population is the defining characteristic of a thoroughly sick U.S. economy. Further, he points out that though we are the richest nation in the world, yet we are heavily in debt; that our poverty levels are higher than those in the European countries; that the U.S. economic model is bloated and sick; and, that the American people spend for more on health care than those of other countries (while leaving millions uninsured). He also suggests greater federal spending to state and local governments for their public welfare needs (health and economic); increasing and enforcing the number of corporate regulations; stopping the existing deregulation of corporations’ financial markets; stopping “rent seeking”; blocking the lobbying power of powerful CEOs and financial executives over the U.S. Congress; regulating financial contributions to those running for election to congress; stopping the gridlock and filibustering in congress; eliminating the federal subsidies and tax breaks for the oil and gas companies, pharmaceutical companies, and other business entrepreneurs of the super-rich; inaugurating severe tax increases on property and income taxes (including capital gains) for those in the top income brackets; inaugurating stiffer and more effective anti-trust laws; helping increase the number, power, and membership of labor unions; reducing the number and power of big money donors to members of congress; increasing income federal funds for the unemployed, Medicare, Medicaid, and welfare funds for the poor; taxing heavily the overseas property and bank accounts of the rich corporations. He also calls for changes in the U.S. economic system that will improve the living conditions of the poor who live in segregated slums; and, who must live on declining incomes in a country with rising debt and an ageing population. Richard Rothstein (2004) confirms Stiglitz’s position that education and income gaps between African American and white families is widening too fast and must be stopped.

## DISCUSSION

According to the federal census bureau’s 2015 supplemental poverty measure (OSPM) 14.3 percent of Americans lived below the U.S. official poverty line in 2015; however, the census bureau’s estimates regarding poverty are too low, and tell us little about the growing number of people whose incomes are below the poverty line (that is as calculated by some economics researchers in this area of study). For example, the authors Jonathan Morduch, a professor at New York University, and Rachel Schneider, a Senior Officer at the Center for Financial Services Innovation found in their research of U.S. households in 2012–2013 that about one-fourth of their households under study had incomes below the SPM line; and that another one-third were near poor. For these authors, the growing poverty in the U.S. is due in large part to the decline of manufacturing in the U.S. which once provided well-paid, often

unionized jobs for many Americans that they no longer possess. One-third of Americans say they are just “getting by” (see Morduch and Schneider 2017; Madrick 2017).

Carol Graham, a professor at the University of Maryland and a fellow at the Brookings Institution, in his book *Happiness for All: Unequal Hopes and Lives in Pursuit of the American Dream*, presents recent research findings on the negative psychological consequences of low and stagnating incomes, and outright poverty that have affected adults and their children; e.g., stress and strain; the loss of hope for upward mobility; a belief that hard work and education will not pave the way to success; feelings that the economy and social structure favor the rich; that the poor are looked down upon; that the so-called American dream is farce; and, that they are segregated in an uncaring world as low-class nothing people. Graham argues that economic growth does not mean reduced poverty. Distribution of wealth and income are the problem. She calls for more generous governmental social and economic programs for the poor; and that “without hope and faith in the future many individuals will fail to take up incentives and interventions even in instances where policy changes make them available” (Madrick 2017: 50). Finally, Graham notes that Donald Trump’s proposed budget would slash a total of \$54 billion from social programs in spending and continuing wars; that is, neglecting the poor, which is now a presidential priority (Graham 2017; Madrick 2017).

Most U.S. politicians and the public at large seem to ignore the U.S. inequality problem examined above; or, attribute it to clashes between the two dominant U.S. political parties; or, consider it a normal condition; or, accept it as a problem too hard to solve, (so live with it) because there has always been the rich and the poor. Some say there was a mass migration from the Republican to the Democratic party, beginning in the 1950s. The leaders in each party consist of well-off along with professionals such as doctors, lawyers, the clergy, architects, engineers, economists, international developers, political scientists, corporate money managers and planners, computer programmers, aerospace designers, elite university professors, media intellectuals, and professional politicians. Many of these leaders think of themselves as superior, meritocratic, virtuous, credential deserving, and politically adept people. Actually, they comprise a social and economic hierarchy, many of whom profess some anti-working-class views; that is, a good society (to them) should honor and reward educational excellence and economic success; that social class lines should be preserved; and, that what is best for them is also best for the rest of society, because they know how to govern. Some of these elites are limousine liberals, conservatives, or in-betweens, who argue that the kinds of market-oriented policies like free trade and other forms of deregulations are in tune with the inevitable modernizing and globalizing forces. Though at the same time they are attuned to (or pretend to be attuned to) such popular issues as: women’s rights; gender issues; gender-neutral bathrooms; climate change (a serious matter); racial justice; sexual gender freedom; environmentalism; cultural tolerance; human rights abroad; abortion rights; gun possessions; and, the promotion of higher education.

Moreover, members of the general population of the U.S. along with the rich do not seem to be concerned with specific working-class issues like: a higher minimum wage; labor union membership and financial support; universal governmental health care; tax reform issues for the poor but not the rich; more economic equality; the increasing rate of inequality in U.S. annual incomes and wealth; the unfair political and economic power of those in the top one percent bracket of income and wealth; the need of



the redistribution of U.S. wealth; the stricter regulation of wall street; the breakup of big banks; the poor working conditions and low wages of the blue-collar working class; the need of free college and university education; the need of greater governmental economic assistance to lower-class members (especially African Americans who live in slum neighborhoods), the need of a strong democratic socialist party (see also Frank 2016; Fraser 2016; Oppenheimer 2016).

## CONCLUSION

In sum, neither of the two dominant U.S. political parties seem to be very much interested in the serious economic inequality problem in the U.S.; and, much too busy with gridlocking; fighting; re-elections; and, the grabbing and keeping political power and control. Perhaps we should examine more closely some of the European Scandinavian countries' welfare state economic and political structural systems; and, consider some of the remedies suggested by Timothy Noah and the economists noted above. Without peaceful structural changes, there is a great likelihood of such change through and by violence. Certainly the U.S. has no claim to an exceptional economic or political system; that is, in any positive equalitarian way.

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# ADULTS' AND MOTHERS' PERCEIVED LEVELS OF CARE: ADOLESCENT DAUGHTERS' SEXUAL BEHAVIOR

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*Abstract:* This cross-sectional, but secondary data analysis study explores the interrelationship(s) amongst “Levels of Care–Adults and Mothers–and Sexual Behavior/Sexuality Among Adolescents. The participants for this study were selected from The National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent to Adult Health (NLSA AH)—(Add Health), 1994–2008 [Public Use] longitudinal study of a nationally representative sample of adolescents in grades 7–12 in the United States during the 1994–1995 school years. The study variables (“Adults care About You” “Does Your Mother Care About You” and Sexual Behavior) were identified in the NLSA AH) data set. Descriptive statistics were used to describe the socio-demographic, independent and dependent variables to characterize the participants in the study. Analysis of Variances (ANOVA) was used to analyze the relationships among the study variables. Significant (statistical and practical) relationships were found between/among “Adults Care About You,” “Does Your Mother Cares About You” and Sexual Behavior/Sexuality among adolescents. Adolescents’ tend to have fewer sexual partners if they perceive that their mothers and adults care about them. The findings of this study could construct or deconstruct society’ definition of a “fully” functional family, the role or impact of mothers and other adults on adolescent daughters sexual behaviors, hence additional studies that explore functional and pragmatic conceptualization, operationalization and practical significance of “fully functional family” is required.

## INTRODUCTION

The influence of a mother’s care on her daughter has been documented and told in various forms, by people, and illustrated in multiple ways (Piderit, 2012). Additionally, an adult’s care has been become a “symbolic adage” in the phrase “it takes a village to raise a child”—implying the collective efforts of all adults are needed to positively influence the desired “proper” behavior of a child. Even more specific, is the “biblical” desire for mothers and adults to influence the sexual behaviors of adolescent daughters positively (Roughgarden, 2013).

The issue of maternal and adult influences on adolescent sexual behavior and the chronological age of sexual independence from such authorities are imperative but are to be normalized or determined (Elliot, 2012; Dank, 2011), because of society’s acceptance of a more social, political, and personal liberal ideology or more appropriate practices (Kelly, 2012). Spirituality and religiosity are “running a distant last” to “forward-thinking” push of liberalism regarding sexuality; embolden and evidence by the recent Supreme Court decision on same-sex marriage (Best & Bogle, 2014). Hence, the confluence of parental influence, adult influence, and sexuality is a delicate juncture.

Perplexing in that adolescent daughters and mothers tend to diverge on ideas about sexuality, relationships, and at what age womanhood starts (Erikson 1968). At this juncture of mothers and daughters’ interaction, and communication dissonance appears to be a norm, and daughter has perceived maternal supervision as intrusive and non-caring (Seden, 2008). Most often, the communication dissonance is primarily regarding issues of daughters’ sexual behaviors and its impact on “everything

else,” such as academic, family interrelationships, and other expected normative adolescence developmental activities (Riley, McKevitt, Shriver, & Allen, 2011)

## SELECTED LITERATURE

Recently, there has been increased theoretical and practical recognition that health-related behaviors, such as biopsychosocial, sexual, physical well-being—among adolescences were influenced by more immediate social and environmental factors, such as family members, adults, peers, schools, and communities. (Bell, 2013; Jeffrey, McCorkindale & Parson, 2014). Social context characteristics, such as parental models and encouragement for physical activity, family closeness, and parental support and warmth, have been shown to be associated with greater participation in the exercise of appropriate social behavior among adolescents. Appropriate social behavior in turn usually translates into high self-esteem and therefore seemingly healthier sexual behaviors (Cowell & Marks, 1997; DiLorenzo, StuckyRopp, Vander Wal, & Gotham, 1998; Field, Diego, & Sanders, 2001; Sallis, Prochaska, & Taylor, 2000).

One would expect that daughters’ normative development – including sexual behaviors - are guided by their mothers’ positive psycho-social behavioral influences (Husain, 2011). However, not all mothers positively influence their daughters, sexually, and otherwise. In some instances, various socio-demographic or diverse groups (Shapiro, Prinz, & Sanders, 2008) do not share the societal perception of “good or healthy” sexual behaviors. For example, the liberation of our society has “moved or grayed” the definition of various social constructs/concepts, such as marriage, sex/gender, sexual preference, and even what is considered sex activities or intimate interactions (Booker, 2012).

The confluence of the age of perceived womanhood, gender, sexual liberation, a move to more liberal society, and the biopsychosocial development of adolescent girls significantly influences their sexual behaviors (Kulkarni & Patwardhan, 2015). These delineated moderating or mediating factors are not exhaustive, some scholars (Water, 2010; Woods, Sylvester, & Martin, 2010; Barber, Stolz, & Olsen, 2005) surmised that personal responsibility rather than maternal/parental influence or care is the primary predictors of daughters’ sexuality. To complicate the issue of daughters’ sexuality is the definition of the family to more that of an extended family with “non-blood” related relatives (Booker).

In the absence of positive maternal influence, often an adult—biological or non-biological—will act as a surrogate to a female’s sexuality development. The adult can be of either gender; societal or traditional preference is that a female role is a far “better” biopsychosocial influence (Galler & Konjoian, 2010). It is however often noticed that if the adults’ interaction is consistent, encouraging, and promote self-worth and self-esteem, adolescent females/daughters appear to practice a healthier sexual lifestyle (Brodani & Matej, 2015).

Adult care, especially non-blood relatives, perceived responsibility, will be seen as genuine if the adult is a constant positive and empowering presence while modeling and exhibiting appropriate sexual behaviors. It is, therefore, imperative that adults do model societal acceptance of an “appropriate” sexual behavior. Azeez (2015) stated that adults tend to talk “excessively” to adolescents to the point of their annoyance versus improving their personal, social or sexual level of sexual responsibility.

Adolescents, especially females/daughters are at the stage of their biopsychosocial development where they are fragile, fragile because of their weight, likeness, physical or mental health –general

health. At this stage the pressure to pursue tertiary education, and being accepted or like by "all" - adults, parents, siblings and especially peers (Bireda, 2011). According to Sassler (2010), far more complex or debilitating is the desire to first determined their sexual preference or orientation and at what age and under what circumstances sexual activities are appropriate. Parents or other influential adults normally guide these decisions, however, with the liberation of societal social, cultural, sexual, and family relational practices, the presumptive "influencers" are difficult to identify. So, the adage of "taking a village to raise a child" appears to be apt in this case (Crouter, 2001); whether being an adult or a mother, this perceive care by the adolescent daughters, may positivity impact their sexuality – the number of sexual partners

## METHODOLOGY

This study utilized secondary data to explore the interrelations among "Adults' Perceived Levels of Care," "Mothers' Perceived Levels of Care" and the Sexual Behaviors of their Adolescent Daughters. Mothers' influences on their daughter sexuality have been the object of many studies. Some findings indicated that mothers' relationships with their daughters influence their sexuality and that in the absence of a mother, relationships with other adults—regardless of gender—tend to affect the sexuality of adolescent daughters.

## RESEARCH QUESTIONS

### MAJOR RESEARCH QUESTION

What is the impact of "Adults' Perceived Levels of Care" and "Mothers' Perceived Levels of Care" and on the Sexual Behaviors of Adolescent Daughters?

### MINOR RESEARCH QUESTIONS

- a. Is there a difference in Sexual Behaviors scores for those adolescents daughters who rated their "Adults' Perceived Levels of Care" as "not at all," "a little," "some," "quite a bit," "very much"?
- b. Is there a difference in Sexual Behaviors scores for those adolescents who rated their "Mothers' Perceived Levels of Care" as "not at all," "a little," "some," "quite a bit," "very much"?
- c. What is the impact of the composite/combined effect of "Adults' Perceived Levels of Care" and "Mothers' Perceived Levels of Care"—across groups—on the Sexual Behaviors of Adolescent Daughters?

### SECONDARY DATA SOURCE:

This a secondary data analysis exploratory study, using data from Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research (ICPSR) is located on the campus of the University of Michigan (UM) and is a department within the university's (Harris & Udry, 1994–2008). All studies, such as The National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent to Adult Health, 1994–2008 [Public Use] of *adolescents in grades 7–12* in the United States during the 1994–1995 school years" (Harris & Udry), from which the sample for this study was extracted, has to fully to comply with the University of Michigan's (UM) Institutional Review Board (IRB) protocol. After that, any study and data set that is made available to the public is entirely de-identified by ICPSR—reducing ALL RISK to participants in the study.

## SAMPLE AND PROCEDURE

Population: The population or secondary data source was noted above. Reiterating the sample was selected from The National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent to Adult Health (NLSAAH), 1994–2008 [Public Use] of adolescents in grades 7–12 in the United States during the 1994–1995 school years.

Sampling Technique: Random sampling technique (Rubin & Babbie, 2011) was used to select the adolescent females from the secondary data source—the population. This procedure facilitated the selection of 985 completed cases with the desired study variables, based on the researchers' content knowledge—the sample

Procedure: The procedure was extensive and exhausted with the goal of selecting only complete cases with no missing data. Hence delineated below are the intended steps to achieve the desired “good” data set.

### PROTOCOL—ACCESSING SECONDARY DATA—STEPS

1. The NLSAAH data source, from Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research ([www.ICPSR.umich.edu](http://www.ICPSR.umich.edu)), was identified after extension search—using Google and other search engines in consultation with various professional across various disciplines, including a sociologist, social workers, psychologist, criminologists, other disciplines in social and behavioral sciences.
2. Data search at [www.icpsr.umich.edu](http://www.icpsr.umich.edu) was done with variables “Adult’s Perceived Levels of “Care, Mother’s Perceived Levels of Care, and Sexual Behavior,” and Adolescents.
3. Various studies were identified—with the titles and names of the researchers
4. After a lengthy process of finding the appropriate study—you will have to SEE the following TABS/LINKS: (a) the access notes, (b) data set, (c) study description—citation, scope of study, funding, methodology (d) related publications, (e) utilities and (f) variables
5. To download the dataset, which was available in SPSS, and to access the TABS/LINKS, it was necessary first to log-in to Facebook or LinkedIn—for those without an existing account or membership
6. Clicking on the data set a link, gives access to the complete set of raw data, details description of the study, the complete list of all variables, and the details of the codebook, and methodology.  
\*\*\* INFORM CONSENT acknowledgment on the USE OF THE DATA WAS COMPLETED BEFORE BEING ABLE TO DOWNLOAD THE DATA SET and all pertinent information about the study
7. The data set and all information pertinent to the study was stored on a USB DRIVE and a hard drive—passcode protected.
8. Only females, some socio-demographic variables, and the three (3) study variables will be selected and stored a NEW DATAFILE

Reiterating the SAMPLE will be comprised of females from “The National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent to Adult Health (NLSAAH), 1994–2008 [Public Use] of adolescents in grades 7–12 in the United States during the 1994–1995 school years”.

## INSTRUMENTS

The original instrument used in the NLSAAH was comprised of three different questionnaires and code books (a) “In-home Questionnaire (b) “In-School Questionnaire and (c) “Parent Questionnaire - each has its pertinent “Code Book and Variable Names.” Each questionnaire was divided into sections. Methodological verification can be found in the source publication.

### DATA COLLECTION FOR NLSAAH:

Wave I, Stage 1 School sample: a stratified, random sample of all high schools in the United States. A school was eligible to be sampled if it was comprised of an 11th-grade class and had a minimum enrollment of 30 students. A feeder school, a school that sent graduates to the high school and that included the 7th grade, was also recruited from the community. *Wave I, Stage 2: An in-home sample of 27,000 adolescents* was drawn consisting of a core sample from each community plus selected special samples. Eligibility for the samples was determined by an adolescent’s responses to the In-School Questionnaire. Adolescents could qualify for more than one sample. Also, parents were asked to complete a questionnaire about family and relationships. The Wave II in-home interview sample is the same as the Wave I in-home interview sample, with a few exceptions. Information about neighborhoods/communities was gathered from a variety of previously published databases. Wave III: The in-home Wave III sample consists of Wave I respondents who could be located and re-interviewed six years later. Wave III also collected High School Transcript Release Forms as well as samples of urine and saliva (ICPSR21600-v15. Chapel Hill, NC: Carolina Population Center, University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill/Ann Arbor, MI: Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research [distributors], 2014–05–14) (Harris, Mullan, & Udry (199–2008). Variables: Definitions–Nominal and Operational/Measured

### ADULTS’ PERCEIVED LEVELS OF CARE—CATEGORICAL DATA

- a. Adults’ Perceived Levels of Care—Each adolescent perception of adults’ the level of care—nominal definition
- b. Operationalized/Measured using Likert Scale, for example as “Not at all = 1, *A little* = 2, *somewhat* = 3, *Quite A Bit* = 4, *Very Much* = 5, and *Does Not Apply* = 6”, to add variation to the responses—operational/measured.

### MOTHERS’ PERCEIVED LEVELS OF CARE—CATEGORICAL DATA

- c. Mothers’ Perceived Levels of Care—Each adolescent perception of her mothers’ level of care—nominal definition
- d. Operationalized/Measured using Likert Scale, for example “*Not at all* = 1, *A little* = 2, *some* = 3, *Quite a Bit* = 4, *Very Much* = 5, and *Does Not Apply* = 6”, to add variation to the responses—operational/measured.



## SEXUAL BEHAVIOR—SCALE OR INTERVAL-RATIO LEVEL DATA

- e. Sexual Behavior—as the numbers of sexual partners—nominal definition
- f. Operationalized/Measured—indicating the number of sexual partners, from (“zero (0), 1, 2, 3, and so forth...”)—operational/measured.

## ASSUMPTIONS OF TWO-WAY ANOVA

*Sample:* The sample size is large. Therefore, the “power—significant value—of the test” is a non-issue (Stevens, 1996, p. 6). Also, the level of measurement assumption was met, the dependent variable was measured at the interval or ratio level, using a continuous scale and the independent variable was categorical (Pallant, 2010). The population from the secondary data analysis was not randomly selected, and of those selected, only completed cases, the case without missing data comprised the sample.

*Normality:* Regarding, normality, with large sample size, “the violation of this assumption should not cause a major problem” (Pallant, 2016, p. 206), precisely, since in most social sciences research the dependent variable is not normally distributed (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007).

*Effect Size:* Another important calculation, is the “effect size”, (Eta squared, range 0—1) or the strength of the association, that is the variation in the dependent variable that can be attributed to or can be predicted from the levels or group differences of the independent variable(s). “Eta squared” value .01 implies a small effect, .06 a moderate, and .14 a large effect—indications of practical and theoretical significance versus statistical significance, depending on the sample size Cohen (1988).

Figure 1: Levene’s Test of Equality of Error Variances

|                              | F    | df1 | df2 | Sig. |
|------------------------------|------|-----|-----|------|
| Total Number of Sex Partners | .928 | 21  | 963 | .554 |

Tests the null hypothesis that the error variance of the dependent variable is equal across groups.

Design: Intercept + adults’ perceived levels of care + mothers’ perceived levels of care + adults’ perceived levels of care \* mothers’ perceived levels of care

Homogeneity of variance: also, the Levene Test, as illustrated in Table 1, tests the null hypothesis that the error variance of the dependent variable is equal across groups. The assumption was not violated because all the dependent variables have “significant value greater than .05. (Pallant, 2010; Tabachnick & Fidell, 2012).

## RESULTS/FINDINGS

Table 1 presents a few moderating and mediating socio-demographics variables and their associated descriptive statistics of the sample, which characterize the selected 985 adolescent daughters of the study. Of the 985 adolescents, 427 (43.2 percent) were Whites, and 298 (30.3 percent) were Blacks—American Indians/Native American accounted for approximately 11 percent (104) and

Asians/Pacific Islanders at approximately 8 percent (76). The adolescents were approximately evenly distributed between grades 7<sup>th</sup> through 12<sup>th</sup>, and the vast majority (916/93 percent) spoke English. Approximately 93 percent of the adolescents reported being in “good to excellent” general health with 513 (52.1 percent) reported being “about the right weight.” The majority (666/67.6 percent) these adolescent daughters, reported on a continuum from “agree to agree” to “liking themselves strongly,” manifestations of having a strong self-image, self-concept, and self-esteem. Even more gratifying is that approximately 53 percent reported that they “will graduate from college,” with approximately 25 percent mentioned that they would “pretty likely to very much likely” graduate—intellectual optimism displayed.

Table 1: Characteristics/Descriptors of Sample (N = 985)

| Characteristic                  | Number | Valid % |
|---------------------------------|--------|---------|
| Race:                           |        |         |
| White                           | 427    | 43.3    |
| Black                           | 298    | 30.3    |
| American Indian/Native American | 104    | 10.6    |
| Asian/Pacific Islander          | 76     | 7.7     |
|                                 | 80     | 8.1     |
| Grade:                          |        |         |
| Seventh                         | 151    | 15.4    |
| Eighth                          | 155    | 15.7    |
| Ninth                           | 172    | 17.5    |
| Tenth                           | 178    | 18.1    |
| Eleventh                        | 174    | 17.7    |
| Twelfth                         | 155    | 15.7    |
| Language Spoken at Home         |        |         |
| English                         | 916    | 93.0    |
| Spanish                         | 47     | 4.8     |
| Other                           | 22     | 2.2     |
| General Health                  |        |         |
| Excellent                       | 280    | 28.4    |
| Very Good                       | 395    | 40.1    |
| Good                            | 243    | 24.7    |
| Fair                            | 63     | 6.3     |
| Poor                            | 4      | 0.4     |
| Weight Image                    |        |         |
| Very Underweight                | 20     | 2       |
| Slightly Underweight            | 141    | 14.4    |
| About the Right Weight          | 513    | 52.1    |
| Slightly Overweight             | 275    | 27.9    |
| Very Overweight                 | 36     | 3.7     |

Table 1: Characteristics/Descriptors of Sample (N = 985) (Continued)

|                                  |     |      |
|----------------------------------|-----|------|
| Will Graduate from College       |     |      |
| No chance                        | 53  | 5.4  |
| Some chance                      | 60  | 6.1  |
| About 50-50                      | 107 | 10.9 |
| Pretty likely                    | 146 | 14.8 |
| Very much likely                 | 95  | 9.7  |
| It will happen                   | 524 | 53.1 |
| Likes Myself                     |     |      |
| Strongly agree                   | 334 | 33.9 |
| Agree                            | 332 | 33.7 |
| Neither agree nor disagree       | 179 | 18.1 |
| Disagree                         | 102 | 10.3 |
| Strongly disagree                | 38  | 3.9  |
| Adults Care About You            |     |      |
| Not at all                       | 9   | 1    |
| Very little                      | 21  | 2    |
| Somewhat                         | 115 | 11.7 |
| Quite a bit                      | 372 | 37.7 |
| Very much                        | 464 | 47.2 |
| Does not apply                   | 4   | 0.4  |
| Does Your Mother Care about You? |     |      |
| Not at all                       | 9   | 1    |
| A little                         | 24  | 2.4  |
| Some                             | 46  | 4.7  |
| Quite a bit                      | 100 | 10.1 |
| Very much                        | 806 | 81.8 |

Lastly, in examining, fathers' communication, the majority, 249 (39.6 percent) "agree" that they have "good communication with their father," followed by 180 (28.6 percent) who "strongly agree" that they have "good communication with their father." Finally, 453 (72.1 percent) of adolescent females reported that their fathers cared "very much."

#### WHAT IS THE IMPACT OF "ADULT'S PERCEIVED LEVELS OF CARE" AND "FATHERS' PERCEIVED LEVELS OF CARE" AND ON THE SEXUAL BEHAVIORS OF ADOLESCENT DAUGHTERS?

A two-way between-groups analysis of variance, see Table 3, was conducted to explore the impact of "Adult's Perceived Levels of Care" and "Mother's Perceived Levels of Care" on the Sexual Behaviors of Adolescent Daughters.

Table 2: Two-Way ANOVA (*Tests of Between-Subjects Effects*)

| Source              | Type III Sum of Squares | df  | Mean Square | F       | Sig. | Partial Eta Squared |
|---------------------|-------------------------|-----|-------------|---------|------|---------------------|
| Corrected Model     | 100773.161a             | 21  | 4798.722    | 53.340  | .00  | .533                |
| Intercept           | 29149.680               | 1   | 29149.680   | 318.486 | .00  | .249                |
| adultscareaboutyou  | 59487.453               | 5   | 11897.491   | 129.990 | .00  | .403                |
| motherscare         | 64134.516               | 4   | 16033.639   | 175.181 | .00  | .421                |
| adultscareaboutyou* | 92685.030               | 12  | 7723.753    | 84.389  | .003 | .513                |
| motherscare         |                         |     |             |         |      |                     |
| Error               | 74970.153               | 606 | 123.713     |         |      |                     |
| Total               | 94053.000               | 629 |             |         |      |                     |
| Corrected Total     | 75900.948               | 628 |             |         |      |                     |

a. R Squared = .024 (Adjusted R Squared = .017)

“Adults’ Perceived Levels of Care” responses were grouped into six (6) categories: 1—not at all, 2—very little, 3—somewhat, 4—quite a bit, and 5—very much, and 6—does not apply. “Mothers’ Perceived Levels of Care” responses were also grouped into six (6) categories: 1—not at all, 2—a little, 3—some, 4—quite a bit, and 5—very much, and 6—does not apply. *The groups are the possible categorical responses listed above.*

There were significant main effects for “Adult’s Perceived Levels of Care”,  $F(5, 606) = 129.99, p = .00$  and “Mothers’ Perceived Levels of Care”,  $F(4, 606) = 175.18, p = .00$ . The interaction effect between “Adults’ Perceived Levels of Care” and “Mothers’ Perceived Levels of Care” was also statistically significant  $F(12, 606) = 84.38, p = .03$ . The effect size for “Adult’s Perceived Levels of Care” was moderate/medium (partial eta squared = 0.51, and for “Mother’s Perceived Levels of Care,” the effect was small/minimal (partial eta squared = 0.21).

#### MINOR RESEARCH QUESTION

Is there a difference in Sexual Behaviors scores for those adolescent daughters who rated “Adults’ Perceived Levels of Care” as “not at all,” “very little,” “somewhat,” “quite a bit,” “very much,” and “does not apply”?

Table 4: Post—Hoc Test (*Multiple Comparisons*)

Total Number of Sex Partners; Tukey HSD

| (I) Adults’ Care | (J) Adults’ Care | Mean Diff | Std Error | Sig. | 95% Confidential. Interval |       |
|------------------|------------------|-----------|-----------|------|----------------------------|-------|
|                  |                  |           |           |      | Lower                      | Upper |
| (J) Very little  | Somewhat         | 11.60     | 2.270     | .00* | 5.12                       | 18.09 |
|                  | Quite a bit      | 13.79     | 2.146     | .00* | 7.58                       | 19.03 |
|                  | Very Much        | 14.14     | .00*      | 8.05 | 20.24                      |       |

1. Based on the observed means
2. The mean difference is significant at the .05 level

Post-hoc comparisons using Tukey HSD test for “Adults’ Perceived Levels of Care”—see Table 4— indicate significant differences between those adolescent daughters who perceived Adults’ Levels of Care as “very little” ( $M = 19.05, SD = 9.29$ ) and three other categories/groups: “somewhat” ( $M = 7.44, SD = 5.32$ ), “quite a bit” ( $M = 5.34, SD = 7.71$ ) and “very much” ( $M = 4.90, SD = 9.18$ ). The results showed that adolescent daughters who perceived Adults’ Levels of Care as “very much” exhibited better sexual behaviors in comparison to each of the other groups/categories— reported the lower average number of sexual partners ( $M = 4.90$ )

## MINOR RESEARCH QUESTION

Is there a difference in Sexual Behavior scores for those adolescent daughters who rated their “Mother’s Perceived Levels of Care” as “not at all,” “a little,” “some,” “quite a bit,” “very much,” and “does not apply”?

For “Mother’s Perceived Levels of Care”, the post-hoc comparisons—see Table 5—revealed significant differences between adolescent daughters who perceived their mothers’ levels of care as “a little” ( $M = 17.71, SD = 7.46$ ) and three other categories/groups: “some” ( $M = 5.17, SD = 4.66$ ), “quite a bit” ( $M = 4.79, SD = 5.20$ ), and “very much” ( $M = 5.52, SD = 10.26$ ). The results showed that adolescents who reported “quite a bit” as their mothers’ perceived levels of care exhibited better sexual behaviors than each of the other groups - reported the lowest average number of sexual partners ( $M = 4.79$ ). *Reiterating, the groups are the possible categorical responses and are listed above.*

Table 5 (*Multiple Comparisons*)

Total Number of Sex Partners; Tukey HSD

| (I) Adults’ Care | (J) Adults’ Care | Mean Diff | Std Error | Sig. | 95% Confidential. Interval |       |
|------------------|------------------|-----------|-----------|------|----------------------------|-------|
|                  |                  |           |           |      | Lower                      | Upper |
| Very little      | Somewhat         | 12.33     | 2.40      | .00* | 5.93                       | 19.12 |
|                  | Quite a bit      | 12.92     | 2.17      | .00* | 6.98                       | 18.86 |
|                  | Very Much        | 12.19     | 1.98      | .00* | 6.77                       | 17.60 |

1. Based on the observed means
2. The mean difference is significant at the .05 level

The findings of the study support many of the arguments found in the literature, specifically that “Adults’ and Mothers’ perceived levels of Care” significantly impacted the sexual behavior of their adolescent daughters. However, the findings are specific to this population, data extracted from an existing public use database, nonetheless, it projects optimism that sound and positive perceptions of care demonstrated by mothers and adults towards their adolescent daughters will reduce their dysfunctional sexual behavior. Further research needs to explore the specifics of the practical typologies of adults and mothers’ care—a practical demonstration of the positive “adults’ and mothers’ care, for example, the combing of daughters’ hair. There is a need for additional research on the practical significance and utility of the findings of this study. Specifically, the recognition that family members may also influence health-related behaviors, such as biopsychosocial, sexual, physical well-being among adolescences, adults, peers, schools, and their communities (Cowell & Marks, 1997; DiLorenzo, StuckyRopp, Vander Wal, & Gotham, 1998).

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# INTERNATIONAL SCHOOLS IN NIGERIA: UPHOLDING THE BRITISH TRADITION

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*Abstract:* This paper presents an analysis of websites of international schools in Nigeria, exploring the extent to which neo-colonial intent is imbricated within the information on the websites. These websites are viewed in this paper as a metaphorical and literal screen through which the schools' ideologies can be examined. Content and semiotic analyses are deployed to decipher the messages they present. The paper argues that inequalities, Western hegemonic dominance and neo-colonial intent are thinly veiled within images and texts on the websites. It suggests that under the rubric of 'international education' such schools propagate a dreadful secondariness of indigenous non-elite Nigerian people. International schools, far from developing global citizenship, are considered as part of a process which perpetuates the US and UKs proclivity towards political domination, cultural erasure and economic exploitation.

## INTRODUCTION

This paper explores the ways in which neo-colonial intent is imbricated within the websites of international schools in Nigeria. The use of the term neo-colonial implies a specific line of argument. Namely that while Europe's direct colonial control of Nigeria through economic intervention and violent occupation ended in the 1960s, indirect control has been maintained through political domination, economic exploitation and cultural erasure. This is what this paper refers to as neo-colonialism, using a concept first theorised by Nkrumah (1966). This paper will demonstrate that international schools in Nigeria betray neo-colonial intent in their depiction of indigenous cultures as less desirable than Western cultures that the school actively promotes. This is what this paper refers to as neo-colonial values. Under the rubric of 'international education' such schools propagate 'dreadful secondariness' (Said, 1989) of indigenous Nigerian people.

## LITERATURE REVIEW

The analysis is grounded in Althusser's (1971) notion of ideology, a process or more particularly, a series of activities aimed at the interpellation of the individual. These processes and the values that underpin them seep into and become part of the social and political life of institutions shaping the environment through and within which individuals negotiate their subjectivities, desires and aspirations. An understanding of international education used by this paper draws on conceptual tools provided by postcolonial theory. Post-colonialism, concerned as it is, with the histories of colonialism and slavery sheds light into the nature of the contemporary global world-order of which international education is part. Having rejected the fantasy of European exceptionalism, postcolonial theory reconnects international education and the globalization phenomenon that underlies it to a European neo-colonial project. The neo-colonial State, differs from the post-colonial state, in that while it has all the outward trappings of sovereignty, its economic system and political policy is directed from outside. Neo-colonialism thus represents an indirect continuation of imperial control. This paper explores one of the mechanisms through which this control is maintained: the perpetuation of ideas and subjectivities. Neo-colonialism promotes the interests of former colonial powers such as Britain and France, and new world superpowers like the United States of America (Tikly, 2004).



Creating a cohesive national identity has since the 1960s been the focus of Nigeria's Education Policy. A country whose national boundaries are the remnants of colonial creation, Nigeria comprises of 250 distinct ethnic groups (Okechie-Offoha, 1996). It is 58 years since Nigeria freed itself from direct colonial rule, yet in its neo-colonial present, indigenous Nigerian students attending international schools experience a curriculum that replicates what is taught to students in England and the USA.

International schools are part of Nigeria's burgeoning private school sector (Tooley et al., 2005). However, while such schools are perceived as offering a better education than poorly funded state schools, the majority of private schools follow the same syllabus as state schools. International schools are different. The staff and student profile, the exorbitant tuition fees and the facilities they provide set them apart from either state or other private schools. They claim to provide an *international* education, that is, an education that offers globally transferable qualification, by which they mean qualifications based on European and American systems of education (Cambridge, 2003). In a country that has explicitly focused on creating a cohesive national identity through its school system, international schools in Nigeria operate beyond the aims and purposes of national educational policy.

Associated with education for international understanding, cooperation and peace (UNESCO, 1974), international education purports to offer experiences that equip individuals to understand and accept the social and political differences of peoples and nations, valuing human rights and fundamental freedoms. This is a somewhat idealistic framing for institutions initially established to serve the needs of expatriate communities, people of European origin working in African, Asian, Latin American and Caribbean countries who did not wish their children to attend local schools. From these beginnings, the schools have become more widely attended. In 2007, there were 4,580 international schools worldwide with some 2,073,342 students in attendance (ISC, 2007). By 2015 there were 7,545 of them, with 3.9 million students. However, this exponential growth in enrolment has been fuelled largely by indigenous students (Hayden and Thompson, 2008). A facility established to service the needs of a globally mobile expatriate community working (usually on a temporary basis) overseas, by 2015 was serving a mainly indigenous community: 80 percent of international school students worldwide are children from the host country (ISC, 2015).

The children of the host countries' elite are the explicit target clientele of international schools (Carder 2011). Senior government officials, employees of multinational companies and business people are the only people able to afford the fees they charge – typically from US\$6,000 to US\$10,000 a year, rising to as much as US\$54,000 (Macdonald, 2006). The schools select students based on structural inequalities, and only the elite are deemed worthy of the education they provide. The student, positioned as a neo-liberal consumer citizen (Apple, 2006), is able to buy whatever is necessary for individual success. Removed from a local context they acquire privileges that maintain their class status. The less privileged are excluded.

The Nigerian elite are argued here as complicit in a process that enables them to maintain a class status initially conferred upon them by the former colonizers. Indeed, using the same vocabulary of power, the formerly colonized bourgeoisie replaced colonial rule with their own forms of dominance and coercion of the majority of Nigerian people. International education merely extends and updates the colonial project. This paper is mindful here of Fanon's (1968) seminal observation that overcoming

colonial rule did not always lead to the development of a ‘national consciousness’ premised on liberation and freedom for all subjugated people.

This discussion about globalisation, post-colonialism and neo-colonialism has so far remained within a theoretical domain. This paper makes an empirical contribution towards this hotly contested educational space. It critiques the claims made for, by and about international education through a content and semiotic exploration of international schools’ digital presence. To date no such studies have been undertaken in Nigeria<sup>1</sup>.

The websites are advertisements designed to attract customers by presenting international schools as desirable. But they are also a virtual context for the schools: a metaphorical screen through which their values can be examined. The data generated and analysed here, leads this article to suggest that the somewhat benign concept of ‘international education’ is host to a more malign practice of propagating neo-colonial values.

## METHODOLOGY

The research deploys an interpretive framework based on an integrated methodology. A semiotic analysis was applied on the text and images on the websites. In order to ensure that the approach was systematic, a content analysis using SPSS was first conducted to give a comprehensive statistical overview of where and how different meanings are encoded on the websites.

The data is drawn from 27 international schools websites in Nigeria (ISW), placed alongside nine websites of Nigerian schools (NSW). The NSW were examined to provide a contrast and enhance an understanding of the ISW. To address the research question: ‘*to what extent do international school websites present neo-colonial values?*’ A content and semiotic analysis of images and texts was undertaken.

A list of the names and websites’ addresses of international schools around Nigeria was compiled using Google search, the Association of International Schools in Africa ([www.aisa.or.ke](http://www.aisa.or.ke)) and the Council of International Schools ([www.cois.org](http://www.cois.org)). The school websites were selected based on three criteria: a) They followed a foreign system of education b) They claimed international status based on their affiliations, and activities, c) They offered comprehensive details of the schools activities and purposes.

The selection of Nigerian schools’ websites was less complex as very few Nigerian schools had detailed websites. Their audience tends to be local and they have no need to advertise. They were included in this sample to provide a comparative context. A list of federal government schools were compiled limiting the choice to a) schools that followed the Nigerian system of education and b) schools that had detailed websites.

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<sup>1</sup> A Boolean search using the key terms ‘international school websites’ and ‘Nigeria’ returned no results which featured an analysis of the sort undertaken here—international school websites in Nigeria. A limited number of studies feature the websites of international schools in other contexts.

The data were collected between March and April, 2013. A coding schedule was developed based on (i) social and economic context of the school (ii) explicit purposes of schooling (iii) students' learning and (iv) student life. After inputting this information into an SPSS file, 52 categories requiring numeric data were annotated while string data were generated for names of the schools, taglines, external examinations and school fees (advertised on the websites). Each school on the SPSS file was given a unique number, inputting descriptions of each variable and new categories were created to accommodate content which could not be situated under already established variables. To facilitate analysis, broader categories were created, making the data more manageable (Sjøvaag and Stavelin, 2012). Cross tabulation of the numeric data enabled were used to compare Nigerian and international schools. Finally narrative and pictorial data were collected and saved under the categories listed for the semiotic analysis, saving entire web pages for reference.

The signs (text and images) and their signification formed the basis of the semiotic analysis. The presentation of the analysis takes an integrated approach - deploying a thematic analysis that incorporates qualitative and quantitative data.

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Three broad themes emerged from the analysis: (i) Inequalities - social and economic (ii) Western hegemonic dominance—culture / values and superiority of educational provision. (iii) Neo-colonial aspirations—educational, career and citizenship.

### INEQUALITIES

According to the World Bank, over 62 percent of Nigerians lived below the international poverty line of \$1.25 a day (World Bank, 2015). Social and economic inequalities are rife. The schools' depiction of their context suggests these inequalities are simply accepted.

### SOCIAL INEQUALITIES AND NEO-COLONIAL DESIRE

Neo-colonial desire theorises a yearning amongst the formally colonised bourgeoisie for equal status with the coloniser, exhibited through an acceptance of the colonisers' cultural superiority and the wish to acquire their cultural and material artefacts. For meaningful comparison, this analysis focussed on schools located Nigeria's large cities. These were grouped as either elite or poor neighbourhoods. There is no readily available official data that would serve as criteria for grouping the neighbourhoods and so this study drew on descriptions provided by estate agents, such as 4-tee Properties and Investment Limited, to designate particular areas.

A total of 96 percent (26 out of 27) of the ISW listed were located within elite neighbourhoods. The remaining 4 percent (1 out of 27) was located in a poor area (It is probable that this school has boarding facilities and as such operates in isolation from its immediate environment.). This is in sharp contrast to the 78 percent (7 out of 9) of Nigerian schools located in poor neighbourhoods. This study was unable to designate the locations of the remaining 22 percent (2 out of 9) of Nigerian schools. The location of the schools provides an indication of the social status of their respective clientele. Most Nigerian schools on the websites appeared to be located within poor areas, while international schools were more likely to be located in elite areas.

More significantly, location was used as a promotional tool aimed at attracting customers. The site of one international school was described as:

*...located on approximately 25 well-tended acres in a secure and tranquil area of [a named district] (ISW7).*

The location of this school, in common with other international schools, is a newly built up elite area in Lagos, a city known as Nigeria's commercial capital. The school itself is presented as modern, remote from (and therefore nothing to do with) the densely populated, archaic structures in the crumbling colonial or freshly urbanised parts of the city. Only the elite can afford to live in houses associated with the area surrounding the school which is explicitly associated with the prestigious communities of Lagos city.

The representations of locations also included direct reference to security - something desired by the Nigerian elite who fear ethnic, religious and political conflict (Dambazau, 2014). The mention of security is not only reassuring, it is a desirable attribute for a school serving the elite and comes at a high cost. This representation of place is brought into sharp relief when contrasted with how Nigerian schools represented location:

*...located along the southern end of the [a named district]. The School is encompassed by [district 1] and [district 2] Television Villages at the outskirts of [district 3] (NSW5.)*

This information locates the school geographically. The ISW use flamboyant descriptions of their location to make classed associations (Lynch and Lodge, 2002; Gottschall et. al, 2010). Encoded in the magnificence and architectural sophistication of the school, its grounds and neighbourhood are the offer of a superior education, one suitable only for the elite.

Location is also used to signify class privilege in photographs of school trips. To illustrate, International School 2, 4, 7, 9, 11 and 15 featured images of overseas school trips- a skiing in Italy (ISW2), music and art in Paris and Berlin (ISW15), economics and business in London (ISW7). None of the images showed visits to Nigerian locations. These Western locations emphasise the cost of the educational offer affordable only by a distinctly wealthy clientele. Nigerian families earning \$1.25 a day simply cannot afford the education provided by such schools.

International schools are thus implicated in the production and reproduction of class inequalities (Brown and Lauder, 2011) which are here argued as relics of enduring post-colonial structures (Wolff, 2003). Neo-colonial values, encoded in the representation of social inequalities, appeal to a Nigerian elite who value a Western education (Attah, 2013). Such connections signify notions of international 'citizenship isolated and "secure" from surrounding local nation-state citizens' (Tamatea et al. 2008; 165). The argument this paper is making here is that in Nigeria, social and economic inequality as framed by the ISW is inextricable from 'global citizenship' and is based on a class structure argued as an enduring colonial legacy. Neo-colonialism and the stratified access to education are mutually perpetuating.

## ECONOMIC INEQUALITIES

Social privilege is further entrenched through schools' fees. Analysis indicated that 74 percent (24 out of 27) of the ISW mentioned fees as opposed to only 22 percent (2 out of 9) of the NSW, a difference of 52 percent. Money is of the utmost importance for the international schools. Their continuation is dependent on their capacity to attract parents with the desired economic capital.

The sample in this study includes all three types of Nigeria's schooling options: free public schools, fee-paying private schools and fee-paying international schools. Fee-paying private schools (Harma, 2013, Tooley et al., 2005) are accessible to all and sometimes preferred by poor Nigerian families who consider them to be better than state funded public schools. In choosing to send their children to international schools the indigenous Nigerian elite are attempting to give their children a competitive edge over other indigenous students (Hayden and Thompson 2008). Advertised fees range from \$7000 to \$25000 per annum, a substantial premium compared to the N7800 (about \$40) for Nigerian schools. Only the very rich can consider such schools, and it is to them the website is addressed.

Of particular interest is the fact that school fees are quoted in dollars or pounds sterling. One website states:

*All fees are quoted in US Dollars unless specifically given in Naira (Nigeria's currency) (ISW2).*

British or US currencies are favoured for their stability on the international money markets. Both the school and prospective parents are expected to attain this level of stability. Students' continued status in the school is based on their parents' ability to continue to pay the fees. One website stated:

*Fees are payable in advance of the start of each term and where fees are not paid by the due date the school reserves the right to refuse a student entry (ISW2) (emphasis in the original).*

The bold fonts emphasises the seriousness with which the school views the issue (van Leeuwen, 2006) of consistent and timely parental contributions. Far from being children to be educated, students and their elite parents are simply consumers of a highly priced product, packaged with desirable cultural and economic capital (Bourdieu, 1997; Cambridge, 2002). Willows (2008, 19) states it bluntly:

*Today's reality is simple: like it or not, families, companies and organisations purchase international school education in just the same way as they buy a new BMW, Apple iPod or pair of Chanel sunglasses.*

This commodification of education is indicative of globalist currents underpinning the concept of international education. ISWs index international schools as exclusively for the elite. Their neo-colonial identities are exploited to sell an educational product. These identities, expressed through their preferences for a Western education and their desire to maintain their elitist status is directly addressed through these websites appeal.

## WESTERN HEGEMONIC DOMINANCE

Income was not the only basis upon which the charge of neo-colonialism is founded. A willingness to evoke the myth of Western cultural superiority was profoundly inscribed across the ISW, more so than any of the other themes explored in this paper.

### *Culture and Values*

Inferring ethnicities from visual representations is simplistic but provides an insight into the values and cultures which may be shared within the schools. The predominant ethnicities visible through the websites—were displayed as either black or white. Information about the composition of staff and head teachers was systematically collected from images and written details.

## ETHNICITIES OF SCHOOL HEADS

Most ISW head teachers, 86 percent (23 out of 27), were white. Only 7 percent (2 out of 27) showed a black school head and a further 7 percent (2 out of 27) of the ISW were unclear. By contrast, of those NSW that showed a head teacher, 100 percent (9 out of 9) were black. The display of white head teachers for the ISW suggests organisational structures, cultures and values within those schools which are different from those operational in a Nigerian school. It implies a school led by a head teacher who is predisposed to be sympathetic to the Western context (Poore, 2005). This paper suggests is that this point to an ideological milieu likely to be shared within those schools. The depiction of teachers is consistent with this analysis. Images of white and black teachers were also counted. A total of 78 percent (21 out of 27) of the ISW displayed mainly white teachers; only 22 percent (6 out of 27) of the teachers shown were black, a difference of 56 percent. This contrasts deeply with NSW where all the teachers shown, 100 percent (9 out of 9), were black.

Arguably, there are limitations of a visual annotation of ethnicity, yet this paper would argue that the analysis echoes Fail's (2011) claim that a high proportion of international school teachers are white Westerners and this powerfully influences the nature of pedagogical interactions and values within their classrooms. The images may not accurately reflect the actual profile of teachers within the school but this is not the point. The display of ethnicity indicates the values promoted by the schools and the ideologies that underpin their practice. Maxwell and Aggleton, (2016) argue this point strongly: a Nigerian international school displays the white face of its head teacher as an indicator of the quality, authenticity and distinctiveness of its educational product. As if to underline this idea, one website claimed:

*...our teachers reflect the finest traditions of the British education system (ISW9).*

The presence of white teachers echoes a time when teachers assumed ownership of knowledge and conveyed the colonisers' values. By transmitting Western cultures and values, colonisers actively eroded indigenous cultural identities (Thiong'o 1986). These schools understand and exploit the Nigerian bourgeois' neo-colonial desire to have their children educated by white teachers as effective transmitters of Western values.

It is not only the teachers' ethnicities which displays a neo-colonial orientation. Representation of students is also significant. Using a process similar to that described for teachers, students' ethnicities were grouped as black, white or a mixture of ethnicities. The outcome was mixed as 52 percent (14 out of 27) of ISW posted images of only black students while 48 percent (13 out of 27) had a mixture of black, white and other ethnicities. NSW showed a total of 100 percent of black students.

It matters that 48 percent (13) of the ISW showed students of mixed ethnicities. It suggests to prospective Nigerian parents that their children are likely to associate with children who are white European and other ethnicities. Consistent with this analysis of teacher ethnicities, the implied promise is that students will develop Western cultural capital. However, websites which display only black students signifies that indigenous students are welcome to join a school where their Western educators will teach them their values. One ISW exemplifies this:

*Our founder is devoted to the holistic education of Nigerian children (ISW7).*

This heartfelt commitment to education of Nigerian children reassures the prospective clientele that the school is devoted to providing a holistic education for their children. This is what the United Nations declares as the explicit purpose of schooling, a commitment international schools package as part of their educational product. However, the extent to which the schools are able to provide holistic education that is appropriate for Nigerian children is questionable. Such promotional statements sell ideologies to unsuspecting clients (Barthes 1977). The promise of a holistic education presents international schools as superior to Nigerian schools which aim exclusively at developing individuals who contribute towards national prosperity. This idea of international education as a superior form of education is inscribed across all ISWs.

#### *Superiority of education offered*

The ISW simply state that that they provide a quality of education unavailable from Nigerian national schools. Taglines reference quality with phrases such as '*raising standards*' (ISW36) and '*surpassing the most demanding standards available anywhere in the world*' (ISW23). This discursive reference to the global education policy landscape, hallmarks the profiteering and expansion of neo-liberalism. The schools go so far as to infer an association between accelerated intellectual development and Western cultural capital. One website stated:

*They will make accelerated progress towards intellectual maturity, while taking advantage of the social and cultural activities which we share with them (ISW26).*

ISW26 implies a connection between intellectual superiority and Western cultural capital. The argument here is that the schools' notion of quality education is based on the Western styles educational product that they sell. This is an association reiterated across the ISWs. It is for example, quite clearly pronounced in their curriculum, languages taught and international organisation memberships.

#### *Curricula*

Although ISW sell an international education, 63 percent (17 out of 27) of them use the UKs national curriculum while 33 percent (9 out of 27) adopt curricula from several states in the US. Only 4 percent

(1) use an international curriculum - comprised of either of or a combination of the International Baccalaureate (IB) and the International General Certificate of Secondary Education (IGSCE). Lewis (2006) noted that although the IB had an international focus, most students preferred to study the Americas and Europe in subjects such as history and geography. He rightly contends that this parochial focus contradicts the schools' claim to offer a global education. It would seem that Nigeria's international schools view global to mean American or European. The international education represented on the ISW, far from being international—actually depicts an extremely constricted perspective of the world. A specific sort of globalisation is institutionalised by these schools.

ISW curricula do not engage with Nigerian policies, preferring internationally reputable educational systems—those imported from elsewhere. One website is quite explicit in this:

*We keep up to date with educational developments, particularly in the United Kingdom to ensure that we uphold a British tradition (ISW8).*

A Western education is here understood as a byword for quality and high standards. The curricula of the international schools analysed here are modelled on British or US cultures.

### *Language*

Another legacy of Nigeria's colonial past is that English language is its lingua franca while indigenous languages are formally taught in Nigerian schools. It is, however, notable that only 22 percent (6 out of 27) of ISWs indicated that they taught at least one Nigerian language in addition to another language, while 78 percent (21 out of 27) made no reference to the teaching of Nigerian languages. In erasing Nigerian languages, the schools erase the cultural beliefs, nuances and identity constructs embedded within them. Language mediates culture (Thiong'o, 1986) and where there are perceived gaps in language acculturation, the devaluing of one's cultural identity may be imminent. The exclusion of indigenous languages promotes the myth that these languages, history, culture or values are unworthy of curricular inclusion. Thus, the pedagogic space articulates a thinly disguised neo-colonial value. This paper is not arguing here that foreign languages should not be taught or spoken in the school but it appears that the exclusion of indigenous languages is one of the many ways in which the schools disassociate themselves from the local.

This is quite unlike the 88 percent (8 of the 9) of the NSW that indicated the curricula inclusion of Nigerian languages. Indeed, Nigerian schools operate within a Nigerian Educational policy space which encourages the teaching of indigenous languages. Overall, the data reinforces the idea that international schools exist beyond territorial or regional influences. They are located within but none-the-less isolated from the host country (Jabal, 2013).

### *Memberships of international organisations*

Another common feature of the websites was memberships of one or more international association, bodies which regulate international school activities as well as managing, prescribing and coordinating examinations and curricula. This includes bodies such as the International Baccalaureate (IB), European Council of International Schools (ECIS) and Middle States Association (MSA). These associations claim



to be international, but their foundations are rooted firmly in Western approaches to education as is the curricula they prescribe and examinations that they facilitate (Van Oord 2007).

Only 4 percent (1 out of 27) of international schools analysed claimed membership of both local and international associations, while 26 percent (7 out of 27) did not give this information. Thus, 70 percent (19 out of 27) belonged only to associations that claim international status. This is in contrast to 56 percent (5 of the 9) of NSW that belonged to only local associations, 11 percent (1 of the 9) to both and 33 percent (3 of the 9) that indicated no membership to any organisations. International schools' interactions with the local regulatory systems can be argued to be cursory. More significantly, they work towards an agenda that is at odds with the practices of local schools. This forms the basis of this paper's contention that what are referred to as international schools encourage student identities, that is, students with perspectives and aspirations that fit awkwardly with indigenous Nigerian cultures.

This analysis has explored the inscription of Western cultural dominance on the ISW through their taglines, information about the schools' curricula, languages taught and memberships of international organisations. The schools assert their positions as upholders and promoters of Western education within the indigenous context. Their neo-colonial positioning is implicit in these inscriptions.

#### NEO-COLONIAL ASPIRATIONS

By neo-colonial aspiration this paper refers to a Western desire to maintain cultural dominance of Nigeria as a means of economic exploitation. This thinly veiled intent was represented on the ISWs through educational, citizenship and career aspirations. One common idea running through the information was that international schools provided a passage for students to transit to a global terrain after leaving secondary school. However, this analysis identifies these global aspirations as a rather more parochial Western aspiration. Rather than pointing students to global opportunities, it is opportunities in Europe and USA that took the centre stage.

#### *Educational Aspirations*

Crucial to the branding of international schools is the provision of assessments options that furnish students with globally transferable qualifications (Cambridge, 2002). ISWs broadly focused on internationally regulated assessments needed for qualifications for entrance into foreign (mainly Western) universities. Thus, only 19 percent (5 out of 27) of ISWs offered Nigerian school leaving examinations alongside foreign examinations. However, 81 percent (22 out of 27) of ISWs had information about foreign examinations only. Attending a Nigerian Universities is thus depicted here as not a desirable aspiration for the alumni of international schools.

Claims to internationalism as opposed to Europeanization or Americanization are rightfully doubted. This charge is further underlined by a notion of the international as if it were a homogenous whole. (the argument here is that the international might as well be rephrased as *not Nigeria or not African*). The difference between a Nigerian and UK educational tradition, or Nigeria and the US curricula is as considerable as the distinctions between US and UK qualification structures. It is highly unlikely that a British curriculum will be sufficient to prepare students for taking US examinations at the end of their secondary education. What this paper is suggesting is that claims to provide an international education

is hyperbole. Instead, international schools offer an educational product intended to appeal to the Nigerian elite, one which idealises European and USA education.

The empirical analysis of the ISWs and NSWs would seem to support this assertion. Only 22 percent (2 out of 9) of the NSW mentioned that their students went on to study at Western universities in contrast with 59 percent (16 out of 27) of the ISWs. However, ISWs educational products are directed towards the attainment of qualifications for admissions into Western universities. Not one ISW made reference to a Nigerian university.

A sizeable proportion of ISWs promote the schools' abilities to prepare students to attend Western Universities. This information is provided in the form of meeting the desires of students to study in the west as one website stated:

*We recognised the needs of students who have been successful at Yr 11 and require further qualifications to gain admission to UK, US, Canadian and other international universities. To meet this need we are launching the ... Centre for Advanced Studies (ISW7).*

The school is making an emotional appeal here; the prospective clientele is being reassured that their needs are understood and the school can be trusted with their children, who with their advanced expertise will gain admission to Western universities. But this appeal to the emotions emerges from a specific context, a context created and shaped by the prevailing dominance of Western cultural artefacts, including their educational product. The appeal resonates because it confirms the 'dreadful secondariness' of African Universities; it conforms to a belief in the superiority of Western universities and is objectified by the quality matrices promoted by the Times Higher Education World University Rankings (2013-2014) which does not feature a single Nigerian universities and only four African universities. The schools contribute to the growth of the burgeoning international higher education business (Zupnac and Zupnac, 2009) but only at the expense of local institutions. Thus, the promotion of internationalism provides a cloak for entrepreneurial gain by Western universities.

### *Citizenship Aspirations*

Mission statements of international and national schools were collected to explore the sorts of citizenship their students were prepared for. Global citizenship was the most popular appeal. That is, 78 percent (21 out of 27) of ISW stated that they promoted education towards global citizenship. By comparison only 22 percent (2 out of 9) of NSW made a similar claim. It is this paper's contention that when these school reference global what they actually reference is Western-centric and the global citizenship they promote is one that specifically excludes the possibilities of Nigerian citizenship.

Most taglines on NSW inferred their student subjectivities were developing within a local or national collective. For example, one tagline which states '*Pro Unitate*' (for unity) (NSW1) which is displayed under the school crest on the top right corner of the website, suggests that education in that setting is focused on forging national, cultural or societal cohesion. This is consistent with purposes of Nigerian education policy (FRN, 2004). Thus, the NSW reflects the communitarian ideologies of cultures in Nigeria where collective interests supersede those of the individual. Under collectivism, the individual 'I' does not develop in isolation to the collective 'we'. These statements perpetuate the notion of '*I am because we are*' (Nyerere, 1968). In contrast to this, taglines on some ISWs reflected a preparation of students towards living in a society which appeared to be exterior to or excluding of local realities. Examples of these are '*Empowering Global citizens*' (ISW17) and '*Education for a changing world*'

(ISW 8). These taglines repeat the message that their educational products enable students to not just to live in but to conquer the world which makes ever increasing and constantly changing demands of the global community. A neoliberal education product prepares global citizens unrestricted by geography, social and cultural boundaries in the individual pursuit of economic and social development (Schultz, 2007). Its 'excessive celebration of individual sovereignty ... feeds a value system [which defines] education exclusively as a private good displacing compassion, solidarity, cooperation, social responsibility and other attributes of education as a social good' (Giroux 1999, p. 143). While international schools stake a claim at producing responsible global citizens, the curriculum and pedagogies on which this is based suggest otherwise. They are rather grounded in the Western individualist notions embedded in their practice.

### *Career Aspirations*

Of particular interest on the ISWs were images that implied future career aspirations. Images used in advertisements evoke a direct emotional engagement with the viewer (Harrison, 2003). They signal the nature of aspirations promoted by the websites. In one ISW image, students appear to be performing in an orchestra (ISW14). The violins they use are rooted in Western classical music, symbolising class, order and talent. This image of students' aspirations then is other than what their immediate environment either offers or values. Orchestral music is a rarefied cultural pursuit inconsistent with Nigerian entertainment.

Another image features a white student, dressed in professional baseball attire and appearing to be engaged in playing the game. Although he appears to be playing on a field, he is the main focus in the photo and there are no other players in the background which has been blurred beyond recognition, though there appears to be a crowd (as though he is in a busy stadium). He is looking forwards in the direction of what appears to be a ball he has just thrown or towards which he is running. He is muscular and the image emphasises his powerful arms and neck. He has the posture and physique of a sportsman. Prospective clientele are thus presented with a desirable image of the skills and achievements to which they might aspire.

There is an implied narrative with neo-colonial connotations surrounding this image. At face value, the image might simply represent the school's ability to train their students to become professional sports men or women. However, baseball has professional leagues only in North America and therefore, aspiring to a professional career, implies aspiring to a specific location. None of the images on the NSWs suggested local Nigerian leagues or national teams as accomplishment. With baseball positioned as a middle class sport in the US (Carter, 1999), the image of a white baseball player signifies a white middle class American. More importantly, the desire for this status means that schools are unlikely to be developing competences beneficial to the indigenous context. Nigeria loses young, talented people through the activities of international schools. This paper is mindful here of what is frequently referred to as brain-drain from the global south to the global north (Blachford and Zhang, 2014). This phenomenon, argued here as underpinned by neo-colonialism (Ford-Jones, 2009) occurs in every facet of human flourishing. It continues with increasing intensity; exacerbating and exacerbated by worsening economic conditions in the global south (Levy, 2003).

## CONCLUSION

This paper has explored the extent to which neo-colonial values are inscribed within the websites of international schools in Nigeria. Inequalities, Western hegemonic dominance and neo-colonial aspirations were argued as deeply encoded within the information provided and images used on the sites. These values articulate the supposed supremacy of the USA and the UK while perpetuating the 'dreadful secondariness' of Nigeria. The ideologies provide an interpretation of reality promoted by dominant powers to legitimise their position and status (Freedon, 2003), exemplified by the promotion of neo-liberal globalisation by the West which enables the accumulation of capital, the growth and prosperity of Western interests and the continued exploitation of developing countries. Theorists refer to the international education industry, markets, businesses and brands (Cambridge, 2002; Macdonald, 2006; Brummit 2007). The schools are positioned as supermarkets that sell a capitalist product that reproduces the very order for which they were established. Althusser (1971) notes that one purpose of such apparatuses of ideology is to reproduce the same discourse. Thus, international schools reproduce the transnational capitalist class' ideology of neo-liberalism (Sklair, 2001).

The websites appeal to and to some extent help shape the neo-colonial identities of the Nigeria's bourgeois elite. The sites also reflect the intensifying consumerist and instrumentalist inclinations of the global education market. At a superficial level the students are written across the pages as subjects of an imagined boundless global space, riding on the wings of international education which furnishes them with the qualifications required to flourish in that space as adults. However, underpinning these representations are the enduring discourses of the neo-colonial intent where a globalised world is in actuality a parochial European and American world. This representation of the West closely resembles how the British Empire was presented and represented during the colonial era. All over the world colonial students of the British Empire were furnished with the same ideas and values that were perceived to be cosmopolitan, thus presenting the empire as a boundless whole whose interests superseded those of colonised communities and nations (Rizvi, 2008). In other words, internationalism was a code for defending the interest of the coloniser. This notion is what is argued to drive the practices of international schools and is aptly encoded on the international schools' websites.

Recurrent in the data is the explicit positioning of international schools as providers of a modern and first class system of education. These qualities were also considered higher than those of the Nigerian system of education. This has colonial undertones of equating Western education with modern education and denying local education systems any modernity; a position which is reiterated by international education theorists who suggest that international schools are in a position to act as a force for change and challenge to national systems. For example, Walker (2002) asserts that national systems of education are parochial with the primary goal of securing, and preserving national identities, and may not be relevant for the present global climate. Walker lists responsible citizenship, tolerance, compassionate thinking, diversity within a shared humanity and cultural understanding as the vocabulary of international education (ibid). Arguing that these are relevant for the present times which are characterised by the chaos that a clash of cultures and ideologies evoke, he fails to acknowledge or recognise the Western parochialism that is embedded within the practices of the schools. This parochialism is what is sold as modernism within international education practices and it is a strong tool in the reputation of such schools. Therefore, in an attempt to sell a modern form of education, the schools are packaging Western education as international.

It is not possible within the bounds of the research presented here to establish an empirical link between the ideologies underpinning the websites, and the actual educational experiences of indigenous Nigerian students. This article instead views the schools through the metaphorical screen provided by their websites. It is this basis that leads this paper to conclude that the key claims made by and about international schools and the education they provide is not consistent with what the sites actually communicate. Parents who unwittingly send their children to such schools are buying much more and much less than they imagine.

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# THE AGROFORESTRY APPROACH TO FOOD AND ENVIRONMENTAL EQUITY IN THE LOWER NINTH WARD OF NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA

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*Abstract:* Post Hurricane Katrina, the Lower Ninth Ward (LNW) community in New Orleans, Louisiana was severely ecologically, economically, and socially devastated rendering it an environmentally contaminated food desert. This study is an investigation of an agricultural method (Agroforestry system), its potential for providing an environmentally friendly and productive food source, and educational opportunities for sustainable practices in the LNW. The study question is could the agroforestry agriculture process significantly increase LNW crop yield. The experiment was a Randomized Complete Block (RCB) design with three replications. Treatments: site as the main treatment, distance from tree dripline as sub-treatments, and supplemental amendments as sub-sub-treatment. The control was “no trees” influence at a distance of > 30.48 m from tree dripline. Experiment crop: Celebrity tomatoes. The statistical procedure followed was an analysis of variance (ANOVA). Data were analyzed using SAS’s MIXED procedure with repeated measures, General Linear Model procedures (GLM), and regression and correlation analysis. Result showed no significant difference between sites. Distance at D0, D25, and D50 showed significant difference for Height ( $P$ -value 0.0001) and Crop Total Yield ( $P$ -value 0.0384), but no significant difference for marketable yield ( $P$ -value 0.0574). There was no significance beyond a distance >15.24 m. There was a highly significant difference between amendment AF and Comp/AF: Height ( $P$ -value 0.0001), Crop total yield ( $P$ -value 0.0001), and marketable yield ( $P$ -value 0.0001). The results suggest the influence of trees, for growing tomatoes, has a significant effect on plant growth and yield in the Lower Ninth Ward with highest yield closes to the tree at < 15.24 m. The addition of VFYW compost as a supplemental amendment can increase crop yield. The Agroforestry agriculture method could provide a pathway for educating the LNW community on eco-friendly crop cultivation for nutritious food security and a healthier environment.

*Keywords:* Agroforestry, compost, crop yield

## INTRODUCTION

Secondary education institutions have always included teaching units to train the next generation of leaders in areas of health and wellness, especially emphasizing proper diets and more recently promoting healthy foods and environments. Much of the education at the high school level come by way of extracurricular involvement in 4H Clubs throughout the year. More recently, 4H Clubs focuses on citizenship, healthy living, science, engineering and technology. Its main organization is the National Institute of Food and Agriculture under the United States Department of Agriculture.

As global education advances in this area of healthy living, it is important that education in the areas of urban agriculture and horticulture explore environmental challenges that compromise healthy foods security and contribute to soil degradation such a natural disasters. It is through the education perspective disadvantaged communities can gain knowledge necessary for to develop a sustainable, economical, ecological-friendly agriculture and environment.

In 2005, Hurricane Katrina brought about tremendous environmental challenges to New Orleans as it relates to food security, soil degradation, and air quality. The Hurricane left many the New Orleans properties vacant and contaminated. In addition, the resulting urban food deserts in areas of New Orleans make it difficult for people to buy basic nutrient-dense foods. This was especially so in low-income communities, such as the New Orleans Ninth Ward.



In New Orleans, Louisiana, regions are identified as Wards. The Ninth Ward lies in the easternmost downriver portion of the city. It is geographically the largest of the seventeen Wards of New Orleans. Lake Pontchartrain forms the north and northeastern end of the New Orleans Ninth Ward. From the river, the neighborhood descends to an open-water, brackish marsh called Bayou Bienvenue. This back part of the neighborhood is four feet below sea level at its lowest point (Lascell and Baumann, 2015; Rich, 2012).

One district of the New Orleans Ninth Ward is called the Lower Ninth Ward (LNW). It is 2.25 square miles. The U.S. census data of 2010 reported the population in the LNW is 2,842 compared to the 14,008 pre-Katrina reported in the U.S. census data 2000. The LNW's population is 95.87 percent African American compared to 9.61 percent for the total New Orleans (N.O.) area. The poverty rate for the LNW is 33.20 percent compared to 27.0 percent for the total N.O. area and 15.50 percent for Louisiana populations. The education rate in the LNW is 29.2 percent with less than a high school diploma, 33.00 percent with a high school diploma or GED, and 27.90 percent with some college but no degree. This is in comparison with the total N.O. area at 14.9 percent with less than a high school diploma, 23.60 percent with a high school diploma or GED, and 25.20 percent with some college but no degree and Louisiana at 14 percent with less than a high school diploma, 28.50 percent with a high school diploma or GED, and 24.10 percent with some college but no degree (datacenterresearch.org, 2016; U.S. Census, 2011-2015).

In 2005, many Wards in New Orleans were heavily devastated by Hurricane Katrina. Post-Katrina, urban food deserts made it difficult for people to buy basic inexpensive nutrient-dense foods because of the long travel distance and cost required to get these foods to a local market. This was especially so in low-income communities, such as the New Orleans LNW. Imported foods travel a complex network in order to supply the New Orleans Ninth Ward. Subsequently, this length of travel time between farms to plate decreases the probability of the Lower Ninth Ward sustaining a healthy lifestyle. Currently, there is one major food market that provide reasonable accessibility to the Lower Ninth Ward (Raison, 2010; Opitz, et. al., 2015).

Concurrent with the food insecurity is the environmental challenges in the Lower Ninth Ward since Hurricane Katrina. New Orleans lost about 100,000 trees as a result of Hurricane Katrina in 2005 (Schleifstein, 2012). The Lower Ninth Ward (LNW) is one of the most harshly deforested areas of New Orleans post-Katrina, rendering it restricted of the natural resources necessary for environmental decontamination and restoration. This restriction is particularly ecologically critical in the LNW; as, Harvey (2016) reported that currently there are more than 150 petrochemical plants within a 60-minute drive of the LNW, contributing to this community health disparity.

While there are numerous ongoing revitalization projects through collaborations between the New Orleans Administration and a diverse group of advocates, practitioners, and professionals whose concerns include increasing urban food security and reforestation (McMillan, 2010), they are mostly in other sectors of New Orleans excluding the Lower Ninth Ward. One initiative is the ongoing development of urban agriculture projects to turn brownfields and vacant lots into safe urban community gardens and urban farms compliant to the sites' size. However, the crops initiatives are being cultivated

through conventional agriculture systems that contribute to increase health concerns for an already deprived segment of the New Orleans area.

A major point of concern about the conventional agricultural systems developed in the revitalized areas of New Orleans is most are not environmentally responsible. The use of conventional inorganic synthetic fertilizer soil amendment processes, pesticides, and herbicides ultimately result in environmental problems such as soil degradation, eutrophication, and pollution of groundwater. It increases the toxicity of locally grown produce and drinking water (Huai, 2009; Sakrabani, et al., 2013; Workman, 2014). Also, the inorganic fertilizers are not cost effective for the Lower Ninth Ward population.

The reforestation projects in New Orleans support the expansion of the urban tree canopy to capture a variety of environmental pollutants. In addition, the trees also will assist in reducing urban flooding, as each one can capture 350 gallons of stormwater during a typical downpour (Schleifstein, 2012). The trees are planted in various areas of New Orleans; however, little reforestation is occurring in the Lower Ninth Ward community in spite of the abundance of vacant property.

Therefore, it is necessary to examine how agricultural land use initiatives such as urban community farms and home gardens taking place in the Lower Ninth Ward could be more resourceful and beneficial to the community if combined with a reforestation initiative. This type of intentional land-use system is known as Agroforestry System.

Currently, there is no evidence of an agricultural development utilizing urban Agroforestry practices in the Lower Ninth Ward. Therefore, there is a need to change the educational paradigm of tree planting for environmental restoration and crop production for food security in separate domains for the Lower Ninth Ward. Agroforestry taps both agriculture and forestry agencies to increase the possible set of educators for landowners and managers (Workman, et al, 2014). Hence, there is a necessity for examining the Agroforestry effect as a potential adaptable sustainable urban community agricultural system in the Lower Ninth Ward.

## LITERATURE REVIEW

### AGROFORESTRY

Agroforestry is becoming a larger component of sustainable agricultural movement in the United States (Bobryk, 2015; Jose, 2012). This type of system is an alternative to conventional agriculture. It is an environmentally responsible agriculture system that uses trees to increase nutrient input to the soil, decrease nutrient losses from the soil, and provide local food security while provide environmental benefits (Atangana, et al., 2013; Pinho, 2012; SAF, 2012). It has a prominent effect in reducing soil and water losses, improving land-use efficiency and increasing economic returns (Gao, et al., 2013). Comparative studies reported the economic benefits of agroforestry systems are greater return rates than conventional agriculture (Workman, et al. 2014).

Relative to production of nutrient-rich foods, a central theory is that productivity is higher in agroforestry systems compared to monoculture systems due to complementarity in resource-capture in which trees acquire resources that the crop alone would not acquire (Smith, 2010). This theory is based

on the fact that tree roots generally extend deeper than crop roots and are therefore able to access soil nutrients and water unavailable to crops, as well as absorbing nutrient leached from the crop rhizosphere. The nutrients are then recycled via leaf fall onto the soil surface or fine root turnover. This will lead to greater nutrient capture and higher yield by the integrated tree-crop system compared to tree or crop monocultures (Becker, 2015; Balgali, et al., 2015).

Moreover, an urban agroforestry practice can aid in restoration of the environmental quality in conjunction in urban communities, particularly in the poorest communities such as the Lower Ninth Ward where pollution is high due to the nearby chemical industry. In an agroforestry system, the trees can capture atmospheric dust particles, various toxic fumes, and pathogenic microbes. In addition, trees sequester atmospheric carbon dioxide (CO<sub>2</sub>) and store the carbon (C) in plant parts and soil (Lal, 2010; Munroe and Isaac, 2014; Pinho, et al., 2012).

Evidence indicates that communities who do acknowledge the merits of agroforestry will incorporate certain techniques into their agriculture practices if they could afford it (Pastur et al., 2012). Agroforestry Systems are rooted in social-economic processes that must be considered for sustainability. This supports the plausibility that possessing economics knowledge and skills enhances the awareness of the marketability aspects that would enable a higher level of agroforestry adoption. King (2008) stated that local food systems are not necessarily designed to completely isolate themselves from trade, but rather they aim to adapt local food production and markets to suit the environmental and health priorities of a community. According to Frey, et al (2013), the non-market value for the ecosystem services of an agroforestry system (soil erosion control, carbon sequestration, biodiversity) is necessary for the adoption of the agroforestry systems by communities.

## COMPOST

To strengthen the sustainability of community crop initiatives an integrated soil fertility management (ISFM) has proven to be viable for improving land productivity and increasing yield. ISFM is defined as a set of soil fertility management practices, such as compost, that include the use of organic fertilizer, organic inputs, and improved germplasm combined with the knowledge on how to adapt these practices to local conditions, aiming at maximizing agronomic use efficiency of the applied nutrient and improving crop productivity. Smallholder farmers commonly use organic resources such as farmyard manure, crop residues, and composts for a short-term supply of nutrients and long-term build-up of soil organic matter (Chivenge et al., 2009; Mponela et al., 2016).

Compost has an overall general positive influence on the physical properties of soil (Arthur, 2012). Compost may affect the release of nutrients to plants directly through the nutrients present in them or indirectly by their effect on the cation-exchange capacity. The Ilani et. al. (2014) study of the compost contribution on nutrient cycling and above- and below-ground interactions in agroforestry systems, reported the addition of compost in the first growth season led to an increase of soil organic matter reservoir and, in the second growing season, the plant yield was significantly higher in the plots in which compost was applied.

In developing a sustainable agroforestry, several natural resources must be considered components. A viable agroforestry system must have the fertile soil, suitable soil physical properties comprising of

texture, structure, porosity, aeration and an ability to maintain good hydration (Plante, 2013). In fact, soil as a whole should be generally 45 percent mineral, 5 percent organic matter (depending on the soil) and 50 percent pore space through which air and water can pass. To determine the probability of developing a sustainable agroforestry system in the Lower Ninth Ward (LNW), this study examines the level of produce yield in LNW soil influenced by trees as a fertilizer (Agroforestry) and the effect of natural organic compound (compost) combined with trees on produce yield, using LNW soil.

## METHOD

The experimental factors in this study are three Lower Ninth Ward sites, soil at the distances of 0 m (0 ft), 7.62 m (25 ft), and 15.24 m (50 ft) from the outside of the tree's canopy starting at the drip line of deciduous trees (DT), the DT soil at all three distances combined with VFYW (vegetables, fruits, and yard waste) compost in a 1:1 ratio, and the DT at all three distances combined with synthetic fertilizer. The “no tree” control is lower ninth ward soil with no influence of trees within 30.49 m (100 ft). The hypotheses in this study are: 1) There is no significant differences by site in agroforestry influence in the Lower Ninth Ward; 2) There is a significant difference in crop yield at various distances from the deciduous tree; and 3) There is a significant difference in crop yield between the tree only (AF) influence and the tree with the integration of VFYW compost (Comp/AF).

Location of study—The study was conducted during spring and summer 2017 at Southern University and A&M College (30°31'36.4"N 91°11'37.3"W) farm in a greenhouse setting. The greenhouse temperature, regulated by automatic ventilation slates in the roof, was controlled at 78° F. Design of the experiment - The experimental design was randomized complete block design with three replications. The Sites (*three locations in the Lower Ninth Ward*) were the main treatment, Distances (*0 m (0 ft.), 7.62 m (25 ft.), and 15.24 m (50 ft.) from canopy of the deciduous trees*) were the sub treatment, and supplemental soil amendment (*compost {1/2 compost and half soil by volume}*) and the “no tree” control were the sub-sub treatment. Background information on the source of soil used in the experiment - This study was conducted using three sites from New Orleans Lower Ninth Ward (LNW) (29° 58' 22.728" N). Each site was a convenience selection at strategic areas of the (LNW) based upon the presence of deciduous trees for sites 1 to 3 and no trees for site 4 within a distance of 30.48 m.

The primary trees species, in Sites 1–3, located within 15.24 m of the collected soil samples were recorded using the publication by Dozier and Mills (2015). The species were: Site 1 (29°58'20.8"N 90°00'20.3"W) Red Mulberry (*morus ruba*) and Black Willow (*Salix nigra*); Site 2 (29°57'18.2"N 90°00'37.0"W) Black Willow (*Salix nigra*), Pecan (*Carya illinoensis*) and Chinaberry (*Melia azedarch*); and Site 3 (29°57'46.9"N 90°01'20.2"W) Pecan (*Carya illinoensis*) and Chinaberry (*Melia azedarch*) ([www.google.map](http://www.google.map)). Soil and compost samples—Soil samples were collected from an area of 0, 7.62, and 15.24 meters from the deciduous trees' canopy drip line at a depth of 0 to 20 cm. In addition, soil samples were collected from another site where there were no trees within an area of 30.48 m. All above-ground litter and grass were removed during collection of the experimental soils prior to collection.

The experiment's compost, derived from a mixture of vegetables, fruits and yard waste (VFYW), was collected from a site located within the Lower Ninth Ward managed by a single urban farmer. The

compost was produced in an outdoor process system using disposed foods acquired from whole food markets located on the opposite side of New Orleans from the Ninth Ward. Yard waste from the farmer's property was integrated in the compost.

All soil samples and compost were analyzed for mineral content in a soil test and plant analysis laboratory located in Louisiana Agricultural Experiment Station, Soil Test and Plant Analysis Lab, School of Plant, Environmental, and Soil Sciences. The levels of readily bioavailable plant nutrient, the primary macronutrients (phosphorus, and potassium) and secondary nutrients, (calcium, magnesium, sodium, sulfur, copper, and zinc) were measured utilizing Mehlich (1984) routine soil test procedure [Extractant: Mehlich 3; Condition: 2 g soil / 20 mL solution, 5 min. shaking. (3.75 M NH<sub>4</sub>F—0.25 M EDTANH<sub>4</sub>NO<sub>3</sub>, CH<sub>3</sub>COOH, and HNO<sub>3</sub>); Analysis: ICP]. Experimental plant—The experimental plant, purchased as a seedling, was the Celebrity tomato (*Solanum lycopersicum* “Celebrity”). This plant was chosen because of its growth pattern and yield period of 70 days. The Celebrity tomato is a determinate (bushes types) plant which is very suitable for experiments with limited space (Schwarz, 2014).

The two-week-old tomato seedlings were purchased from a local nursery, sown one seedling per pot, and then placed in the temperature controlled greenhouse with equal radiation. Some mulching on the surface of the soil in each pot was applied to help conserve soil moisture, regulate soil temperature, and reduce weed growth. The total number of experiment plants were 108.

Water was applied to each pot sorcerer twice weekly based upon the existing level to ensure that water is not a limiting factor. Water was not applied on top of the soil. This process was used to minimize leaching and application of excess water. The entire yield was harvested approximately ten (10) weeks after planting when more than 50 percent of the plants had developed mature tomatoes.

## RESULTS

Data AnalysisThe statistical procedure followed was an analysis of variance (ANOVA). In using two-way ANOVA for the data, the three possible effects on the crop yield are: (1) the effect by site; (2) the effect by distance from the tree; and (3) the effect by amendment.

Data were analyzed using SAS's MIXED with repeated measures and General Linear Model procedures (GLM) (SAS, 2012). The independent variable included the sites, the distances from the deciduous tree, and amendments. The dependent variables were plant height, chlorophyll (used to assess plant nutrition health), total crop yield, and marketable. The main effects in the MIXED model were agroforestry treatment (AF) at distances from the deciduous tree (D0, D25, D50, and unlimited D100) and Compost combined with AF at same distances (COM/AF). The significance threshold was set at .05 probability level.

### HEIGHT AND CHLOROPHYLL

Sites. The variability of plant growth and chlorophyll levels at three sites in the New Orleans Lower Ninth ward was evaluated. For the height (Table 1) and chlorophyll (Table 2) related to the three sites, the results were not statistically significant (*P*-value 0.071 and 0.1949, respectively).

Distance from Tree. The variability of plant height and chlorophyll level by distance from trees was evaluated. The height (Figure 1) and chlorophyll (Figure 2) by distance from the tree, between D0, D25, and D50, showed results were not statistically significant (8.4cm/week). There was no significant differences in growth observed between the locations D0-D50. There was a significant difference in growth between distance D50 (8.4cm/week) and distance D100 (5.9cm/week) with a *P*-value 0.0001 (Table 1). The slopes of both regression lines suggested that the D0-D50 distance treatment had a higher growth rate than distance treatment that increased to D-100. Chlorophyll (Table 2) at D50 (3.8 SPAD/week) and D100 (3.4 SPAD/Week) showed a significant difference with a *P*-value 0.0001. The slopes of both regression lines suggested that the D0-D50 treatment had a higher photosynthetically active radiation rate within 15.24 m from the tree canopy. The photosynthetically active radiation was significantly lower for plants further than 15.24 m from the tree canopy.

Amendment. The variability of plant height and chlorophyll by amendment was evaluated. Growth rate showed a significant difference between AF (6.3cm/week) and Comp/AF (8.3cm/week) with a *P*-value 0.0001 (Table 1). Growth rate increased significantly with the compost treatment. Chlorophyll (Figure 4) showed a significant difference between AF (3.67 SPAD/week) and Comp/AF (0.61 SPAD/week) with a *P*-value 0.0001 (Table 2). Photosynthetically active radiation was significantly increased with the compost treatment.

Table 1

Results of Analysis of Variance with respect of plant height measured weekly for the different experimental treatments for 9 weeks.

| Source of Variation  | DF | F Value | Pr > F |
|----------------------|----|---------|--------|
| Week                 | 8  | 635.24  | <.0001 |
| Site                 | 2  | 4.99    | 0.0711 |
| Distance from tree   | 2  | 141.77  | <.0001 |
| Amendment            | 2  | 144.23  | <.0001 |
| Amendment X Distance | 4  | 1.41    | 0.2299 |

Table 2

Results of Analysis of Variance with respect to plant chlorophyll measured weekly for the different experimental treatments

| Source of Variation  | DF | F Value | Pr > F |
|----------------------|----|---------|--------|
| Week                 | 8  | 358.64  | <.0001 |
| Site                 | 2  | 1.64    | 0.1949 |
| Distance from tree   | 2  | 27.18   | <.0001 |
| Amendment            | 2  | 170.61  | <.0001 |
| Amendment X Distance | 4  | 0.82    | 0.2299 |

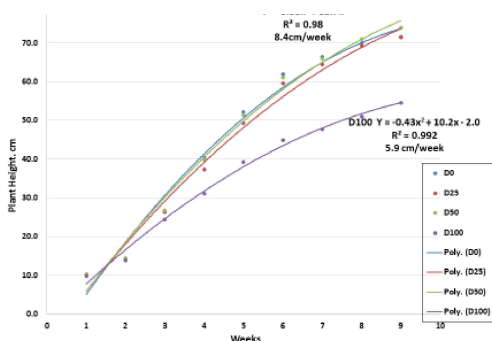


Figure 1: The means plant height (cm) values and difference among the four distances in the Lower Ninth Ward of New Orleans

Figure 2: The means Chlorophyll (SPAD) values and the four distances in the Lower Ninth Ward of New Orleans

## TOTAL WEIGHT BY SITE

The results from the total yield weight least square means for effects by three sites were 154.1, 139.5, and 124.9 respectively (Table 5). The results were not statistically significant by site at *P*-value .2657 (Table 3). There was no significant difference in yield total weight by site.

**Total Weight by Distance.** The results from the total yield weight least square means for effects by four distances from tree (D0, D25, D50, and D100) were 159.41, 117.42, 130.66, and 59.96 respectively (Table 6). The results were not statistically significant by distances <15.24 m (D0, D25, and D50). Tomato yield was related to the distance from the tree. There was a high yield at all three distance closes to the tree canopy within 15.24 m. However, there was a statistical significant difference between the means by distance of 15.24 to 30.48m at *P*-value .0384 (Table 3). The yield of tomato by distance treatment further than 15.24 m was significantly lowest in total yield weight.

**Total Weight by Amendment.** The results from the total yield weight least square means for effects by amendment AF and Comp/AF were 80.5 and 128.1, respectively (Table 7). There was a statistical significant difference between the means by the amendments at *P*-value .0001 (Table 3).

Table 3. The Combined Mean Square Analysis of Total Weight of Tomato Yield

| Source    | df | Sum of Squares | Mean Square | F Value | Pr > F   |
|-----------|----|----------------|-------------|---------|----------|
| Model     | 20 | 380,174        | 19,004      | 4.50    | .0001*** |
| Site      | 2  | 11,458         | 5,729       | 1.36    | .2657    |
| Distance  | 2  | 29,115         | 14,557      | 3.44    | .0384*   |
| Amendment | 2  | 231,363        | 115,681     | 27.36   | .0001*** |

Table 4. The Combined Mean Square Analysis of Marketable Weight

| Source    | df | Sum of Squares | Mean Square | F Value | Pr > F   |
|-----------|----|----------------|-------------|---------|----------|
| Site      | 2  | 4,212          | 2,106       | 0.43    | .6379    |
| Distance  | 2  | 24,832         | 12,416      | 2.67    | .0774*   |
| Amendment | 2  | 168,324        | 84,162      | 18.1    | .0001*** |

Note for Tables, 5, 6 and 7: Values are means of three replication with the corresponding standard error. For each column, values with different letters are significantly different according to Turkey's test (*P*<0.5)

Table 5. Weight Least Square Means for Efficient by Site

| Site | Total         | Marketable    |
|------|---------------|---------------|
| 1    | 154.1 ± 12.5a | 132.2 ± 13.1a |
| 2    | 139.5 ± 15.5a | 127.4 ± 13.1a |
| 3    | 124.9 ± 12.5a | 115.1 ± 13.1a |

Table 6. Weight Least Square Means for Including Distance Unlimited

| Site | Total           | Marketable      |
|------|-----------------|-----------------|
| DO   | 159.41 ± 15.76a | 143.53 ± 15.22a |
| DO25 | 117.42 ± 15.76a | 106.00 ± 15.22a |
| D50  | 130.66 ± 15.76a | 115.43 ± 15.22a |
| UL   | 59.96 ± 15.76b  | 59.96 ± 15.76b  |

Table 7. Weight Least Square Means for Effect by Amendment

| Amendment T | Total          | Marketable   |
|-------------|----------------|--------------|
| AF          | 80.5 ± 12.51a  | 72.0 ± 13.1a |
| Comp/AP     | 128.1 ± 12.51b | 1193 ± 13.1b |

Table 8. Hydrometer 1, 2, 3, and 4

| Soil Properties | Site 1 Measures of Soil Texture for Sites |            |            | Site 2    |           |                 | Site 3     |                 |                 | Site 4     |
|-----------------|---|------------|------------|-----------|-----------|-----------------|------------|-----------------|-----------------|------------|
|                 | 0 m                                       | 7.62m      | 15.24 m    | 0 m       | 7.62m     | 15.24 m         | 0 m        | 7.62 m          | 15.24m          | 3.48 m     |
| Clay            | 35.6                                      | 39         | 19         | 30        | 34        | 30              | 20         | 228             | 8               | 34         |
| Silt            | 16.4                                      | 16         | 18         | 43        | 40        | 21              | 9          | 23              | 18              | 32         |
| Sand            | 48  | 45         | 63         | 27        | 26        | 49              | 71         | 49              | 54              | 34         |
| Classification  | Sandy/Clay                                | Sandy/Clay | Sandy Loam | Clay Loam | Clay Loam | Sandy-Clay/Loam | Sandy Loam | Sandy-Clay/Loam | Sandy-Clay/Loam | Sandy Loam |

Marketable Weight by Site. The results from the marketable weight least square means for effects by three sites were 132.2, 127.4, and 115.1, respectively (Table 5). The results were not statistically significant by site at *P*-value .6379 (Table 4). Site has no effect on the marketable quality of yield.

Marketable Weight by Distance. The results from the marketable weight least square means for effects by four distances from tree (D0, D25, D50, and D100) were 143.53, 106.00, 115.43, and 59.96, respectively (Table 6). The results were not statistically significant by distances <15.24 m at *P*-value .0774 (Table 4). There was a relatively high marketable yield at all three distances from within 15.24 m from the tree canopy. There was a comparatively lower tomatoes yield at distances over 15.24 m from the tree canopy.

Marketable Weight by Amendment. The results from the marketable weight least square means for effects by amendment AF and Comp/AF were 72.0 and 119.3, respectively (Table 7). There was a statistical significant difference between the means by the amendments at *P*-value .0001 (Table 4). Yield of tomatoes had greater impacted by the compost/agroforestry combination treatment than the agroforestry alone treatment.

## DISCUSSION

Agroforestry system has been studied for a long time and has been widely used in the agricultural production practices. More recently, experts from Tuskegee University and Alabama A&M University collaborated on a USDA-AFRI-funded project - Agroforestry-Based Cropping Systems for Sustaining Small- and Medium-Sized Landowners to continue the efforts on promoting agroforestry research and extension education in the Southeast USA (Karki, et al., 2016). However, there has been little research evidence of the agroforestry system practiced in New Orleans area, in particular the Lower Ninth Ward of New Orleans. Of the ongoing New Orleans community agriculture projects, most are not environmentally responsible, utilizing inorganic synthetic fertilizer soil amendment processes,



pesticides, and herbicides ultimately resulting in environmental problems such as soil degradation, eutrophication, and pollution of groundwater.

The purpose of this study was to examine Agroforestry effects on soil fertility and crop yield in the Lower Ninth Ward of New Orleans as an alternative to toxic conventional agriculture practices. Agroforestry is an environmentally responsible agriculture system that uses trees to increase nutrient input to the soil, decrease nutrient losses from soil, provide environmental benefits, and provide local food security (Atangana, et al., 2013; Pinho, 2012).

This study explored the viability of soil from the New Orleans Lower Ninth Ward (LNW) to determine its fertility, physical properties comprising of texture, structure, porosity, aeration and ability to maintain good hydration necessary an agroforestry-based fertility system. It investigated the impact of deciduous trees at various sites and distances from the canopy as an environmentally safe organic soil amendment in the LNW. In addition, it investigated the integration of vegetable-fruit-yard waste (VFYW) compost with LNW soil near deciduous trees as an additional organic resource for agricultural initiatives in the LWN.

This study addressed the following questions: (1) Can the agroforestry effect by sites influence soil fertility in the Lower Ninth Ward to significantly increase crop yield? (2) Can the agroforestry effect significantly influence soil fertility and crop yield at different distances from the deciduous tree in the Lower Ninth Ward? (3) Can VFYW organic compost combined with LNW soil near deciduous trees amend soil fertility significantly to enhance crop yield?

In this study, no significant difference by site in LNW affecting agroforestry influence was observed. There was no significant difference in height (growth), chlorophyll levels, total yield, and marketable yield between all three sites. When analyzing physical properties of the soil by site, Table 8 showed the soil texture ranged between sandy-clay, sandy loam, and clay loam. The term 'loam' is used to describe soils that have a broadly similar concentration of sand, silt and clay particles. This is important because the texture of a soil has a direct impact on the way the soil reacts to certain environmental conditions and its ability to hold nutrients and moisture. With a high distribution of the loamy soil across the four study sites presenting no significant effect by site, the selection of tree species in the agroforestry process can be consistent throughout the Lower Ninth Ward.

The study observed a positive linear relationship between the distances from the deciduous trees canopy. It showed crop yield at a distance beyond 15.4 m away from the deciduous tree canopy decreased significantly. Though the growth rate, chlorophyll level, total weight, and marketable weight were not significantly different between a distance of 0 m, 7.63 m, and 15.4 m, the total and marketable yield, which directly relates to food security and economics, was very high at each distance. This is critical for crop yield estimation per unit area in an agroforestry system where stratification of the plot is determine by the size of the lot. In agroforestry, the tree-crop interface areas require stratification of individual crop rows at different distances away from trees based on the nature and extent of tree-crop competition for nutrients.

The study observed a positive linear relationship between the tree only (AF) influence and the tree influence combined with VFYW compost (Comp/AF) on the height (growth), chlorophyll, total and marketable yield. The agroforestry input to soil fertility and crop yield was substantial; but, the additional VFYW compost significantly increased the yield effect. The positive influence of VFYW

compost to an agroforestry process at all three distances from deciduous trees is important to the enhancement of an economical organic agriculture process.

## CONCLUSION

This study showed quantitative evidence to suggest that the agroforestry system in the Lower Ninth Ward (LNW) can provide an eco-friendly soil fertility method for agriculture with a significant yield at different sites. This is important; as, the LNW has multiple sites with large vacant lots which could be utilized for community agriculture initiatives. The size of the lots provide amply acreage to design various types of agroforestry systems that could meet specific needs of the LNW community.

By quantifying the distance from deciduous trees that could effectively produce high yield and potential economic resource, the Agroforestry system offers an educational opportunity for more economical and environmental benefits to a challenged community such as the LNW. To further this purpose, an Agroforestry Extension Education Program such as the program developed at Tuskegee University in 2010 (Karki, et al., 2016) could be used to conduct curricula-based, hands-on training sessions in LNW. With this education process, the land-owners and community participants would learn various aspects of Agroforestry that could enhance their abilities to adopt this method of agricultural development.

In addition, the findings in this study can be used in an educational initiative to identify the species of trees specific to the LNW that 1) effectively draw nitrogen from the air and fix it in the soil, thereby, reducing the need for large doses of manufactured nitrogen fertilizers and 2) won't compete with crops need for light, nutrients or water.

In this study, the yield and marketability of the tomato harvested was found to be more significant with the combination of the VFYW compost and the agroforestry soil. The findings showed an increase in tomato yield with the combination of VFYW compost with the LNW soil that was collect within 15.24 meters (50 feet) of deciduous trees. This finding could support the maintenance of the current compost development in the LNW while presenting a forum for educating and training LNW community participants about the nutrient significance and composition methods of compost.

Many landowners have difficulty in conceptualizing how a proposed agroforestry practice or system will actually benefit them. This lack of understanding often creates impassable barriers in the planning process and exacerbate the long-term commitment that agroforestry requires from landowners (Current, D., 2009). The findings in this study could be incorporated into strategic education and planning for the adoption of a community agroforestry project that could be presented to the LNW community's local leaders, community gatekeepers, stakeholders, community agent partners, and community members as a viable means of increasing local food security and healthy environment.

There were two limitations in this study. The variety of tree species on each site [Site 1- Red Mulberry (*morus ruba*) and Black Willow (*Salix nigra*; Site 2 - Black Willow (*Salix nigra*), Pecan (*Carya illinoensis*) and Chinaberry (*melia azedarch*); and Site 3 - Pecan (*Carya illinoensis*) and Chinaberry (*Melia azedarch*)] were mostly fruit bearing. Neither site chosen contained only non-fruit bearing tree species only. The effect of non-fruit bearing trees on crop yield was not observed for comparison with fruit bearing tree yield. It is very important to explore the competitive mechanism in intercropping systems, in order to provide optimum strategies for managing intercropping system with high-yield, high-efficiency and stabilization. Another limitation was the

absence of GIS mapping of the Lower Ninth Ward. GIS mapping would have assisted in identifying specific areas of the Lower Ninth Ward that would have benefitted by the study's soil testing for recommendation of future agroforestry sites. This tool would benefit in planning partnerships with community residents by giving them a perspective on the future possibility for food security and environmental decontamination.

## RECOMMENDATIONS

Recommendations for future inquiry are: 1) conduct this same investigation as a field study in the Lower Ninth Ward where growing conditions are not controlled as in this study that was executed in a greenhouse; and 2) include sites with non-fruit bearing tree species to compare with the findings of this study.

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# Macrosocial Bullying as a Paradigm for Racism in Education

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*Abstract:* People of color and other marginalized groups have endured societal ills resulting from the burdens of a system that institutionally pardons, perpetuates, protects, and props up the white supremacist cis-hetero-patriarchy. This reality propagates harm but does so invisibly, even among the most progressive and well-intending educational professionals. Macrosocial bullying is the synthesis of the theoretically based construct of bullying and systems of institutional oppression. Pathological white supremacy is disseminated through bullying behaviors at the macro level, and a change of perspective is needed to communicate institutional oppression to those who identify as white in education. A key argument in the paper is to shift the terminology from *racism* to *bullying* because the latter can be understood by a wider audience.

## INTRODUCTION

Bullying is a multifaceted and assorted phenomenon that directly impacts hundreds of millions of people each year (Volk, Dane, & Marini, 2014). Dozens of bullying researchers attending a recent Society for Research on Child Development symposium titled “40 Years of Bullying Research: What We Know” came to a consensus that there is still no adequate definition of bullying (Hymel, Swearer, McDougall, Espelage, & Bradshaw, 2013). Smith and Sharp (1994) indicate that bullying is a systematic abuse of power produced when an imbalance of power exists between the victim and the bully, which may be because the victim belongs to a minority group or is physically or psychologically more disadvantaged than the antagonist. Olweus (1993) defines bullying as negative action, aggressive behavior, or intentional harm-doing that is carried out repeatedly and over time in an interpersonal relationship characterized by an imbalance of power.

Macrosocial bullying (Morrow, 2017) differs from individual bullying. It relates to institutional power structures. For example, in early American history Africans that were held in bondage worked side by side with white indentured servants, both enduring many of the same grueling drudgery and harsh living conditions: “In the early years of the colony, many Africans and poor whites stood on the same ground. Black and white women worked side-by-side in the fields. Black and white men who broke their servant contract were equally punished” (Public Broadcasting Service, n.d., para. 3). This shared oppression experience engendered a collaborative effort to express overall discontentment and a mutual desire for increased agency. But these common interests between enslaved Africans and indentured Europeans posed a threat to rich, white, male, landowners, who needed to pit poor white laborers and Africans against each other in order to divide and conquer—to ensure that they did not unify in opposition to the oppression that they suffered and that the rich landowners profited from (Posner et. al., 2010).

The landowners’ policy of divide and conquer was successful because rather than poor laborers, indentured workers, and enslaved people uniting to oppose their oppression, the parties were split apart. Poor whites were offered privileges on the basis of phenotypical whiteness, but without the pedigree,

wealth, education, or political status (Posner et.al, 2010). Poor whites gained the socially enforced illusion of superiority and some modest concrete privileges in exchange for both their complicity (in the maintenance and enslavement of their African counterparts) and allegiance (to white supremacy and elite landowners). However, this trade-off mostly served to buoy the formidable position of only a select few (i.e., elite, wealthy, white, cis-heterosexual men) (Harris, 1993).

With the weaponization of whiteness established early in American history, it inherently became part of the institutional oppression of people of color and LGBTQ+ community in the United States. The purpose of this article is to show how this institutional oppression forms a type of bullying; macrosocial bullying, that parallels the power abuses of individual bullying and how a change of perspective is needed to communicate the mechanisms of institutional racism to those who identify as white. Using bullying theory and social dominance theory, we address the need for people in positions of power, such as educators to realize how macrosocial bullying can affect marginalized populations at the individual level. We also address how governmental and political social structures perpetuate macrosocial bullying. In addition, we offer a new perspective that unifies ideas about bullying, social dominance, and institutional oppression by extending these narratives from the macro level to the individual level. These changes may be especially helpful to educators who serve historically marginalized students.

#### MOVING BULLYING FROM THE INDIVIDUAL TO THE GROUP LEVEL THROUGH HIERARCHIES

Volk, Dane, and Marini (2014) proposed a theory-driven redefinition of bullying based on youth populations. It states, “Bullying is aggressive goal-oriented behavior that harms another individual within the context of a power imbalance” (p. 327). There are three theoretical components of this definition. First, bullying is carried out as goal-oriented behavior. Second, it is used to attain resources that enhance the bully’s social dominance and reputation. Third, a power imbalance allows the bully to perpetuate harm at a low cost. Additionally, the authors suggest that the traditionally repetitive nature of bullying may no longer be a necessary component in the definition of bullying because of the new dynamic of low frequency and high intensity cyberbullying via platforms such as social media. Olweus (1993) lists some common types of bullying: “Negative actions can be carried out by physical contact (i.e., hitting, pinching, biting, pushing and shoving), by words (i.e., name calling, lying, spreading rumors, making threats), or in other ways, such as making faces or mean gestures and intentional exclusion from a group” (p. 8).

These components of individual bullying are repeated in macrosocial bullying at the socio-societal level. According to Sidanius and Pratto (2001), there are three key social hierarchies. The first is an age-system in which adults have disproportionate social power over younger adults and children. The second is a gender or patriarchy-system, in which men have disproportionate political and social power over women. And the third is an arbitrary-set system that hierarchically arranges socially constructed categories (e.g., race, caste, ethnicity, nationality, social class, religion) that disproportionately assign power to those of certain categories over others. These hierarchies affect both systems and individuals. Hierarchies operate within social institutions and disproportionately allocate social resources to favor dominant groups over others. Hierarchies also use aggregate acts of individual discrimination, oppression, and cruelty toward subordinate groups to maintain their dominance.

Sidanius and Pratto (2001) indicate that personality, political values, and temperament of individuals in a dominant group affect the likelihood of their engaging in these hierarchy-enhancing bullying actions. This introduces a complexity to the hierarchical model. If members of the dominant group do not actively engage in bullying, they may not perceive themselves as participating in hierarchy-enhancing acts. For instance, in the case of racial hierarchies, whites may refuse to commit specific acts to enhance racism, although they continue to benefit from the privileges of dominant-race membership at a societal and group level. But how do individuals empathize with someone who experiences racism on a daily basis if they do not experience it themselves? How can they truly know if they themselves are committing hierarchy-enhancing acts if they are not viewing their own actions from the perspective of the subordinated group?

### THE CONCEPT OF MACROSOCIAL BULLYING AS A BRIDGE BUILDER

One way to get around the limited perspectives of the dominant group is to shift focus from the terminology of social dominance, institutional oppression, and structural racism to the more common and accessible terminology of bullying. Not all people of the dominant group can relate to the effects of structural racism, but most people can relate to being bullied. Using the term *macrosocial bullying* may provide a window through which educators may see the continuity of bullying actions from the individual level on to the institutional and societal levels. The actors who perpetrate coercive, aggressive, and repressive behaviors at the institutional and societal levels can seem invisible, devoid of intent and hostility. And since the general understanding of harm (e.g., racism) is that harmful actions occur through a desire to implement them at an individual level, this can lead to a blindness to the actual harm being carried out—no actor, no harm. The term *macrosocial bullying* mitigates this sense of anonymity or lack of intention. It reinforces the sense of harm that we all understand through the phenomenon of individual bullying, which may improve communication and increase empathy between those who are in the dominant group, those who study and/or treat these harmful actions, and those who are being harmed by them.

The term *macrosocial bullying* has its roots in the adjective *macrosocial*, meaning “Of or relating to fundamental structures within a society, such as economic or political systems, social and cultural institutions, demographic (especially ethnic) groupings, et cetera” (Oxford Reference Online, 2009). The synthesis of *macrosocial* and *bullying* describes the existence of institutionally oppressive strategies that are expressed through the governmental structures and political institutions that the dominant groups control. These include the legal, economic, educational, health care, social service, governmental, media, and criminal justice systems. These governmental structures and political institutions are weaponized by dominant groups, especially the wealthy, to maintain their hierarchies and eliminate any challenges by subordinated groups (the white working class, people of color, and others). The consequent division of the American people and the preservation of economic, racial, gender, cultural, and social hierarchies have redefined cultural norms, human identities, and core values. The ruthless desensitization of humanity to human suffering, environmental calamity, and global inequity is a manifestation of the erosion of our collective connection to one another, nature, and the planet.



## MACROSOCIAL BULLYING IN THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

The American power structure, which has historically and almost exclusively been comprised of members of the elite owning-class, white-supremacist cis-heteropatriarchy has perpetrated many harms over the years: infamous land grabs; calculated misrepresentations and suppressions of the truth; the passage of inequitable laws and legislations; selective and discriminatory law enforcement practices; human and civil rights violations; and manipulation and control of the narrative regarding morality, humanness, and the hierarchical designations assigned to quantify human value (Leonardo, 2009; Miller and Josephs, 2009). These harmful behaviors have been present in educational institutions throughout American history, from the prohibitions on reading among enslaved people and the labor-oriented education of black students to the over-punishment of male black students and the school-to-prison pipeline that has filled the coffers of the private prison industry.

One form of macrosocial bullying in schools is the high stakes testing that indicates there is an achievement gap between Black and White students. On the surface high stakes testing appears to be based on meritocracy however there are those who argue testing is a form of racism (Pitre et.al., 2009). Other forms of bullying include preferencing of English and curriculum that does not reflect the diversity that exist in schools (Nieto and Bode, 2018). Ramakrishnan and Balgopal (1995) explain that Anglo conformity and assimilation have been the dominant model for the diverse groups that have come to the United States (or, in fact, were here already). Gordon (1961) detailed the maintenance of the English language and English-oriented cultural patterns and institutions as dominant standards in American life. Because of the white-Anglo hierarchy in education, people of color and other marginalized groups have lacked role models in schools, have been deprived appropriate education in their own languages, and have sometimes had their very names changed to more Anglo forms.

## ADDRESSING MACROSOCIAL BULLYING IN EDUCATION

Given the harms done by patterns of behavior in education settings, how can we make teachers and others aware of the existence of macrosocial bullying and suggest ways to undo it? This is a challenge because most educators—whether in liberal or conservative environments—have multicultural perspectives that are neither analytical nor critical of power, whiteness, or white supremacy (Nylund, 2006). In order for white educators to disrupt the race-based macrosocial bullying of students of color, they must first become aware of whiteness as a privileged racial identity. They must commit to understanding the historic imperialistic associations of that identity for people of color. And they must be conscious of their actions with people who are similar and dissimilar from their categorical group in view of those associations. Using the lens of macrosocial bullying allows for a more personal understanding of harm and agency, unlike the more impersonal terminology of structural racism and institutional oppression. Macrosocial bullying starts with a familiar idea and ends with a more open dialogue.

## CONCLUSION

Discussions of institutional racism and social dominance theory have been fruitful in developing a theoretical understanding of racism. Theorists like Giroux (2002) have talked about how the idea of whiteness has been used by elites to maintain their privileges and “divide and conquer” those who might

challenge them. However, exactly because of the institutional nature of the topic, the everyday workings of racism can be invisible, even to progressive and well-meaning groups of educators and allied health professionals. We need a new terminology and concept that can help teachers and others within the field of education to recognize the harms of racism that are perpetrated on students.

The concept of macrosocial bullying may be a new way to introduce to teachers to the harm that is perpetuated through bullying behaviors from the macro level to the individual station. It offers a new understanding of institutional oppression to those who identify as white. It combines attention to institutions and patterns with the familiarity of the bullying paradigm based on harm and the imbalance of power. Directing educators' attention to harm may mitigate the tendency to excuse racist behaviors as out of their control—or anyone's control (Dei, 1996). Just as educators have learned to intervene in cases of individual bullying, they can learn to recognize and intervene in the macrosocial bullying that harm the students in their care.

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# DEFEATING BULLYING CONSEQUENCES EXPERIENCED AMONG STUDENTS WITH DISABILITIES

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*Abstract.* Students who have disabilities are a marginalized student population facing higher bullying rates in comparison to other underrepresented student groups. These increased bullying rates can lead to socioemotional consequences such as decreased school performance, decreased self-esteem, decreased friendships, and decreased physical health. Since school-based extracurricular activities may have positive socio-emotional benefits for students with disabilities, it is possible that extracurricular activity involvement can also mitigate the negative impacts bullying has on students with disabilities. The following study uses the National Crime Victimization Survey—School Crime Supplement (NCVS/SCS) to determine if extracurricular involvement lessens the negative impacts bullying has on schoolwork, self-esteem, friendships, and physical health among students with disabilities who are victims of bullying.

## BACKGROUND

Bullying victimization is a social issue experienced by all student groups. Specifically, students with disabilities are a marginalized population that faces higher bullying victimization rates in comparison to any other oppressed student group (Rose, Espelage, Monda-Amaya, Shogren, & Aragon, 2015). Bullying can have several socio-emotional consequences for the victims. These consequences can include a decrease in academic performance, a negative impact on the student's friendships, and decreased self-esteem (Hymel & Swearer, 2015). In order to promote social justice for students who have disabilities, it is vital for practitioners who work with students who have disabilities to explore potential methods to combat bullying victimization and the outcomes derived from being a victim of bullying.

Participating in extracurricular activities has shown to have several positive impacts on students across all populations (Eime, Young, Harvey, Charity, & Payne, 2013). When examining students who have disabilities, studies have indicated several social and health benefits acquired from participating in either athletic or non-athletic extracurricular activities (Schaefer, Simpkins, Vest, & Price, 2011). Given that there are several socio-emotional benefits gained from participating in extracurricular activities, it is possible that participating in extracurricular activities can also directly decrease bullying rates and also mitigate the magnitude of the outcomes derived from being a victim of bullying among students who have disabilities. Using the National Crime Victimization Survey—School Crime Supplement (NCVS/SCS), this paper will explore the influence that extracurricular participation has on the outcomes experienced by students with disabilities who are bullied. These outcomes include the negative impact bullying has on school performance, friendships, and self-esteem.

## CONSEQUENCES OF BULLYING VICTIMIZATION

Common socio-emotional symptoms experienced by victims of bullying include anxiety, depression, isolation, loneliness, self-harm, and suicidal ideation (Hicks et al., 2018; Hymel & Swearer, 2015). These consequences often manifest in several facets of a student's life, resulting in a detrimental impact on the student's school performance, self-esteem, and friendships. Students who have a disability are already

at a higher risk of experiencing these socio-emotional consequences due to the barriers presented of their disability (Espelage, Rose, & Polanin, 2015). Since students with disabilities are already prone to these socio-emotional consequences, being a victim of bullying impacts their schoolwork, self-esteem, and friendships at a more severe rate in comparison to their peers who do not have a disability (Hicks et al., 2018; Hymel & Swearer, 2015). It is possible that the benefits of participating in extracurricular activities can lessen the severity of the negative impacts faced by students with disabilities.

#### BENEFITS OF EXTRACURRICULAR ACTIVITIES

School-based extracurricular activities can include athletics, clubs, spirit groups, volunteer work, student government, and other interest groups. A key advantage of participating in school-based extracurricular activities is the increased socialization opportunities by being among like-minded peers (Brooks et al., 2015; Knifsend & Juvonen, 2017). Participating in school extracurricular activities may generate several benefits for adolescent and teenage students such as better academic performance, increased psychological health, and increased friendships (Eime, Young, Harvey, Charity, & Payne, 2013; Feldman & Matjasko, 2005). Spriggs, Iannotti, Nansel, and Haynie (2007) demonstrated that students who did not participate in extracurricular activities did not feel a social connection to their school environment, resulting in several socio-emotional consequences. Since participating in extracurricular activities have several socio-emotional benefits (Eime et al., 2013; Spriggs et al., 2007), it is possible that they can also assist in dimensioning the negative outcomes students with disabilities experience after being bullied.

Since students who have disabilities are a population most vulnerable to the detrimental impacts bullying can have on students, they are often encouraged to participate in extracurricular activities (Brooks, Floyd, Robins, and Chan, 2015). Extracurricular activity participation has been used as a principal method to increase academic performance, friendships, and self-esteem among students with disabilities. In a study conducted by Brooks et al. (2015), children who had intellectual and developmental disabilities demonstrated an increase in social competence when participating in structured extracurricular activities. As a result, Brooks et al. (2015) found the participants who exhibited the increase in social competence, also reported having more classmates that they identified as friends. Supporting the findings of Brooks et al. (2015), other studies have indicated that the students who participate in extracurricular activities were able to develop longer-lasting friendships in comparison to the students who did not participate in extracurricular activities (Schaefer, Simpkins, Vest, & Price, 2011). Thus, emphasizing how extracurricular activity involvement is critical to the foundation of formulating socio-emotional benefits for students who have disabilities. Given the results of past studies, it is possible that the benefits of extracurricular activities can combat the negative outcomes derived from being a victim of bullying.

#### PURPOSE

The purpose of this study is to determine if participating in extracurricular activities influences the destructive outcomes students with disabilities experience after being bullied. Since participating in extracurricular activities has demonstrated several benefits to students who have disabilities, it is possible that extracurricular activities also assist in mitigating the negative outcomes of being bullied.

Specifically, it is possible the negative consequences of bullying will not be severely impact students with disabilities who participate in extracurricular activities

A nationally representative secondary dataset was used to explore if there is a relationship between extracurricular activity involvement and the influence bullying has on students with disabilities. A few studies have determined relationships between extracurricular participation and bullying victimization patterns among various student populations. However, there no studies have been conducted to determine if extracurricular activities have a direct relationship with mitigating socio-emotional consequences. It is predicted that participation in athletic or non-athletic extracurricular activities will have a moderating effect on the magnitude of how much bullying negatively impacts the students. The specific negative outcomes associated with bullying that will be examined in this study include schoolwork, self-esteem, and friendships.

## METHODS

### RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The following research question was tested by utilizing the School Crime Supplement (SCS) survey obtained from the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) public dataset:

R1: Does participating in extracurricular activities moderate the negative impacts bullying has on schoolwork, friendships, and self-esteem experienced among students with disabilities who are bullied?

### SAMPLE

The sample for this study included participants in the NCVS who were enrolled in school and stated that they were victims of bullying. Children that were under the age of 12 and non-diploma track were excluded from the NCVS study (U.S. Department of Justice, 2008).

There were a total of 728 students who were identified as having a disability that reported being bullied ( $N = 728$ ). The gender representation of the sample was male (62 percent) and female (38 percent). Ethnicity demographics of the sample included (19 percent) who identified as Hispanic/Latino/a and (81 percent) who did not. The racial demographics of the sample were White (80 percent), Black (13 percent), Asian (3 percent), Native American (1 percent), Native Hawaiian/Island Pacifier (0.4 percent), and two or more races (1.6 percent).

### MEASURES

Participants were asked closed-ended survey questions related to student demographics, extracurricular activity participation, and the impact bullying had on their schoolwork, friendships, and self-esteem. The independent variable of interest was a yes/no dichotomous variable to determine the participants' extracurricular activity involvement. The extracurricular activities included athletic teams, spirit groups, performing arts, academic clubs, student government, and community service groups. Due to small cell sizes of the number of participants who participated in non-athletic activities, all of the non-athletic extracurricular activities were combined to form the non-athletic dichotomous variable. The dichotomous extracurricular athletic activity variable remained its own category for all models.

The dependent variable was the negative impact bullying had on students' schoolwork, friendships, and self-esteem. These were three separate outcome variables that were measured using the same an ordinal scale. In three separate questions, the students were asked, "How much did bullying negatively impact your schoolwork, friends, and self-esteem?" "The answers on the scale ranged from 0 to 3 (0 = Not at all, 1 = Not very much, 2 = Somewhat, 3 = A lot).

Control variables included age, gender, ethnicity and race. Age was a continuous variable ranging from 12 to 18. Gender was a dichotomous variable in which participants classified as male or female. Ethnicity was a dichotomous variable in which participants classified themselves as Hispanic/Latino/a or not Hispanic/Latino/a. Race was a categorical variable in which participants identified as White, Black, Asian, Native American, Island Pacifier, or two or more races. Due to small cell counts among the race variable, racial demographics could not be analyzed using the six original categories. The race variable was collapsed to non-minority and minority.

## ANALYSIS

Three separate ordinal logistic regression models were applied in order to further explore the relationship between both athletic and non-athletic extracurricular involvement and the negative outcomes experienced among students with disabilities who are bullied, while controlling for demographic variables. Since this study was exploratory, all of the ordinal logistic regressions and the overall model fit was tested for statistical significance using a significance level of  $p < .05$  (Cohen, 1968; Harlow, 2016). A test of parallel lines was applied to all three regressions in order to determine if the regression models met proportional odds assumptions.

## RESULTS

### LOGISTIC REGRESSION ONE: BULLYING IMPACT ON SCHOOLWORK OUTCOMES

The independent variables included in logistic regression model one were extracurricular athletic involvement, non-athletic extracurricular involvement, gender, race, ethnicity, and age. The outcome variable was the level of negative impact bullying had on the student's schoolwork. Results of the overall model were statistically significant ( $\chi^2(6) = 18.107, p = .006$ ) (See Table 1, Page 122)

Extracurricular athletic activities. Results of the ordinal logistic regression indicated a statistically significant relationship between participating in extracurricular activities athletic and the impacts bullying had on the students' schoolwork ( $\chi^2(1) = 10.834, p < .001$ ). Students who participated in extracurricular activities athletic were more likely to have lower scores on the negative impact on schoolwork scale. This suggests that students who did not participate in athletics were more likely to report that bullying had a greater impact on schoolwork in comparison to students who were involved in athletics. The probability of students who did not participate in athletics who reported that being a victim of bullying had a greater negative impact on their schoolwork was 1.733 (95 percent CI, 1.249 to 2.404) times higher than students who participated in athletics.

## NON-ATHLETIC EXTRACURRICULAR ACTIVITIES.

When examining non-athletic extracurricular activities, results did not indicate a statistically significant relationship with the negative impact bullying victimization had on the student's schoolwork ( $\chi^2(1) = .410, p = .552$ ). Thus, participating in extracurricular athletic activities had a more significant impact on the negative outcomes students who are bullied face related to schoolwork than non-athletic extracurricular activities do.

*Other control variables.* Age had a statistically significant relationship with the negative schoolwork outcomes faced by students who were bullied ( $\chi^2(1) = 4.122, p = .042$ ). Younger students were more likely to have lower negative outcome scores related to schoolwork. Other control variables that were not significant in the analysis included gender, race, and ethnicity.

## LOGISTIC REGRESSION TWO: BULLYING IMPACT ON FRIEND OUTCOMES

Independent Variables in Logistic Regression Two include extracurricular athletic involvement, non-athletic extracurricular involvement, gender, race, ethnicity, and age. The outcome variable was the level of negative impact bullying had on the student's friendships. Results of the overall model were statistically significant ( $\chi^2(6) = 17.223, p = .008$ ) (See Table 2, Page 123).

*Extracurricular athletic activities.* When examining the impacts bullying had on the students' relationships with friends, results of indicated a statistically significant relationship between participating in extracurricular athletic activities and the negative impacts it had on their relationships with friends ( $\chi^2(1) = 6.914, p = .009$ ). Students who participated in extracurricular athletic activities were more likely to have lower scores on the negative impact on friendships scale. Meaning, students who did not participate in athletics were more likely to report that being a victim of bullying had a greater an impact on their relationships with friends in comparison to students who were involved in athletics. Students who did not participate in athletics were 1.619 (OR = 1.619, 95 percent CI, 1.130 to 2.313) times more likely to report that bullying had a greater negative impact on their relationships with friends in comparison to students who participated in athletics.

*Non-athletic extracurricular activities.* Similar to the impacts bullying had on the students' schoolwork, non-athletic extracurricular activities did not indicate a statistically significant relationship with the negative impacts bullying had on the student's friendships ( $\chi^2(1) = .407, p = .554$ ). Thus, indicating that participating in extracurricular athletic activities has a greater impact on the negative outcomes related to relationships with friends after being bullied, than non-athletic extracurricular activities do.

*Other control variables.* Other statistically significant relationships with the negative friendship outcomes faced by students who are bullied included gender ( $\chi^2(1) = 4.057, p = .044$ ) and ethnicity ( $\chi^2(1) = 5.271, p = .022$ ). Controlling variables that did not have a statistically significant included age and race.

## LOGISTIC REGRESSION THREE: BULLYING IMPACT ON SELF-ESTEEM OUTCOMES

Independent Variables in Logistic Regression Three include extracurricular athletic involvement, non-athletic extracurricular involvement, gender, race, ethnicity, and age. The outcome variable was the level of negative impact bullying had on the student's self-esteem. Results of the overall model were statistically significant ( $\chi^2(6) = 39.504, p < .001$ ) (See Table 3, Page 124).



Table 1: Ordinal Logistic Regression One—Negative Bullying Impact on Schoolwork

Pearson Chi-Square:  $\chi^2(6) = 18.107^a$ ,  $p = .006$

| Parameter                           | B                                 | Std. Error | Hypothesis Test |        |       | Exp(B) | 95% Wald Confidence Interval<br>for Exp(B) |       |        |
|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|------------|-----------------|--------|-------|--------|--|-------|--------|
|                                     |                                   |            | Wald Chi-Square | d.f.   | Sig.  |        | Lower                                      | Upper |        |
| Threshold                           | Negative Impact on Schoolwork = 1 | -.441      | .6419           | .471   | 1     | .492   | .644                                       | .183  | 2.265  |
|                                     | Negative Impact on Schoolwork = 2 | .799       | .6429           | 1.544  | 1     | .214   | 2.223                                      | .631  | 7.839  |
|                                     | Negative Impact on Schoolwork = 3 | 2.181      | .6568           | 11.026 | 1     | .001   | 8.854                                      | 2.444 | 32.076 |
| Participates in Non-Athletics [No]  | .099                              | .1548      | .410            | 1      | .522  | 1.104  |  | .815  | 1.496  |
| Participates in Non-Athletics [Yes] | 0 <sup>a</sup>                    | .          | .               | .      | .     | 1      |  | .     | .      |
| Participates in Athletics [No]      | .550                              | .1670      | 10.834          | 1      | .001* | 1.733  |  | 1.249 | 2.404  |
| Participates in Athletics [Yes]     | 0 <sup>a</sup>                    | .          | .               | .      | .     | 1      |  | .     | .      |
| Gender [Male]                       | -.145                             | .1557      | .862            | 1      | .353  | .865   |  | .638  | 1.174  |
| Gender [Female]                     | 0 <sup>a</sup>                    | .          | .               | .      | .     | 1      |  | .     | .      |
| Race [Non-Minority]                 | .213                              | .1998      | 1.140           | 1      | .286  | 1.238  |  | .837  | 1.831  |
| Race [Minority]                     | 0 <sup>a</sup>                    | .          | .               | .      | .     | 1      |  | .     | .      |
| Ethnicity [Not Hispanic/Latino/a]   | -.204                             | .1992      | 1.052           | 1      | .305  | .815   |  | .552  | 1.205  |
| Ethnicity [Hispanic/Latino/a]       | 0 <sup>a</sup>                    | .          | .               | .      | .     | 1      |  | .     | .      |
| Age                                 | -.086                             | .0423      | 4.122           | 1      | .042* | .918   |  | .845  | .997   |

Source: National Crime Victimization Survey: School Crime Supplement; Year 2015 Wave

Table 2: Ordinal Logistic Regression Two—Negative Bullying Impact on Friends

| Parameter                           | B              | Std. Error | Hypothesis Test |    |       | Exp(B) | 95% Wald Confidence Interval for Exp(B) |        |
|-------------------------------------|----------------|------------|-----------------|----|-------|--------|---|--------|
|                                     |                |            | Wald Chi-Square | df | Sig.  |        | Lower                                   | Upper  |
| Threshold                           |                |            |                 |    |       |        |   |        |
| Negative Friends Outcome = 1        | .272           | .6971      | .153            | 1  | .696  | 1.313  | .335                                    | 5.148  |
| Negative Friends Outcome = 2        | 1.048          | .6987      | 2.251           | 1  | .134  | 2.852  | .725                                    | 11.218 |
| Negative Friends Outcome = 3        | 2.497          | .7133      | 12.256          | 1  | .000  | 12.151 | 3.002                                   | 49.181 |
| Participates in Non-Athletics [No]  | -.108          | .1696      | .407            | 1  | .524  | .897   | .644                                    | 1.251  |
| Participates in Non-Athletics [Yes] | 0 <sup>a</sup> | .          | .               | .  | .     | 1      | .                                       | .      |
| Participates in Athletics [No]      | .480           | .1827      | 6.914           | 1  | .009* | 1.617  | 1.130                                   | 2.313  |
| Participates in Athletics [Yes]     | 0 <sup>a</sup> | .          | .               | .  | .     | 1      | .                                       | .      |
| Gender [Male]                       | -.346          | .1718      | 4.057           | 1  | .044* | .707   | .505                                    | .991   |
| Gender [Female]                     | 0 <sup>a</sup> | .          | .               | .  | .     | 1      | .                                       | .      |
| Race [Non-Minority]                 | .125           | .2150      | .341            | 1  | .559  | 1.134  | .744                                    | 1.728  |
| Race [Minority]                     | 0 <sup>a</sup> | .          | .               | .  | .     | 1      | .                                       | .      |
| [Not Hispanic/Latino/a]             | -.531          | .2313      | 5.271           | 1  | .022* | .588   | .374                                    | .925   |
| [Hispanic/Latino/a]                 | 0 <sup>a</sup> | .          | .               | .  | .     | 1      | .                                       | .      |
| Age                                 | -.047          | .0458      | 1.048           | 1  | .306  | .954   | .872                                    | 1.044  |

Pearson Chi-Square:  $\chi^2(6) = 17.223^a$ ,  $p = .008$

Source: National Crime Victimization Survey: School Crime Supplement; Year 2015 Wave

Table 3: Ordinal Logistic Regression Three—Negative Bullying Impact on Self-Esteem

| Parameter                           | B              | Std. Error | Hypothesis Test |    |       | Exp(B) | 95% Wald Confidence Interval for Exp(B) |       |
|-------------------------------------|----------------|------------|-----------------|----|-------|--------|---|-------|
|                                     |                |            | Wald Chi-Square | df | Sig.  |        | Lower                                   | Upper |
| Threshold                           |                |            |                 |    |       |        |   |       |
| Negative Self-Esteem Outcome = 1    | -1.084         | .6528      | 2.758           | 1  | .097  | .338   | .094                                    | 1.216 |
| Negative Self-Esteem Outcome = 2    | -.290          | .6516      | .198            | 1  | .657  | .749   | .209                                    | 2.684 |
| Negative Self-Esteem Outcome = 3    | .929           | .6565      | 2.004           | 1  | .157  | 2.533  | .699                                    | 9.171 |
| Participates in Non-Athletics [No]  | -.269          | .1586      | 2.879           | 1  | .090  | .764   | .560                                    | 1.043 |
| Participates in Non-Athletics [Yes] | 0 <sup>a</sup> | .          | .               | .  | .     | 1      | .                                       | .     |
| Participates in Athletics [No]      | .666           | .1704      | 15.295          | 1  | .000* | 1.947  | 1.394                                   | 2.719 |
| Participates in Athletics [Yes]     | 0 <sup>a</sup> | .          | .               | .  | .     | 1      | .                                       | .     |
| Gender [Male]                       | .158           | .1562      | 1.025           | 1  | .311  | 1.171  | .862                                    | 1.591 |
| Gender [Female]                     | 0 <sup>a</sup> | .          | .               | .  | .     | 1      | .                                       | .     |
| Race [Non-Minority]                 | .298           | .2024      | 2.172           | 1  | .141  | 1.348  | .906                                    | 2.004 |
| Race [Minority]                     | 0 <sup>a</sup> | .          | .               | .  | .     | 1      | .                                       | .     |
| [Not Hispanic/Latino/a]             | -.702          | .2152      | 10.629          | 1  | .001* | .496   | .325                                    | .756  |
| [Hispanic/Latino/a]                 | 0 <sup>a</sup> | .          | .               | .  | .     | 1      | .                                       | .     |
| Age                                 | -.138          | .0432      | 10.171          | 1  | .001* | .871   | .800                                    | .948  |

Pearson Chi-Square:  $\chi^2(6) = 39.504^a$ ,  $p < .001$

Source: National Crime Victimization Survey: School Crime Supplement; Year 2015 Wave

Extracurricular athletic activities. Out of all of the negative outcomes that derive from being bullied, extracurricular activities had the most impact on self-esteem outcomes. When looking at extracurricular athletic activities, results of the ordinal logistic regression indicated a statistically significant relationship between participating in athletic eplextracurricular activities and the impacts bullying had on the student's self-esteem scores ( $\chi^2(1) = 15.295, p = .001$ ). The odds of students who did not participate in athletics who reported that being a victim of bullying had a greater negative impact on their self-esteem was 1.947 (OR = 1.947, 95 percent CI, 1.394 to 2.719) times higher than students who participated in athletics. This indicates students who did not participate in athletics were almost twice as likely to report that bullying had a greater negative impact on their self-esteem in comparison to students who were involved in athletics.

*Non-athletic extracurricular activities.* Similar to the effects non-athletic extracurricular activities had on the victim's schoolwork and friendships, non-athletic extracurricular activities did not indicate a statistically significant relationship with the negative impacts bullying has on the student's self-esteem ( $\chi^2(1) = 2.879, p = .090$ ). Thus, indicating that participating in non-athletic extracurricular activities does not have an impact on the negative outcomes related to their self-esteem after being bullied.

*Other controlling variables.* Other statistically significant relationships included age ( $\chi^2(1) = 10.171, p = .001$ ) and ethnicity ( $\chi^2(1) = 10.629, p = .001$ ). Controlling variables that did not have a statistically significant included gender and race.

#### ASSUMPTION OF PROPORTIONAL ODDS

The assumption of proportional odds was met for regressions 1-3, as assessed by a full likelihood ratio test comparing the fit of the proportional odds model to a model with varying location parameters. For regression one, which assessed them impact bullying had on the students' academic performance, the test of parallel lines met the assumption of proportional odds ( $\chi^2(12) = 13.833, p = .312$ ). For regression two, which assessed the impact bullying had on the students' friendships, the test of parallel lines met the assumption of proportional odds ( $\chi^2(12) = 19.944, p = .068$ ). For regression three, which assessed the impact bullying had on the students' self-esteem, the test of parallel lines met the assumption of proportional odds ( $\chi^2(12) = 14.007, p = .300$ ).

#### DISCUSSION

##### EXTRACURRICULAR ATHLETIC ACTIVITIES

Students who have disabilities are a marginalized population that is most susceptible to bullying victimization and the negative outcomes derived from being a victim of bullying (Farmer et al., 2012; Rose et al., 2009). Since extracurricular athletic activities have been proven to increase academic performance, friendships, self-esteem, and physical health among student populations (Palmer, Elliott, & Cheatham, 2017), it was predicted that extracurricular athletic activities would also diminish the impact bullying had on all three outcomes. Findings of this analysis supported past literature by demonstrating that extracurricular athletic participation had a positive influence on students. Specifically, the findings of this analysis added to past studies by demonstrating how the benefits of extracurricular athletic activities were able to lessen the negative impact that bullying had on the students' academic performance, self-esteem, friendships, and physical health.

When examining extracurricular athletic activities, the null hypothesis was rejected for all three logistic regressions. Meaning, a statistically significant relationship was observed between extra-

curricular involvement and the negative impact bullying had on academic performance, self-esteem, and friendships among students who have disabilities. Overall, results indicated that the students who participated in athletics were less likely to report higher scores negative outcome scores in comparison to the students who did not participate in athletics. This finding was consistent across all three logistic regression outcomes used in the analysis: negative impact on schoolwork, negative impact on friends, and negative impact on self-esteem. Students who were involved in sports were twice as likely to answer “not at all” when asked if bullying impacted their schoolwork, friends, and self-esteem. Meaning, being bullied had less of a detrimental effect on the student’s schoolwork, friendships, and self-esteem if they were involved in extracurricular athletic activities.

#### NON-ATHLETIC EXTRACURRICULAR ACTIVITIES

Although extracurricular athletic activities had a statistically significant relationship with mitigating the negative impacts bullying had on students with disabilities, non-athletic extracurricular activities did not demonstrate to have the same impact. In fact, when examining the negative bullying outcomes related to schoolwork, friendships, and self-esteem, non-athletic extracurricular activities did not approach significance for any of the three categories. Thus, the null hypothesis could not be rejected when examining the moderating relationship of non-athletic extracurricular activities among the three ordinal logistic regressions.

Based on the findings of this analysis, it is possible that non-athletic extracurricular activities do not provide the same benefits as other extracurricular activities. The findings of this study are most consistent with the findings of Peguero (2008), who found that students involved in clubs were more likely to be bullied in comparison to the students who were involved in sports. Thus, indicating different types of extracurricular involvement have varying relationships with bullying victimization and the consequences students experience after being a victim of bullying. Given the findings of Peguero (2008) and the findings of this study, it is possible that students with disabilities who are involved in non-athletic extracurricular activities may experience harsher consequences related to bullying because they are bullied at higher rates in comparison to students who participate in athletics.

#### LIMITATIONS

Like all studies, this study was not without limitations. The primary limitation in this study is the specific disability categories were not differentiated in the NCVS/SCS dataset. Although, all of the students who participated in the NCVS/SCS were all on diploma track, meaning all subjects had mild to moderate disabilities, it does not account for the diversity presented within each specific disability cluster. Since a student who has a physical disability would have unique experiences in comparison to students who have an intellectual or learning disability, it is possible that participants among varied disability categories would be impacted by extracurricular involvement and bullying victimization at different rates. Thus, meaning the influence extracurricular involvement has on mitigating the negative bullying outcomes could vary among each disability category.

#### CONCLUSION AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Overall, extracurricular athletic activities were demonstrated to reduce the negative outcomes bullying victimization had on schoolwork, friends, and self-esteem among students with disabilities. However, non-athletic extracurricular activities did not demonstrate a significant relationship with any of the negative outcomes derived from being bullied. Thus, it imperative to examine further why non-athletic extracurricular activities are not contributing to the socio-emotional health among bullying victims with

disabilities. As the number of students with disabilities wanting to participate in extracurricular activities increases, it is crucial that education researchers to continue investigating this relationship.

#### IMPLICATIONS FOR PRACTICE

Although the promotion of inclusive extracurricular activities is a growing trend among the disability community, students with disabilities are still limited to extracurricular options due to accessibility barriers presented by their disability (Cumming, Marsh, & Higgins, 2017; Blake, Lund, Zhou, Kwok, & Benz, 2012; Rose et al., 2015). Despite the regulations set by the Americans With Disabilities Act (ADA), extracurricular activities offered in schools are not inclusive or accommodating for students who have varied needs in relation to their disability (Murphy & Carbone, 2008; Bills, 2018). The findings of this study emphasize the vitality to advocate for more inclusive extracurricular activities that accommodate the needs of students who have disabilities. Since students with disabilities are four times more likely to experience bullying victimization and the negative consequences stemmed from bullying (Farmer et al., 2012), it is crucial that practitioners ensure students who have disabilities are provided with equal accessibility to extracurricular activities in order to acquire the social-emotional benefits and bullying resilience gained from them. If students with disabilities are provided with more access to extracurricular activities, then they will be less likely to experience the detrimental impacts bullying has on their academic performance, self-esteem, and friendships.

#### IMPLICATIONS FOR EDUCATION RESEARCH

Since students with disabilities experience higher bullying rates in comparison to other student groups, it is crucial for educators and researchers to provide activities that help combat the negative impacts that bullying has on students with disabilities. Although past studies indicate both athletic and non-athletic extracurricular activities have the same benefits for students; this study demonstrated that this is not the case when specifically examining students with disabilities. Results revealed that extracurricular athletic activities were able to mitigate the negative bullying outcomes among students with disabilities, while non-athletic extracurricular activities did not. Due to the limited extracurricular options that students with disabilities have in comparison to their non-disabled peers (Brooks et al., 2015; Corbin & Holder, 2016), it is imperative for researchers to continue investigating why extracurricular athletic activities provided positive benefits for students with disabilities, while non-athletic extracurricular activities did not.

In order to promote equality and inclusion for students with disabilities, researchers must continue examining the subject matter to understand how to better promote inclusion in extracurricular activities. A deeper understanding of this topic can help ensure that students with disabilities are provided equal opportunities to experience the benefits of participating in extracurricular activities. Specifically, a deeper understanding of extracurricular activities and how they influence bullying outcomes may lead to better bullying interventions with students who have disabilities.

#### REFERENCES

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## BIOGRAPHIES

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Tanya Hudson, EdD, is an Assistant Professor in the Elementary Education Department in the College of Education at Fayetteville State University. Her background is in Educational Leadership, Elementary Education and Mathematics. Her teaching philosophy is grounded in the tenets of culturally responsive teaching which makes connections between student's cultural backgrounds to academic knowledge to ensure that all students voices are heard and valued.

Briauna Johnson graduated with a master's degree from Sociology at California State University, Northridge (CSUN). She is currently a lecturer at CSUN in the sociology department teaching courses on research methods. Her research includes exploring the rise of capitalistic, conglomerate, and bureaucratic influences in the Hip-Hop industry and its relationship to song lyrics. She is currently working on a multitude of research projects including the exploration of

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