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Abstract: This article describes the outcomes of children with special education labels who participated in an inclusive PreK Head Start program that utilized a literacy-based integrated curriculum model over the course of eight months. Students were measured with the LAP-3 assessment instrument at the beginning and end of the treatment period. Implications for classroom practice and policy development are discussed for PreK children with disabilities within inclusive classrooms.

INTRODUCTION

Children growing up in financially impoverished homes are likely to experience material, spiritual, and emotional deprivation that restricts their ability to thrive, achieve their full potential, or participate fully in society (Moccia, 2009). The lasting effects of economically poor environments are long reaching and grow with each successive generation. In fact, children living in families with few financial resources have been found to experience higher levels of intellectual and behavioral problems which lead to poor educational, health, socialization, and financial outcomes in their adult years (Brook-Gunn & Duncan, 1997; Moore, Redd, Burkhauser, Mbwane, & Collins, 2009). In addition, there is a strong association between poverty and children who experience disabilities (Hallahan, Kauffman, & Pullen, 2009) which often leads to academic and social problems though out a child's school career (Hanson et. al., 2011).

Currently, twenty-two percent of children ages 18 and below within the United States live in families whose incomes fall below the poverty line (U. S. Census Bureau, 2010). Forty-three percent of children six years old and younger experience the highest poverty rates (Douglas-Hall & Chau, 2007). This rate has consistently risen in the past ten years (U. S. Census Bureau, 2010). Moreover, as the poverty rate among children has increased, the rate of young children with disabilities has also expanded (U. S. Department of Education, 2008). The result is a growing number of children living in poverty that encounter disabilities at younger ages, live with them for longer periods and have fewer resources available, thereby, making academic gains harder to achieve.

Education in the United States has attempted to minimize the effects of poverty among young children through legislative initiatives that target many of these negative outcomes. In 1994, the Goals 2000: Education America Act (P. L. 103-227) was enacted. The first of these goals stated that by the year 2000, all children in America would start school ready to learn. Readiness was defined in terms of child, school, and community readiness. Building on the work of Goals 2000, the U. S. Congress enacted the No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB) of 2001, which focuses on closing the achievement gap between groups of students that historically perform poorly and their higher performing peers. Children with disabilities have also been supported through the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA). Both NCLB and IDEA align in ways that seek to improve the outcomes for all underachieving students.

The question of which curriculum to use with young children in public settings has gained increasing popularity (Lonigan, Allan, & Lerner, 2011; Preschool Curriculum Evaluation Research

Consortium, 2008). Prompted by the power of No Child Left Behind legislation, states are increasing the scrutiny of the curriculum model used with their youngest students and implementing standards based assessment throughout the child's tenure in public based educational settings. Moreover, the newly revised Head Start and Child Development Framework is placing more scrutiny on early learning standards for children three to five.

Prior research (McEvoy & Yoder, 1993) suggests three principles that practitioners can use in helping children with disabilities develop greater academic engagement: (a) enhance the teacher's role within the classroom, (b) provide strategic intervention strategies for targeted children, and (c) manipulate the classroom environment to help children grow socially. However, few studies have investigated the effects of a comprehensive integrated literacy-based curriculum that embraces these principles within inclusive settings with young children who have disabilities.

Head Start

Since 1965, the Head Start program has provided a national comprehensive school readiness program through the enhancement of social/emotional, cognitive, and physical development for young children. Head Start also embraces a strong family component. In the past 45 years, it has served more than 23 million children with an annual budget that has exceeded eight billion dollars (Office of Head Start, 2014). Head Start's commitment to children with disabilities is also long standing. Prompted by Senator Walter Mondale, then Head Start director, Edward Zigler began mainstreaming children with disabilities into several pilot Head Start projects in the late 1960's. Congress followed in 1972 by mandating that at least ten percent of Head Start's national enrollment consist of children with disabilities (Zigler & Muenchow, 1992). Currently, Head Start reports that 12.2% of its participating children have a disability. The program is instrumental in identifying children with disabilities and providing early intervention services such as occupational, physical, and speech therapy, assistive technology, vision services, mental health services and crisis intervention within inclusive classrooms (Head Start, 2014).

Research Question

The purpose of this quasi-experimental study was to examine the effects of a comprehensive special services program that utilized a literacy-based curriculum within inclusive Head Start classrooms on children's developmental outcomes. Specifically, the study examined the following research question: Do children who experience poverty and disabilities demonstrate improved school developmental outcomes when exposed to an integrated inclusive literacy-based curriculum?

Method

Setting

The Head Start program where the intervention occurred serves more than 4,200 children. The program has existed for 18 years and has served more than 63,000 children and their families. All children in the program received Head Start services by meeting federal poverty guidelines. Children with disabilities were served in inclusive classrooms and supported with a special services model designed by the local Head Start program. The Scholastic PreK Curriculum was used as a literacy-focused intervention.

Data was collected on 312 three and four year old children with disabilities. All children participated in the study while learning in multi-age inclusive Head Start classrooms. The youngest children were three years old at the beginning of the intervention and the oldest

children were five and a half years old at the end of the study.

PARTICIPANTS

Students. Students with special education needs included in this intervention were serviced with an Individualized Education Program (IEP). Seven disability categories were used by the local Head Start program. These categories and the percentage of children within the Head Start setting included in each category are listed as follows: Autism (0.9%), Emotional/behavioral impairments (6.0%), Health Impairments (26.7%), Intellectual Disabilities (2.5%), Orthopedic impairment (1.9%), Speech or Language impairments (56.9%), and other disabilities (5.0%).

The following ethnic groups were represented among the children: African American (47%), Hispanic (48%), and other (5%). The label of "developmentally disabled" was not used by this local Head Start program.

Teachers. Thirty-four teachers were randomly selected from a pool of 200 teachers who had three or more years of teaching experience. The teachers were randomly assigned to the classrooms participating in the study. Demographic data revealed that the 34 teachers in the intervention were female. Teacher age was categorized as follows: 46% of the teachers were between 40 and 49 years of age, and 24% were between 50 and 59. Other demographic data revealed that 49% of the teachers held a Child Development Associate's (CDA) certificate, 31% had an Associate's Degree, 17% had a Bachelor's degree, and 3% had a Master's degree. Moreover, teacher ethnicity included three major groups: 50% African American, 46% Hispanic, and 4% Anglo.

INTERVENTION

The intervention involved in this study included the local Head Start Special Services program model and the literacy-focused curriculum model, Scholastic Early Childhood Program (SECP).

*Local Head Start Special Services program***.** The Special Services program within this local Head Start program services all students with disabilities and is based on a three-prong platform: (a) identification and intervention, (b) preventive and remedial treatment, and (c) prevention of problems related to mental wellness. Within this framework the Special Services program focuses on identification, service delivery, intervention, and transition to public school. The program conducts screenings, responds to referrals, and provides mental health evaluations for both typically and atypically developing children. Head Start Special Service personnel work with related service providers such as occupational and speech therapists, speech pathologists and psychologists. Collaboration with the local school district is encouraged. Children with identified disabilities receive their education in the least restrictive environment with an Individualized Education Plan (IEP). In addition, counseling is provided for families of children with disabilities. A formal transition plan is also utilized to help children move from Head Start to public school.

Literacy-focused program. The Scholastic Early Childhood Program (SECP) is a literacy-based curriculum model that was chosen for this project due to its developmentally appropriate research based design for PreK children and its emphasis on inclusion of children with special learning needs. In addition, SECP has three major foci that influenced the selection of this program within this study. First, SECP encompasses a curriculum that is aligned with the Early Reading First initiative. Second, SECP supports administrators, teachers, and para professionals with relevant professional development. Third, there is strong family communication and support integrated throughout the program (Scholastic, 2010). A more detailed description of the SECP is detailed below.

Thematic curriculum. SECP thematically integrates language, math, science and social studies, the arts, physical, personal and social development with ten themes or units of study. Included within each of the themes are subthemes that focus on literacy development. The integrated literacy focus acts as a welding agent among the various content areas and themes of study forging a strong literacy base throughout the year. This curriculum "meets Early Reading First criteria and the Pre-Kindergarten Curriculum guidelines which were originally developed by the Texas Education Agency" (Scholastic, 2010). Students receive instruction in phonological awareness, oral language, print awareness, and alphabetic knowledge. Teaching methods include a myriad of activities that emphasize developmental principles such as dramatic play, discovery and participation in the fine arts.

Teachers are supported with directions for specific teaching strategies to use in circle time, story time, learning centers, and transitions. The structured components of SECP were deemed important to address the needs of Head Start teachers who may have limited prior professional training in scientifically based early childhood practices (Gettinger & Stoiber, 2008).

Professional development. Ongoing professional support is also offered within the SECP framework. Background information on child development, current research, and workshops are provided to assist teachers in augmenting the existing curriculum with additional meaningful activities.

Family involvement. Family involvement is a strong component of the program. Suggestions are provided to foster the school-family relationship. Resources are listed for meeting and greeting families, teacher-family conferences, family meetings, home projects, and family learning nights. Materials are provided in both English and Spanish. However, the implementation of this curriculum was made in English.

Special needs. Individual learning needs of children (i.e. children who have Head Start special education labels and children who are English Language Learners) are addressed within the curriculum through separate training guides, specialized reading material and ongoing modifications. The training guides help teachers modify the classroom learning environment for the specialized needs of children. The book, *Understanding Special Education* (Stowe, 2005), was integrated into the professional development plan for all teachers using the SECP. This is a SECP supplementary guidebook containing information on individual disability groups and ways to modifying the SECP curriculum for children with disabilities. Instruction is also modified throughout the year through formative assessments.

INSTRUMENT

The Learning Accomplishment Profile-3 (LAP-3), a criterion referenced assessment instrument, was used to measure the children's development (Sandford, Zelman, Hardin, & Peisner-Feinberg, 2004). The LAP-3 was designed to assist teachers, clinicians, and parents in evaluating development of young children ages 36-72 months. Results can be used to assess children and then plan appropriate individualized developmentally appropriate instruction. Atypical and typically developing children may be assessed with the LAP-3.

The instrument measures outcomes in seven growth domains that align with Head Start Program Outcomes as reflected in the 2003 standards. These domains with examples include: (a) gross motor (stands alone, walks on a line, touches toes, etc), (b) fine motor (turns pages of book singly, picks up objects with tongs, etc), (c) prewriting (marks with pencil, hold paper in place, draws person, etc), (d) cognitive (removes lid from box to find hidden

toy, repeats two digits, gives two objects, etc.), (e) language (points to pictured object by use, points to 10 pictures of common objects, etc.), (f) self-help (finger feeds self, uses toilet when taken by adult, puts on pull up garment, etc) and (g) personal/social skills (imitates household activities, refers to self by name, tells full name, etc).

Reliability coefficients reveal strong internal consistency for each domain, ranging from 0.78 to 0.98. The LAP-3 was found to have good criterion validity when compared to the Battelle Developmental Inventory. However, normative developmental ages are viewed as approximate in nature and not age equivalents (Early Childhood Outcomes Center, 2006).

Data Collection

LAP-3 data were collected by classroom teachers in September, November, and May of the school year in which the intervention of this study took place. The LAP-3 assessment requires between 60 and 90 minutes per student. The assessment was conducted in multiple time periods based upon the developmental needs and attention span of the individual children. For the purpose of this research the data was collected around the 2003 Head Start domains: language, literacy, mathematics, science, creative arts, social/emotional, and physical health/development.

Data Analysis

Mean scores (beginning, middle, end) were examined to determine if PreK students made gains during the year. From the beginning to the end of the year, mean score gains were computed by subtracting beginning mean scores from end-of-the year mean scores to compute a gain score. The researcher only compared students who had both beginning, middle, and end of the year mean scores from the LAP-3. A full academic year of intervention treatment consisted of students consistently enrolled for a minimum of eight months.

Results

The following section describes the results of the study. Tables 2 through 7 display the mean score and the gains made by children with special education labels for whom the beginning, middle and end of year LAP-3 scores were collected. Mean score gains demonstrated developmental growth during one year for children with disabilities.

Language

Table 1 displays the language mean score gains that the 312 children with special education labels made from the beginning, middle, and to the end of the year. Children in all categories made language gains over the course of the school year. The highest gain score was 19 and the lowest was 6. Those children identified by the health, autism and speech or language impairment labels made the highest gains. Mean scores for each category are noted: Health Impairments ($\bar{x}$=48.43, 58.91, 67.88, gain score=19), Autism ($\bar{x}$=17.73, 26.24, 30.49; gain score=13), and Speech or Language Impairments ($\bar{x}$=37.10, 47.09, 56.35; gain score=19). Children with emotional /behavioral impairments and intellectual disabilities made the lowest gains (Emotional/Behavioral Impairments $\bar{x}$=51.06, 59.07, 57.97; gain score=6 and Intellectual Disabilities, $\bar{x}$=17.29, 24.62, 28.87; gain score=12).

Literacy

Table 2 depicts the literacy mean score gains of the 312 children involved in this study. The data reveals that on average children demonstrated growth in the literacy domain on the LAP-3 assessment. Highest gains were made by children with health impairments ($\bar{x}$=18.15, 31.49, 42.45; gain score=19) and Speech or Language Impairments ($\bar{x}$=11.16, 21.94, 31.32; gain score=19) Children with Emotional/behavioral Impairments scored the lowest on literacy development ($\bar{x}$=13.93, 41.55, 31.06; gain score=6).

MATHEMATICS

Data in Table 3 reveals that children classified as special education students within the Head Start program on average made mathematical gains over time. Children with Emotional/ behavioral Impairments experienced a mean gain of 29.43 points with the following mean scores, $\bar{x}$=21.40, 47.06, 50.93.

SCIENCE

The data in Table 4 demonstrates the mean score gains that occurred in science outcomes among children within the Head Start program who were identified as needing special education services. The data revealed that the children in every disability group began the year with very low science engagement (Autism, $\bar{x}$=6.11, Emotional/Behavioral Impairments, $\bar{x}$ 21.40, Health Impairment, $\bar{x}$=28.17, Intellectual Impairment, $\bar{x}$=7.91, Orthopedic Impairment, $\bar{x}$=21.39 and Speech and Language Impairment, $\bar{x}$=20.81). By the end of the year the mean scores had risen considerably (Autism, $\bar{x}$=13.20; gain score=15, Emotional/Behavioral Impairments, $\bar{x}$=22.5; gain score=291, Health Impairment, $\bar{x}$=57.17; gain score=29, Intellectual Impairment, $\bar{x}$=17.85; gain score=5, Orthopedic Impairment, $\bar{x}$=46.67; gain score=28 and Speech and Language Impairment, $\bar{x}$=48.42; gain score=26). The highest achieving groups were those with Emotional/Behavioral Impairments (gain score=29) and Health Impairments (gain score=29). Those who achieved the least were children with Learning Disabilities/Mental Retardation (gain score=5).

CREATIVE ARTS

Children with disabilities who participated in this Head Start program made gains on the creative arts section of the LAP-3 assessment. As seen in Table 5, the mean scores of children in six disability groups doubled between the beginning and end of year assessment. Children with disabilities who participated in this Head Start program all made progress on the creative arts section of the LAP-3 assessment. The mean scores of children in six disability groups doubled between the beginning and end of year assessment (Autism, $\bar{x}$=16.67, 26.67, 36.67; gain score=20; Intellectual Disabilities, $\bar{x}$=18.75, 27.14, 41.90; gain score=23; Orthopedic Impairment $\bar{x}$=31.67, 46.00, 63.33; gain score=32; Speech or Language Impairments $\bar{x}$=34.24, 56.36, 68.84; gain score=35). Children classified as Emotional/Behavioral Impaired and Health Impaired also made noteworthy gains in their mean score during the course of the year (Emotional/Behavioral Impairments $\bar{x}$=32.63, 61.76,60.00; gain score=27; Health Impairment $\bar{x}$= 45.05, 62.80 71.35; gain score=26).

SOCIAL AND EMOTIONAL

Data in this study indicate that on average children made gains in the social/emotional domain during the course of the school year, as shown in Table 6. Data in this study indicate that all children made gains in the social/ motional domain during the course of the school year. Autism ($\bar{x}$=21.95, 38.21, 43.09; gain score=21), Emotional /behavioral Impairments ($\bar{x}$=39.02, 64.70, 63.87; gain score=25), Health Impairment ($\bar{x}$=63.83, 75.90, 81.99; gain score=18), Intellectual Impairment ($\bar{x}$=29.87, 50.52, 58.12; gain score=28), Orthopedic Impairment ($\bar{x}$=58.13, 68.78, 78.44; gain score=20), Speech or Language Impairments ($\bar{x}$=50.19, 72.29, 78.74; gain score=29). Children in the Health Impairment category achieved the lowest gains resulting in a 18.16 median point gain.

PHYSICAL HEALTH AND DEVELOPMENT

The children involved in this study achieved mean score gains in the physical health and development domain, as shown in Table 7. The children involved in this study did achieve gains in the physical health and development domain. Children classified as Autistic began with the lowest mean scores ($\bar{x}$=28.94) and ended the treatment phase with a mean score gain of 20. In

contrast, children classified Emotional/ behaviorally Impaired achieved the highest mean score gain of 28. All students made progress during the year.

However, children who made the highest gains during the year in health and physical development were those whose disability did not stem from a severe physical limitation but rather problems in the social and behavioral domains.

Table 1: *Means and Standard Deviation of LAP-3 Language Scores*

Disability Group	Sample Size	N	Beginning		Middle		Ending		Mean Score Gain
			M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	
Autism	3	312	17.73	10.41	26.24	16.43	30.49	19.44	13
Emotional/Behavioral Impairments	19	312	51.06	22.67	59.07	28.33	57.97	27.56	6
Health Impairment	85	312	48.43	25.86	58.91	18.45	67.88	12.11	19
Intellectual Impairment	8	312	17.29	6.57	24.62	11.75	28.87	14.76	12
Orthopedic Impairment	6	312	39.00	23.34	42.55	25.84	51.06	31.86	12
Speech or Language Impairments	181	312	37.10	101.7	47.09	94.69	56.35	88.14	19

Table 2: *Means and Standard Deviation of LAP-3 Literacy Scores*

Disability Group	Sample Size	N	Beginning		Middle		Ending		Mean Score Gain
			M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	
Autism	3	312	6.86	2.73	12.74	6.89	18.62	11.05	12
Emotional/Behavioral Impairments	19	312	13.93	3.59	41.55	15.94	31.06	8.53	6
Health Impairment	85	312	18.15	47.27	31.49	37.84	42.52	30.04	19
Intellectual Impairment	8	312	8.09	.06	10.50	1.77	12.60	3.25	12
Orthopedic Impairment	6	312	9.31	2.34	12.35	4.49	17.64	8.23	12
Speech or Language Impairments	181	312	11.16	120.09	21.94	112.4	31.32	105.8	19

Table 3: *Means and Standard Deviation of LAP-3 Math Scores*

Disability Group	Sample Size	N	Beginning		Middle		Ending		Mean Score Gain
			M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	
Autism	3	312	6.11	2.20	18.33	10.84	21.66	13.20	16
Emotional/Behavioral Impairments	19	312	21.40	1.70	47.06	19.84	50.83	22.51	29
Health Impairment	85	312	28.17	40.18	43.17	29.58	57.17	19.68	29
Intellectual Impairment	8	312	7.91	.06	10.47	1.75	17.85	6.97	10
Orthopedic Impairment	6	312	21.39	10.88	39.33	46.67	46.67	28.75	25
Speech or Language Impairments	181	312	20.81	113.27	37.30	101.6	48.82	93.46	28

Table 4: *Means and Standard Deviation of LAP-3 Science Scores*

Disability Group	Sample Size	N	Beginning		Middle		Ending		Mean Score Gain
			M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	
Autism	3	312	6.11	2.20	18.33	10.84	21.66	13.20	15
Emotional/Behavioral Impairments	19	312	21.40	1.70	47.06	19.84	50.83	22.51	29
Health Impairment	85	312	28.17	40.80	43.17	29.58	57.17	19.68	29
Intellectual Impairment	8	312	7.91	.06	10.47	1.75	17.85	6.97	5
Orthopedic Impairment	6	312	21.39	10.88	39.33	23.57	46.67	28.75	28
Speech or Language Impairments	181	312	20.81	113.27	37.30	101.6	48.42	93.46	26

Table 5: *Means and Standard Deviation of LAP-3 Creative Scores*

Disability Group	Sample Size	N	Beginning		Middle		Ending		Mean Score Gain
			M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	
Autism	3	312	16.67	9.66	26.67	16.73	36.67	23.81	20
Emotional/Behavioral Impairments	19	312	32.63	9.64	61.76	30.24	60.00	28.99	27
Health Impairment	85	312	45.05	28.25	62.80	15.70	71.35	9.65	26
Intellectual Impairment	8	312	18.75	7.60	27.14	13.54	41.90	23.97	23
Orthopedic Impairment	6	312	31.67	18.15	46.00	28.28	63.33	40.54	32
Speech or Language Impairments	181	312	34.24	103.7	56.36	88.14	68.84	79.31	35

Table 6: *Means and Standard Deviation of LAP-3 Social and Emotional Scores*

Disability Group	Sample Size	N	Beginning		Middle		Ending		Mean Score Gain
			M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	
Autism	3	312	21.95	13.40	38.21	24.89	43.09	28.35	21
Emotional/Behavioral Impairments	19	312	39.02	14.16	64.70	32.32	63.87	31.73	25
Health Impairment	85	312	63.83	14.97	75.90	6.44	81.99	2.13	18
Intellectual Impairment	8	312	29.87	15.47	50.52	30.06	58.12	35.44	28
Orthopedic Impairment	6	312	58.13	36.86	68.78	44.39	78.44	51.23	20
Speech or Language Impairments	181	312	50.19	92.49	72.29	76.87	78.74	72.31	29

Table 7: *Means and Standard Deviation of LAP-3 Physical Health & Development Scores*

Disability Group	Sample Size	N	Beginning		Middle		Ending		Mean Score Gain
			M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	
Autism	3	312	28.94	18.34	42.31	27.80	48.50	32.17	20
Emotional/Behavioral Impairments	19	312	54.20	24.89	78.98	42.20	82.48	44.89	28
Health Impairment	85	312	59.75	17.86	74.40	7.50	81.54	2.45	22
Intellectual Impairment	8	312	31.81	16.83	39.52	22.28	51.06	30.45	19
Orthopedic Impairment	6	312	53.49	33.58	72.09	46.73	80.44	52.63	27
Speech or Language Impairments	181	312	55.00	89.10	74.20	75.52	81.66	70.25	27

DISCUSSION

The study explored the effects over time on children's outcomes of a comprehensive special services program that utilized a literacy-based curriculum within inclusive Head Start classrooms. The study examined the following research question: Do children who experience poverty and disabilities demonstrate improved school developmental outcomes when exposed to an integrated inclusive literacy-based curriculum?

Results from the LAP-3 indicate that a positive trend developed during the course of the intervention year for the research question. All children made gains across the six disability categories in the domains of language, literacy, mathematics, science, creative arts, social emotional, physical health and development in an inclusive Head Start setting. The findings of this study are consistent with in which young children with disabilities make gains in phonemic awareness, language, print concepts, and phonological awareness after exposure to an integrated literacy-based curriculum (Wilson, Morse, and Dickinson, 2009).

Differentiation among mean scores of the varying disability groups reflects the variation that occurs among all students with special education programming needs. Children in this group are classified as having uneven growth developmental growth trajectories that do not model the general population. These children have unique needs that are difficult to categorize. As a result, children with special education needs are serviced with Individualized Education Programs that respond to the child's personal learning needs and style. As a result, differentiation among disability groups is expected on test scores (Buzick, & Laitusis, 2010). This is shown quite clearly in the different mean scores and mean scores gains among the various disabilities groups.

LIMITATIONS

Several limitations were inherent in the course of this study. They are described below.

The authors were not aware of the nature or extent of the early intervention services children with disabilities received before being exposed to the curriculum. Moreover, individualized interventions based on IEP mandates were not considered when analyzing the intervention data. It is likely that IEP intervention did contribute to student gains.

It is also noted that the small number of students within each disability category precluded higher statistical analysis. Statistical probability could have been achieved by grouping all disability categories into one large group. However, the researchers were interested in the effect of the treatment upon the various disability groups in order to achieve greater individualized services for specific students who attend this local Head Start.

Although the demographics data for teachers was available, the study did not include an analysis in which teacher characteristics could be correlated to student outcomes.

Finally, a longitudinal study should be conducted to provide additional insights concerning the sustainability of the intervention over several years in inclusive settings.

Conclusions and Implications

PreK children with disabilities need many tools to mitigate the effect of poverty in their lives. Implications that arise from this study seek to add to those tools. They are listed below.

First, a multi-faceted integrated services approach is needed to meet the needs of children with disabilities who live in financially poor environments. The children in this study were supported with a full spectrum of services that were integrated within the SECP curriculum. This integration and intensity provided a unified intervention system that produced positive outcomes.

Second, the SECP occurred within a context of a unique special services model. This model is based on federal Head Start guidelines but includes several local elements that are unique to this setting. The distinctive features include disability screening and mental health evaluations for all Head Start participants, education specialists that provide support to teachers implementing Individualized Education Program (IEP) goals and inclusion strategies, and transition plans.

Third, the integrated curriculum approach utilized by SECP is a comprehensive system. It allowed children to experience a developmentally appropriate academic curriculum in a holistic manner and helped teachers become active leaders within literacy-based activities throughout the day. Teachers were supported with direct instructions for implementing a variety of classroom learning situations and through ongoing professional development. This allowed them to assume a greater role in the classroom leadership, design and implementation.

Fourth, specific strategies for individual interventions and instructions for creating an inclusive classroom were included in the curriculum dissemination. A family component provided ongoing integration with families and their child's school.

Decisions about curriculum must include methods for differentiating learning for individual students and include families in its design in execution.

Successful outcomes for children with disabilities participating with any curriculum model will be enhanced with a comprehensive systematic effort such as the one utilized in this Head Start program.

Future research should investigate the outcomes of children living in poverty who experience special needs and those who are typically developing. Additionally, longitudinal studies should be conducted to investigate the long term effects of these interventions on children's school readiness. Finally, research should be conducted to determine the impact of preschool curricula and teacher behaviors on the outcomes of preschool children with disabilities.

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HISTORICAL BLACK AND COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES FIRST-YEAR STUDENTS/FRESHPERSONS-URBAN STUDENTS: GENDER, ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT, BASIC EMOTIONAL WELL-BEING AND EDUCATIONAL OUTLOOK

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Abstract: This study explores the interrelationship(s) amongst the following variables - gender, academic achievement, basic emotional well-being and educational outlook of Historical Black and Colleges and Universities first-year students or freshpersons –urban students. The current plight of education in America, in general, paints a somewhat dismal picture about the level of intellectual exposure children are receiving. Their problems range from concerns such as class attendance, gender-orientation, academic discipline, emotional or behavioral concerns, as well as educational expectations. The population consisted of Black/African American HBCUs' students, who at the time of the study were first-year students and recent high school graduates. A purposive sampling technique (Rubin & Babbie, 2011) was used to select the 300 urban Black/African American college students. Descriptive statistics were used to describe the socio-demographic, independent and dependent variables to characterize the participants of the study. Pearson Product-Moment Correlation coefficients, Partial Correlation, and an Independent-Samples T-test were used to analyze the relationships among the study variables. Higher levels of educational outlook were associated with higher levels grade point average; and lower levels of basic emotional assessment – implying that they are less capable on drawing upon their adaptive biological abilities in coping with survival issues – specifically educational concerns or stressors - posed by the environment. Significant group differences were found between males and females first-year students regarding their academic achievement and basic emotional assessment.

INTRODUCTION

The education of urban Black/African American college students have been the subjects of many books, manuscripts, debates, hearings and barbershop discussions. Many theorists, scientists, educators, preachers and even motivational speakers proposed theories about how to solve the seemingly elusive mantra on how to effectively educate urban Black/African American college students. The academic failure or the under-education the urban Black/African American college students have been attributed to multifarious factors, such as, teacher expectations, tracing, the lack of parental involvement, student self-esteem, curriculum, inept class attendance, learning styles, test bias, peer pressure, socio-economics, innate biological inferiority and the perennial issue regarding the cultural or racial pedagogical paradigm of teachers.

GENERIC EDUCATION EXPLORED: IMPACTING FACTORS

In this work, the phrase generic education will refer to the here-to-fore notion that the general approach to education is applicable to every group of persons regardless of locale, socioeconomic status/opportunities or ethnic origin. That is, in America there is but one basic approach to education, which presumable has withstood the test of time and if it's good enough for the majority population, it's good enough for everyone. However, it is unfortunate that far too many persons in this country can be classified as functional illiterate and therefore can't read the average newspaper (Kunjufu, 1994).

THE EARLY YEARS

The education of urban Black/African American college students are based upon the values, history and goals of Europeans. This approach to teaching and learning is a mainstay of our educational system. The Early years, the years of

the three R's, reading, writing and arithmetic are crucial to the eventual academic achievement of the urban Black/African American college students. Students that gain mastery of reading, comprehension, writing and arithmetic and maintain their mastery invariably achieve academic success. However, many educators proposed that the mastery of the three R's is not sufficient to provide an adequate education to urban Black/African American college students, but rather that numerous environmental, socio-cultural and familial factors must be incorporated in the curriculum of the high schools attended by urban Black/African American college students (Hess & Shipman, 1965; Bereiter & Englemen, 1966; Deutsch, 1963).

Academics and the Family

There has been evidence for at least the last century that cognition or more specifically, educational achievement is associated with family background. Children with more educated parents, as well as parents with middle-class backgrounds, tend to complete high school and continue on to higher education institutions. It is indisputable that the more formal education a parent has, the more educationally enriched the interaction will be between parent and child, and currently, the middle and upper class parents with tertiary education appear to be more involved with their children's education. The preponderance of research in the area of parental influence on the cognitive development of a child reveals that the salient-determining factor in impacting the child's learning skills is the education of his/her parent (Hoover-Dempsey Sandler, 1997).

Many poor urban African-American parents are threatened by the educational system, because they themselves are cognizant of and discouraged by their scholarly inadequacies as well as the seemingly hostile environment present at many high schools, and to lesser extent at privately-funded colleges and universities versus publicly-funded colleges and universities (Kozol, 1991). Black/African American families must not refrain from encouraging their children from attaining the best academically, because of their own academic misgivings. There are numerous things the parents can do regardless of their level of formal education to facilitate cognitive and academic growth in their children. For instance, parents can facilitate the birth of a healthy child by obtaining prenatal, perinatal, and postnatal care. Parents can also interact with the child cognitively during its preschool years to facilitate the mastery of language, i.e. the vocabulary of the world. This implies a firm mastery in phases of linguistic communication, or the "graphical (reading, writing), lexical (vocabulary), semantic (meaning), syntactical (grammar), expressive (speaking) qualities of language" (Wilson, 1978,. P 42); establish a code of discipline for the child; *such as class attendance, studying, and competing homework, while in high school and college*; established educational expectations for the child; and finally; but extremely imperative; instill in the Black/African-American child, the ability to delay gratification, which is instrumental for a child who wants to aggressively pursue and attain long-term educational success.

The parent-child, child-child, and interfamilial relationships in many African-American homes are frequently impaired by poverty, fatherlessness, unemployment, and underemployment. Such problems coupled with the lack of knowledge and inadequacy of parental socialization skills diminish the family's ability to cognitively stimulate the child's emotional or psychosocial growth and may unintentionally foster learning deficits or under-education.

Emotion and the Influence on Learning/ Academic Achievement

A most critical aspect of the urban Black/African American college students' sphere of influence on emotional or cognitive development is the socio-culture of the African American family. Even though Americans have made great strides to eradicate all abusive instances of racism and

discrimination, race is still an issue in our social, judicial, and financial systems, and nowhere is the issue more dominant than in the educational system.

Language, our primary mode of learning, along with emotional, socio-cultural factors tends to regulate self-consciousness, and thereby direct motives, behaviors, and cognition (Wilson, 1978). Blacks/African-Americans have developed their own colloquial language, which is taught to the children, prior to his/her introduction to "Standard English." Within the Black/African-American milieu, fluency in this indigenous language is applauded and respected, and therefore is sought after by African-American children of all ages. The children within an African-American community are taught to be proud of this aspect of their culture, while they remain isolated within their cultural community.

When the average urban African-American college freshman or student enter the school system, he/she is faced with the fact that the colloquial language, which was accepted in his/her home and community environment, is ridiculed and inadequate. For the urban Black/African American male the transformation from his secure and supportive environment to the school is extremely daunting, which seldom contribute to inept class attendance. This experience is based on what he leaves behind and what is confronting him, both in terms of his linguistic prowess, social acceptance and interaction, and the academic requirements of this "foreign" environment.

Educational Optimism: Teaching and Learning

Once the urban Black/African American college student is placed in an educational setting, administrative personnel such as, the provost, dean, chair, academic support services, more importantly, the students' advisor must meet with parents to establish definitive roles that the parents and children must adhere to, to facilitate academic achievement. However, within the college or university system, the instructor must be empowered to provide the best level of interaction possible to each student, facilitated by attendance and advising, considering that each student learns in a different manner – a well-known tautology. Instructors must be cognizant that the urban Black/African American college students are not intellectually inferior but are capable of learning in different ways (learning modalities) and have a multiplicity of intelligence.

Efforts are continuously being made to untrained and retrained educators in ameliorating their pedagogical interaction. The infusion of technology in curriculum development and in the transmission of teaching and learning instructions is a perennial activity. Albeit the effort for growth in the pedagogical competence of instructor, urban Black/African American college students, however, should be challenged to perform and held to the same standards of expectation as other racial groups. Urban Black/African American college students are frequently disempowered by teachers or instructors because of the teachers' or instructors' negative imagery, beliefs/values, behavioral precepts, and expectations - "stigmatized hurts" as coined by the late Thurgood Marshall. To stimulate or motivate learning expectation or outlook through the presentation of ethnic and racially relevant literature and text, the curriculum must be "culturally sensitive". Educators must also abandon the "banking system of pedagogy" that minimizes the students' creative power and obviates critical thinking and adopt the "problem-posing" methodology of teaching (Freire, 1990). The problem-posing modality affords the student the opportunity to create and question thus stimulating learning. The role of the problem-posing educator is to create together with the students, the conditions under which knowledge is continually unveiling of reality, stimulating question, and discovering solutions, not mere memorization and reproduction of information (Friere, 1990), therefore encouraging and motivation students to attend class.

The culturally oriented or community-oriented curriculum facilitates and enhances the opportunity for academic excellence of urban Black/African American college students. The community monitoring of each college student's academic and behavioral performance in a nurturing, emotionally safe and positive-seeking environment breed astounding transformation in vocational and educational outlook or expectations. Educators are encouraged to perceive learning-teaching and teaching-learning through the "lens" of the urban Black/African American College students. Most imperative, intelligence is perceived as multi-faceted and as such the various facets of intelligence are used to facilitate learning. Consequently, repetitive testing and evaluations are encouraged to determine competence in a specific or subject area, which through "trial and failure" eventually will locate students' competence - facilitating a more optimistic educational outlook, which is a definite shift from the fatalistic "mid-term" and "final', that is, "dual-testing" determination of competence.

METHODOLOGY

The Greater New Orleans area is comprised of three HBCUs. These HBCUs have been educating minority students for many years. The relevance for HBCUs has been questioned, recently, by many educational leaders, politicians, and most imperative, donors from various benevolent organizations. HBCUs, however, continue to play many significant roles in the academic achievement of urban Black/African American college students, and while doing so, they also had to provide psychological, social and other tangible support services for their students to undergird their educational expectation.

SAMPLE AND PROCEDURE

The population consisted of Black/African American HBCUs' students, who at the time of the study were first-year students and recent high school graduates. A purposive sampling technique (Rubin & Babbie, 2011) was used to select the 300 urban Black/African American college students. Faculty members at the various HBCUs facilitated the data collection. A self-administered instrument packet was used to collect data._

INSTRUMENTS

The instrument packet was divided into three (3) sections: (a) a socio-demographic information section; (b) a Basic Emotional Assessment Scale - which captures our adaptive biological abilities/ processes in helping us deal with key survival issues posed by the environment - composite reliability score of 0.76 to 0.96, validity score of 0.97 (Lee, 2011 & Plutchik, 1980); and (c) an Educational Outlook: Self-Assessment Survey (coefficient alpha reliability of at least 0.84 and test-retest correlation of 0.85). The Self-Assessment Survey was developed over after a decade of reach and testing, and consulting with various educators (principals, advisors, teachers, school

psychologists and counselors) and more than 100 middle schools and their students, exceeding a thousand (1000) (http://self assessmentsurvey. com/the-survey, retrieved, 4/18/2013).

"The survey reliably captures students' perceptions of 40 crucial learning strategies, executive functions, social relationships and emotional regulation abilities needed to meet the academic, personal and interpersonal challenges of middle school students," (http://selfassessment survey. com/the-survey, retrieved, 4/18/2013), and on face validity and internal consistency reliability (Rubin & Babbie, 2011), to high school students, and first-year students in colleges/ universities, subsequent to the completion of their first semester. Almost all students can easily complete the survey in 20 minutes. Methodological verification can be found in the source publications from which the instruments were obtained.

DATA ANALYSIS

Descriptive statistics were used to describe the socio-demographic, independent and dependent

variables to characterize the participants of the study. Product-Moment Correlation, Partial Correlation coefficients, and Independent-sampled T-test were used to analyze the relationships among the study variables

VARIABLES: DEFINITIONS

HBCU freshman college student: Each member of this study was a student who has been attending a HBCU for at least one semester and less than a year, one complete semester removed from completing high school.

Class attendance: Frequency in attending class (All, Many, Most, Some, Minimal, None).

Academic Achievement: This variable will be measured by self-reported grade point average.

Basic Emotional Assessment: Feelings of "happiness, sadness, anger, fear, excitement, and disgust (Plutchik, 1980)—which measure our adaptive biological–the "multi-ambivalences of "happiness, sadness, anger, fear, excitement, and disgust —abilities/processes to helping us deal with key survival issues posed by the environment".

Educational Outlook: *Self-Assessment Survey:* "The survey reliably captures students' perceptions of 40 crucial learning strategies, executive functions, social relationships and emotional regulation abilities needed to meet the academic, personal and interpersonal challenges of middle school" (http://selfassessmentsurvey.com/the-survey, retrieved, 4/18/2013).

RESULTS AND FINDINGS

Table 1 presents the descriptive statistics of the sample that characterize the participants of the study. Of the 240 first-year students students in the program 67 (27.9%) were males and 173 (72.1%) were females; which is approximately the percentage ratio of males to female students attending Dillard University. One-hundred and five (105) or 43.8%) of the first-year students are projected to graduate in 2016, while 135 or 56.3% are projected to graduate in 2017.

Table 1: *Characteristics/Descriptors of Sample (N = 240)*

Characteristics/ Descriptors	Number	Valid %
Gender:		
Male	67	27.9
Female (not male)	173	72.1
Class attendance		
All	129	53.8
Many	87	36.3
Some	20	8.3
Minimal	4	1.7
Projected Year of Graduation		
2016	105	43.8
2017	135	56.3

The mean scores calculated were: academic, 2.95; basic emotional assessment, 13; educational outlook; 127; and degree of maleness, 0.28. These scores, as shown in Table 2, indicated that the average freshman was academically a good student, has moderate "adaptive biological processes/abilities processes in helping us deal with key survival issues posed by the environment, and an above average perspective on educational outlook. Gender was recoded to create the variable "degree of maleness—(100% male or 0% male)—indicator of the absence of "femaleness."

CORRELATIONS: BIVARIATE AND PARTIAL RESULTS

Bivariate Correlational (see Table 3) analysis was performed that included all the study variables, namely: academic achievement, basic emotional assessment, educational outlook, and degree of maleness (100% male or 0% male). The Partial Correlation analysis illustrated in Table 4 controls for the "degree of maleness". Reiterating, gender was recoded to create the "degree of maleness" variable. Preliminary analyses were performed to ensure no violation of the assumptions of normality, linearity and homoscedasticity. The Mahalanobis Distance for each variable was calculated, no outliers were detected, and the distance for each variable was less than the critical value of 18.47 for four dependent variables (Pallant, 2010).

Table 2: *Descriptors of the Study Variables*

	N	Mean	Median	Mode	Std. Dev.	Var.	Range	Min.	Max.
Academic Achievement	240	2.95	3.0	3.0	0.54	0.30	2.48	1.5	4.0
Basic Emotional Assessment	240	13.11	13	10	4.30	18.50	25	2	27
Education Outlook	240	127	126	122	14.83	220	79	81	160
Degree of Maleness*	240	0.28	0.0	0.0	0.45	0.20	1	0	1

*Degree of Maleness: (100% Male or 0% Male)

Table 3: *Bivariate Correlation: Academics, Basic Emotional Assessment, Educational Outlook* WITH Degree of Maleness (100% Male or 0% Male

	AA	BEA	EO	DOM
AA**	–	–.070	.210*	–.162*
BEA**		–	–.173*	–.141*
EO**			–	–.033
DOM**				–

* $p < 0.05$, $df = 238$

**AA–Academic Achievement, BEA–Basic Emotional Assessment, EO–Educational Outlook, DOM–Degree of Maleness

Table 3, which illustrates the results of the zero order correlation, indicates that "degree of maleness" has a weak/small negative relationship with achievement, (r =–.162, n = 238, p <0.05), and a weak/small negative relationship with the basic emotional assessment, (r = –.141, n = 238, p< 0.5). The implications are that "higher degrees of maleness" are associated with lower levels of grade point average and lower levels of basic emotional assessment; meaning that they are less capable on drawing upon their adaptive biological —the "multi-ambivalences of "happiness, sadness, anger, fear, excitement, and disgust— abilities to help them deal with key survival issues posed by the environment. Degree of maleness was not found to be significantly related to educational outlook (r = –.033, n = 238, p > 0.05). Education outlook was found to be have a small/weak positive relationship with academic achievement (r = .210, n = 238, p<.05) and a weak/small negative relationship with basic emotional assessment (r = –.173, n = 238, p< .05). Therefore, higher levels of educational outlook are associated with higher levels grade point average; and lower levels of basic emotional assessment—implying that they are less capable of drawing upon their adaptive biological abilities in coping with survival issues—specifically educational concerns or stressors—posed by the environment. This is implicitly evident, because of their intolerance for academic failure and inability to handle the needed adaptive biological responses to the "multi-ambivalences feelings of happiness, sadness, anger, fear, excitement, and disgust" due to such failure.

Table 4: *Partial Correlation: Academics, Basic Emotional Assessment, Educational Outlook, and CONTROLLING for Degree of Maleness* (*100% Male or 0% Male*)

	AA	BEA	EO	DOM
AA**	–	–.095	.208*	–
BEA**		–	–.179*	–
EO**			–	–
DOM**				–

* $p < 0.05$, $df = 237$

**AA–Academic Achievement, BEA–Basic Emotional Assessment, EO–Educational Outlook, DOM–Degree of Maleness

Partial correlations coefficients were computed among the variables controlling for "degree of maleness." A p-value of less than .017 (.05/3 = .017) was required for significance while using the Bonferroni approach to control for Type I error across the three (3) partial correlations.

Table 4, Partial *Correlational—controlling for* "*degree of maleness*"—findings illustrate as in Table 3, that education outlook has a small/weak positive relationship with academic achievement (r = .208, n = 238, p <.05) and a weak/small negative relationship with basic emotional assessment *(*r = –.179, n = 238, p < .05). The implications again are that higher levels of educational outlook are associated with higher levels academic achievement or grade point average and lower levels of basic emotional assessment or the inability to handle the adaptive biological responses to academic concerns.

The difference is that in controlling for "degree of maleness" educational outlook explains 4.3% –(r^2 x 100) of the variation in academic achievement instead of 4.4% –(r^2 x 100), a decrease (0.1%) but small impact on the variation; and explains 3.2% –(r^2 x 100) of the variation in basic emotional assessment instead 3.0%, an increase (0.2%), but small impact on the variation. An inspection of the zero order correlations of Table 3 and the results of Table 4, suggested that controlling for "degree of maleness" had very little effect on the strength of the relationships amongst academic achievement or grade point average; basic emotional assessment or the adaptive biological abilities/processes to environmental stressors/ concerns; and educational outlook or expected educational attainment.

Controlling for the "degree of maleness" did not nominally distinguish the differences between males and females relative to their academics or grade point average, basic emotional assessment, and their educational outlook. An independent-samples t-test was conducted to ascertain if there were significant differences in mean/average scores on academic achievement/grade point average, basic emotional assessment, and educational outlook for males and females.

Table 5 indicates that mean score for grade point average, basic emotional assessment, and educational outlook was greater for females in comparison to males. Implications, collectively the females unlike the males were smarter, were more capable on drawing upon their adaptive biological —the "multi-ambivalences of "happiness, sadness, anger, fear, excitement, and disgust — abilities to help them deal with key survival issues posed by the environment, and a more optimistic perspective on their educational outlook.

Table 5: *Group Statistics*

	Gender	N	Mean	Std. Dev.	Std. Error Mean
AA	Male	67	2.80	.52	.064
	Female	173	3.00	.55	.042
BEA	Male	67	12.13	4.2	.51
	Female	173	13.49	4.3	.33
EO	Male	67	125.90	14.86	1.81
	Female	173	126.97	14.86	1.13

ASSUMPTIONS OF INDEPENDENT SAMPLES T-TEST

The Levene Test, as illustrated inTable 6, tests the null hypothesis that error variances of the dependent variables are equal across groups. The assumption was not violated because of the dependent have "significant values greater than .05" (Pallant, 2019; Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007), therefore the "Equal Variance Assumed" line or row was used.

Table 6: *Levene's Test of Equality of Variance*

		F	Sig
AA	Equal Variance Assumed Equal Variance Not Assumed	.175	.676
BEA	Equal Variance Assumed Equal Variance Not Assumed	.150	.699
EO	Equal Variance Assumed Equal Variance Not Assumed	.085	.771

INTERPRETATION OF INDEPENDENT-SAMPLES T-TEST

An independent-samples t-test was conducted (illustrated by Tables 5, 6 and 7) to compare the academic achievement, basic emotional assessment, and educational outlook scores for males and females—gender. Significant differences

were found for academic achievement between males (M = 2.80, SD = .52) and females (M = 3.00, SD = .55; t(238) = –2.54, p = .012, two-tailed) and for basic emotional assessment for males ((M = 12.13, SD = 4.2) and females (M = 13.49, SD = 4.3; t(238) = -2.20, p = .029, two-tailed). The magnitude of the differences in the means for academic achievement (mean difference = –.197, 95% *CI*: –.35 to -.044) was small (eta squared = .03) and for basic emotional assessment (mean difference = –.1.35, 95% *CI*: –2.57 to –.142), also was small (eta squared = .02).

Table 7: *Independent Samples Test*

		t-test for Equality of Means						
		t	df	Sig. (2 tailed	Mean Dif.	Std. Error Dif.	95% CI	Diff.
							Lower	Upper
AA	Equal Variance Assumed	–2.54	238	.012	–.197	.077	–.35	–.044
	Equal Variance Not Assumed	–.256	126	.011	–.197	.076	–.35	–.047
BEA	Equal Variance Assumed	–2.20	238	.029	–1.35	.614	–2.57	–.142
	Equal Variance Not Assumed	–2.23	124	.027	–1.35	.605	–2.55	–.153
EO	Equal Variance Assumed	–.503	238	.616	–.108	2.14	–5.29	3.14
	Equal Variance Not Assumed	–.503	120	.616	–.108	2.14	–5.31	3.16

Conclusions and Implications

The first-year students surveyed were primarily females, were academically good students, with moderate "adaptive biological abilities in dealing with environmental stressors," and also reported an above average perspective on their educational outlook. Higher degrees of "maleness" of the first-year students or first-year male students have lower levels of grade point averages and were less capable of adapting biological to environmental concerns or stressors, such as academic challenges. First-year students who had positive educational outlooks reported having higher grade point averages, but were less capable of dealing with the adaptive biological requirements of the their academic environment; were less tolerant of failure because of their high academic expectations. These first-year students with high educational outlook do not handle, adapt, or adjust to failure very well; because of feeling of the "multi-ambivalences feeling of happiness, sadness, anger, fear, excitement, and disgust" that most first-year students experience.

On the contrary first-year students who have low educational expectations, also had lower grade point averages but higher scores on basic emotional assessments; implying that they more capable of adapting to stressors—biological, psychological and social—associated with their accepted lower educational expectations. These first-year students were more accepting of their academic reality, which normally is aligned with their pre-determined educational outlooks, and current grade point averages. Controlling for the degree of 'maleness" did not significantly impact the "explained variations" amongst the variables discussed above, however, the "higher degrees of maleness" were related to higher levels of basic emotional assessments, indicating the ability of these first-year students to adapt biological to the environmental stressors of the academy.

Significant group differences were found between males and females first-year students regarding their academic achievement and basic emotional assessment. Females had higher grade point averages and lower basic emotional assessment scores, however, gender had a small effect, based on the eta squared values, on the difference of the scores on academic achievement or grade point average and basic emotional assessment; the ability of these first-year students to adapt biologically to their environmental concerns or academic stressors. Gender, being male or female, was not significantly related to these first-year students' educational outlook.

The findings of this study point to the more salient issue confronting many tertiary schools; that is, retention of first-year students. Retention of first-year students at universities could be buttressed if institutional leaders can develop and implement programmatic interventions for first-year students to heighten educational outlook, increase their ability to adapt positively to the "multi-ambivalences feeling of happiness, sadness, anger, fear, excitement, and disgust" and provide academic support that would increase their opportunity to achieve "passing" grade point average or grade.

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College Students Wellness: A Comparison Between Traditional and Nontraditional Students

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Abstract: This study sought to ascertain if there are differences in wellness behaviors between traditional and nontraditional college students based on the Wellness Evaluation of Lifestyle Inventory (WEL), which was developed to assess each of the five life tasks in the Wheel of Wellness. To add to the literature regarding traditional and non-traditional student wellness need, this study replicated the Herman and Davis (2004) study by exploring the differences between traditional (ages 17–23) and nontraditional (ages 24–51) student wellness behaviors. Quantitative, cross-sectional research design was used to assess and compare traditional (23 years and below) and nontraditional college (24 years and above) students' current levels of wellness behaviors based on the Wellness Evaluation of Lifestyle Inventory. This study was conducted at a Historically Black College/ University in the Southern region of the United States. The study concluded with a series of recommendations which constitute a framework for educators of traditional and nontraditional students. The findings revealed that universities and colleges need to make their academic programs more attractive to traditional and nontraditional students while enabling them to connect with program faculty and peers.

Introduction

For over twenty years, university educators, administrators, and professional staff have contributed to the establishment of campus wellness programs as a way to address the personal and academic needs of students (Myers & Davis, 2004). Creating an environment that supports productive and healthy lifestyles for students has been integral to student development program design and policy (Gardner, 2009). Dunn (1961), who is recognized as being the "architect" of modern wellness, defined wellness as "an integrated method of functioning, which is oriented toward maximizing the potential of which the individual is capable" (p. 4). In addition, Dunn (1977) also suggested that counselors are uniquely qualified to assist students with achieving and maintaining high levels of wellness.

In higher education, counselors are typically viewed as the "change agents" for the campus community (Choate & Smith, 2003), and while the concept of wellness is central to psychology, it has a long history in counseling (Roscoe, 2009) and is conceptually rooted in student development theory (Herman & Davis, 2004). Through counseling and campus support, counselors provide an array of services to enhance students' problem solving and coping skills (Choate and Smith, 2003), and they utilize broad-based approaches to assist students in developmental and preventive wellness (Myers and Sweeney, 2008). However, Bundy (2004) and Hermon and Davis (2004) suggest that current counseling and wellness services provided by colleges and universities are based on traditional student development and wellness theories, and therefore may not address the needs and issues of the new college environment.

The diversity of today's college and university student population has caused administrators, faculty, counselors, and other college personnel to reevaluate the effectiveness of traditional practices in meeting the academic and personal needs of students (Choate & Smith, 2003; Hermon & Davis, 2004; Philibert, Allen, & Elleven, 2008). Giancola, Grawitch, & Borchert (2009) explain that the typical college student of the past was 18-22 years old, lived on campus, attended college full-time, and enrolled in college directly from high school. However, trends for the new demographics of colleges and universities identify 23 and older, first-generation, part-time and nontraditional students as the new majority (Choy, 2002; Giancola et al., 2008). Nontraditional students have an array of academic and personal needs and often differ from traditional students in their life stages as it relates to family

demands, life experiences, insights, and work responsibilities (Gary, King, & Dodd, 2004; Hermon & Davis, 2004).

Consequently, Hermon and Davis (2004) proposed that it is the developmental and life demands that set nontraditional students apart from traditional students. Nevertheless, despite the increases in nontraditional students and changing demands, most college environments continue to provide wellness programs and services that were built upon the assumption that all students can fully participate in the academic and social life of the institution (Kasworm & Pike, 1994; Philibert, Allen, & Elleven, 2008).

Significance of the Study

The purpose of this study was to determine if there were differences in wellness behaviors between traditional and nontraditional college students based on the Wellness Evaluation of Lifestyle Inventory (WEL), which was developed to assess each of the five life tasks: *spirituality*, *self-direction*, *work and leisure*, *friendship*, and *love* in the Wheel of Wellness. Research efforts related to the needs of traditional and nontraditional students continue to provide insight for redirection of higher education wellness programs and services. The findings of this study should be beneficial to university educators, administrators and counselors for providing insight into the both the similar and the dissimilar wellness needs of traditional and nontraditional students. In addition, the provision or creation of university structured and support programs for both groups of students; optimistic evolutions from the discoveries of this study should faciliate means to document accountability for and potential impact of wellness programs on college campuses (Herman and Davis, 2004).

Selected Literature

In higher education, student development and wellness programs serve as a mechanism to assist educators in proactively identifying and addressing the needs of students through a series of support services that enhance the quality of student life (Hermon & Davis, 2004). Although typically excluded from the course curricula, the concept of wellness is not a new programming emphasis on college campuses (Choate & Smith, 2003). Wellness programs are used by many college counselors (Hermon & Davis, 2004) to provide different levels of support for students (Choate & Smith, 2003) in career counseling, time and stress management, and physical activity. However, Hermon and Davis (2004) suggest that the current conceptual foundations and models for wellness are not designed to understand the needs of a higher education's diverse population (Hermon & Davis, 2004).

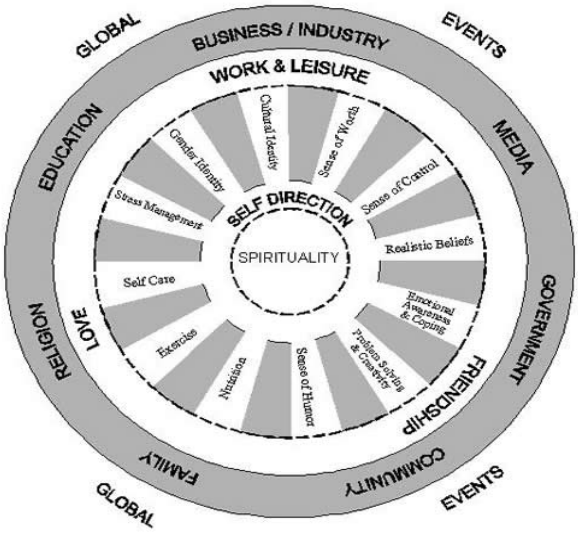
The U.S. Department of Education (2002) reports that over 70% of undergraduate college students met the definition of a nontraditional student, which includes students who are over 25 years of age, have interrupted college for more than one academic year, require special services to attain a degree, or any combination of these factors. While research indicates that nontraditional students are fully capable of competing with traditional students academically (Carney-Crompton and Tan, 2002; Bye, Pushkar, & Conway, 2007), Keith (2007) explains that these students may have adjustment difficulties when they return to an educational setting and may have unique needs both inside and outside of the classroom (Giancola, Grawitch, & Borchert, 2009).

Returning to the classroom as a mature student is often seen as a period of profound self-development, change and growth, but Mercer (2007) explains that attempting to balance life roles as employee, student, parent, and peer may cause nontraditional students to struggle with time and stress management (Choate and Smith, 2003), create perceptions of inadequate study skills (Carlin, 2001), and concerns about fitting in with younger students in class (Carlin, 2001). Researchers also have found that adult undergraduates use different approaches to classroom learning as well as their day-to-day respons-

ibilities (Philibert, Allen, & Elleven, 2008), have different levels of academic and intellectual development (Graham, 1998) and require distinct support systems within higher education (Bamber & Tett, 2000; Carney-Crompton & Tan, 2002). Butler (2007) acknowledges the previous research studies and denotes that a prominent aspect of adult students' lives involves managing multiple demands related to work and their personal lives and returning to school creates another area that contends for the student's time, energy, and finances. Ultimately, Choate and Smith (2003) explain that it is the lack of social support, coupled with the need of balance for non-traditional students, that is typically overlooked by campus wellness programs and services.

Since Halbert Dunn formally defined wellness in 1961, many others have conceptualized and illustrated this concept to include more holistic approaches. Hettler's (1984) six dimensions of healthy functioning (LaFountaine, Neisen, & Parson, 2006) and Hinds' (1983) Lifestyle Coping inventories (Hattie, Myers, Sweeney, 2004) have been applied by Student Life to diverse issues such as weight control, alcohol awareness, stress management, and diabetic self-care (Mosier, 1994). However, Hermon and Davis (2004) explain that these models, while holistic in nature, typically center on practices that assist students with movement from high-school to college, and according to Philibert, Allen, & Elleven (2008), this is no longer a rational premise in today's college environment. In addition, Hattie, Myers, and Sweeney (2004) theorized that the issues with traditional wellness models are that they are primarily based on physical health rather than the psychological development of the student. Myers, Sweeny, and Witmer (2000) suggest utilizing the Wheel of Wellness as a model for creating healthy functioning on a developmental continuum. The Wheel of Wellness, (see Figure 1, below) which assesses five life tasks- spirituality, self-direction, work and leisure, friendship, and love- emphasizes that health behaviors at any one point in life affect subsequent development and functioning.

Figure 1: *The Wheel of Wellness: Traditional and Non-Traditional Students*



Gieck and Olsen (2007) further elucidated that while physical health is a critical aspect of student development, research indicates that it may not accommodate the wellness needs of all students. Hermon and Davis found in a 2004 study of wellness behaviors among traditional and nontraditional students that traditional students indicated physical activity as the most important, aspect of wellness, while nontraditional students indicated that social activities were most important, followed by physical, emotional, intellectual, occupational, and spiritual factors. In addition, Myers and Mobley (2004) found that in a group comparison of traditional and non-traditional students that traditional students ranked higher scores than nontraditional student for exercise and leisure. This may be related to a greater immersion in campus life and freedom, whereas nontraditional students typically have more responsibilities and cannot actively participate in campus activities.

Consequently, while the role of wellness in higher education has been documented (Fairchild, 2003; Hermon & Davis, 2004; Choate & Smith, 2003) as it relates to traditional and nontraditional students' counseling needs (Bauman, Wang,

DeLeon, Kafentzis, Zavala-Lopez, & Lindsey, 2004), stress management (Giancola et al. 2009), and academic and social development, there are very few studies that have compared the actual wellness behaviors between traditional and nontraditional students (Hermon and Davis, 2004). A review of the literature revealed only three studies on wellness that compared traditional with nontraditional students: (a) using Hettler's model, Hybertson, Hulme, Smith, and Holton (1992) found that the two groups perceived different factors as beneficial or detrimental to their personal wellness; (b) using the Wheel of Wellness, Myers and Mobley (2004) found that traditional and nontraditional students only differ on a few aspects of wellness; and (c) Hermon and Davis (2004) found significant difference between nontraditional and traditional students on self regulation, which included physical exercise, self-care, sense of control, and realistic beliefs.

Moreover, while these studies are insightful in establishing parameters for wellness among nontraditional and traditional college students (Herman & Davis, 2004), the data results are dated and may not generalize to today's non-traditional college student's wellness needs. Harari, Waehler, and Rogers (2005) propose that the validation of wellness needs is an important prelude to integrating wellness principles into practice and providing a comprehensive view of the student. Hence, this study will add to the literature by replicating Hermon and Davis's (2004) research regarding the differences between traditional (ages 17–23) and nontraditional (ages 24-51) student wellness behaviors based on the Wellness Evaluation of Lifestyle Inventory.

METHODOLOGY

This study utilized a quantitative, cross-sectional research design approach to assess and compare the traditional (ages 17–23) and nontraditional (ages 24–51) college student's current levels of wellness behaviors based on the Wellness Evaluation of Lifestyles Inventory (WEL).

SAMPLING AND PROCEDURES

A cluster sampling of select students was used in this study. The designated site for the study offered undergraduate courses to both traditional and nontraditional students. The researcher identified three classes that were offered to undergraduate traditional students and four separate classes that were offered to undergraduate nontraditional students for a total of seven classes. All students from the selected classes were invited to participate in the study. The sample for this study consisted of 162 traditional (23 years and below) and 50 nontraditional (24 years and up) college students who attended a small Historically Black University (HBCU) in the southern region of the United States.

INSTRUMENTATION

This study used the Wellness Evaluation of Lifestyle (WEL-S). WEL-S, which is based upon a holistic wellness model proposed by Sweeney and Witmer (1991) and Witmer and Sweeney (1992), is a Likert -type measure with values of reverse scores, a=5, b=4, c=3, d=1 and negative scores a=1, b=2, c=3, d=4, e=5. The Wellness Evaluation of Lifestyle, or WEL inventory (Myers et al., 1996), was developed to assess the participants' current level of wellness based on 16 wellness variables across the five life tasks: (a) spirituality, (b) self -regulation, (c) work and leisure, (d) friendship, and (e) love.

Test-retest reliability coefficients for the scales, established with a sample of 99 undergraduate students (Myers, 1998), ranged from 0.68 for cultural identity to 0.88 for nutrition. Internal consistency measures of reliability (i.e., a-coefficients, Cronbach, 1947) ranged from a low of .60 for the realistic beliefs scale to a high of .94 for friendship within a larger and more diverse sample of 2,295 adults across the lifespan.

Data Analysis Procedure

Descriptive statistics were performed to analyze the respondents' demographic data and to describe the participants' backgrounds. Hotelling's multivariate test of significance was used to examine if there were differences among the five constructs (spirituality, self-regulation, work and leisure, friendship, and love) between traditional students and nontraditional students. The univariate *t* test was used to determine if there were differences between traditional and nontraditional students for the five life tasks and the twelve dimensions of self-regulation (self-worth, sense of control, realistic beliefs, spontaneity and emotional responsiveness, intellectual stimulation, problem solving and creativity, sense of humor, nutrition, exercise, self-care, love, gender identity, cultural identity, and work, recreation, and leisure

Definition of Terms

Counseling: Professional counseling is the application of mental health, psychological or human development principles through cognitive, affective, behavioral or systemic interventions, strategies that address wellness, personal growth, or career development, as well as pathology (NASPA, 2010)

Health: This is the physical, mental, social, and spiritual well-being and fitness that individuals enjoy (NASPA, 2010).

Non-traditional college students: These are 24 and up year old adults attending a postsecondary institution. The individuals typically have families, are employed full-time or part-time, and have delayed enrollment.

Traditional college students: These are 18–23 year old young adults attending postsecondary institutions. These young adults typically have never been married, nor are they parents.

Wellness: Wellness is defined as a holistic approach in which mind, body, and spirit are integrated in a purposeful manner with a goal of living life more fully. Wellness is more than the absence of disease; a state defined as "health," and incorporates a concern for optimal functioning, or positive mental, physical, and spiritual health, and enthusiasm and zest for life (Myers & Sweeney, 2005).

Wheel of Wellness: This is a theoretical model that emerged from the review of cross-disciplinary students. It identifies the correlation of health, quality of life, and longevity and uses Adlerian individual Psychology as an organizing principle. The main components of the model include the following life tasks (Myers et al. 2000).

Friendship: This concept is an individual's sense of social belonging or connection within a community whose acceptance is important to well-being.

Love: This concept is a state of ongoing awareness and intense concern for the well-being of oneself and others based upon a personal and familial commitment.

Spirituality: This concept is the belief(s) that there is "someone or something" greater than the individual operating.

Self-Direction: Worth, control, beliefs, and emotional awareness are components of this concept and are defined as possessing an inner locus of control, which is essential for maintaining a positive sense of self-worth and belief in one's ability to independently formulate and execute decisions with regard to one's own life.

Work and Leisure: These are concepts defined as universal and fundamental life roles which influence the physical, psychological and social well-being of an individual.

Findings of the Study

Demographic Characteristics of Respondents

A total of a 212 usable responses were gathered from traditional and non-traditional students who attend an HBCU in the southern region of the

United States. Tables 1–5 depict the demographic characteristics of the participants in this study. Of the 212 participants in this study, 162 (76%) were traditional and 50 (24%) were non-traditional students. Among the traditional students, 122 (75.3%) were females and 40 (24.3%) were males. The classification status of the traditional students indicated that 101 (62.3%) were freshman, 28 (17.3%) were sophomores, 13 (8.0%) were juniors, and 19 (11.7%) were seniors. The frequencies of the traditional students' racial and cultural background indicate that 140 (86.4%) were African American, 7 (4.3%) were American Indian/Native American; 4 (2.5%) were Caucasian; 4 (2.5%) were Hispanics; 2 (1.2%) were Asian American, and 5 (3.1%) were reported other. Of the traditional reported being single (93.8%), the findings indicated a significant relationship of high levels of love wellness among traditional students. and cultural background indicate that 140 (86.4%) were African American, 7 (4.3%) were Native American/American Indian, 4 (2.5%) were Caucasian, 4 (2.5%) were Hispanics, 2 (1.2%) were Asian American, and 5 (3.1%) were reported other. For the employment status, the traditional students report that 111 (68.5) were students, 9 (5.6%) were managerial or professional society, 5 (3.1%) were technical, sales, administrative support, 4 (2.1%) were in the service occupation, 2 (1.2%) were in machinery, and 28 (17.3%) reported other. In addition, the majority of the traditional students reported a single 152 (93.8%) marital status and 10 (6.2%) reported being married.

Among the non-traditional students, 35 (70%) were female and 15 (30%) were males. The classification status among the nontraditional participants indicated that 12 (24%) were freshmen, 3 (6%) were sophomores, 5 (10%) were juniors, 7 (14%) were seniors, and 23 (46%) were unde graduate/graduate students. The frequencies of the non-traditional students' racial and cultural background indicate that 29 (58%) were African American, 17 (34%) were Caucasian, 3 (6%) were Asian American, and 1 (2.0%) reported other. In the employment status, the non-traditional students reported 23 (46%) were students, 6 (12%) were managerial or professional society, 7 (14%) were technical, sales, administrative support, 3 (6%) were in the service occupation, 2 (4%) were in machinery, and 5 (10%) reported other. The frequencies of the participants' marital status indicated that 28 (56%) were single, 13 (26%) were married, 4 (8%) were divorced, 3 (6%) were widowed, and 2 (4%) were separated.

Table 1: *Gender Frequencies & Percentages*

	Traditional		Nontraditional	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Male	122	75.3	35	70
Female	40	24.2	15	30
Total	162	100	50	100

Table 2: *Classification Frequencies & Percentages*

	Traditional		Nontraditional	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Under/Grad	1	0.6	23	46
Senior	19	11.7	7	14
Junior	13	8.0	5	10
Sophomore	28	17.3	3	6
Freshman	101	62.3	12	24
Total	162	100	50	100

Table 3: *Racial/Cultural Frequencies & Percentages*

	Traditional		Nontraditional	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Am Indian/ Nat American	7	4.3	0	0
Asian or Pac. Islander	2	1.2	3	6.0
Afr American	140	86.4	29	58.0
Caucasian	4	2.5	17	34.0
Latino/(a)	4	2.5	0	0
Other	5	3.1	1	2.0
Total	162	100	50	100

Table 4: *Employment Frequencies & Percentages*

	Traditional		Nontraditional	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Managerial or Professional	9	5.6	6	12
Operator (mach, transportation, assembler, labor)	2	1.2	2	4
Precision Production	1	0.6	4	8
Service occupation	4	5.6	3	6
Technical, sales, admin support	5	3.1	7	14
Student	111	68.5	23	46
Other	28	17.3	5	10
Total	162	100	50	100

Table 5: *Marital Frequencies & Percentages*

	Traditional		Nontraditional	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Married	10	6.2	13	26
Single	152	93.8	28	56
Separated	–	–	2	4
Divorced	–	–	4	8
Widowed	–	–	3	6
Total	162	100	50	100

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

The primary emphasis of the research questions was to ascertain if differences exist between traditional and non-traditional students' spiritual, self-regulation, friendship, work and leisure, love, and overall wellness behaviors

Table 6 depicts the mean scores and standard deviations for "*self-regulation*" and "*love*" wellness behaviors for traditional and non-traditional students. The results of the analysis revealed no significant difference between self-worth, sense of control, realistic beliefs, emotional responsiveness, intellectual stimulation, sense of humor, nutrition, exercise, self-care and stress management between traditional and non-traditional students. However, the analysis did indicate a significant difference in gender ($p<.05$) and cultural identity ($p < .05$). Traditional students indicated greater satisfaction with their cultural identity and gender (m=78.51) versus non-traditional students. This is indicated by (m=78.51) for traditional students and (m=74.69) according to genders. In the case of culture, traditional students indicated greater satisfaction with culture identity by (m=74.9) and non-traditional students at (m=72.34).

In addition, the results of the analysis revealed significant difference between the love ($p < .05$) wellness behaviors of traditional and non-traditional students, which indicates that traditional students report a minimal difference to be intimate, trusting, and self-disclosing with another person, as indicated by the mean score= 80.70 for traditional versus 80.50 for non-traditional students. The differences between the groups are statistically significance, whether in reality the difference is minimal as indicated by the difference of the 0.20 in means scores.

The findings, as depicted in Table 6 revealed that traditional students reported higher levels of wellness on the culture and gender subscales within the self-regulation inventory and on the love inventory. Consequently, while no significant differences were found in the other wellness categories, it is important to note that in previous studies; generally the significant scores have centered on the wellness activities of non-traditional students. However, the result of this study indicated not only similar wellness activities between the groups, but that traditional student were more aware of their culture and gender and how they define their relationships.

Previous studies using the WEL (Herman & Davis, 2004; Myers & Mosley, 2004) have found significant differences between traditional and non-traditional students on the self-regulation inventory, however, neither group of students reported gender and culture identity as an important factor to their overall levels of wellness. The primary area of difference in previous studies indicated that non-traditional students had

significant higher levels of wellness with regard to physical activity, self-care, sense of control, and realistic beliefs. However, these differences may be attributed to the fact that the study was conducted at an HBCU in the southern region of the United States.

Table 6: *Mean Scores and Standard Deviations of Self-direction and Love Wellness Behaviors*

Variable	Traditional		Nontraditional		p
	M	SD	M	SD	
Self-worth	17.86	4.47	16.56	3.00	.662
Sense of Control	76.94	10.95	75.34	11.72	.664
Realistic Beliefs	56.30	11.00	56.20	11.36	.611
Emotional Responsiveness	79.34	11.31	82.04	22.62	.167
Intellectual Stimulation	19.63	3.25	19.00	2.93	.345
Sense of Humor	77.72	10.99	78.04	10.89	.983
Nutrition	64.27	17.43	66.58	18.35	.838
Exercise	73.88	16.04	70.20	17.05	.451
Self-care	82.15	11.51	79.38	13.44	.885
Stress Management	74.95	12.68	2.85	13.78	.642
Love	80.70	13.39	80.50	10.61	.047*
Gender Identity	78.51	13.21	74.69	10.27	.011*
Culture Identiy	74.49	12.90	72.34	9.41	.021*

* ($p<.95$)

CULTURE IDENTITY

Prior studies on traditional and non-traditional students were conducted at a predominantly white institution with majority Caucasian male students; whereas, this study was conducted at an HBCU with majority African American female students. Myers and Mosley (2004) add that ethnic minority individuals are often more aware of culture than are their Caucasian peers. Chae (2000) contributes this ideology to the fact that ethnic identity primarily considers the way in which minority individuals' deal with their culture as a distinct sub-group of majority society. Within the African American culture, the traditional students were different in terms of culture identity, (m=74.49) and (m=72.34) for non-traditional students. Therefore, it appears that ethnic identity or culture identity serves as a means to understand whether and to what degree a person has explored the meaning of her or his ethnicity and developed a sense of commitment to her or his ethnic heritage (Chae, 2000).

GENDER IDENTITY

In relation to gender identity, traditional students also reported having higher levels of satisfaction with their gender identity, which may be linked to the changing landscape of higher education. Frierson, Pearson, and Wyche (2009) suggest a growing educational disparity between African American women and men in higher education. In addition, the National Association of Student Financial Aid Administrators report that African-American woman are much more likely than their male counterparts to participate in higher education (NASFAA, 2006). As indicated in this study, there were more female traditional students (75%) pursuing or participating in higher education in comparison to traditional students (24% male) versus nontraditional (30% male).

In addition, the term gender identity not only refers to an individual's identification with a particular gender category, the term also encompasses the sense of belonging, attitudes, and values associated with that gender and the ability to be androgynous (Myers & Mosley, 2004). Chonody, Siebert, & Rutledge (2009) indicated that high levels of satisfaction among the participants may be indicative of the increased research efforts to understand and involve the lesbians, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) student population. In recent years, research topics on LGBT students and higher education (i.e, LGBT campus climate issues (Brown, Clarke, Gortmaker, & Robinson-Keilig, 2004; Evans & Broido, 2002; Evans & Herriott, 2004; Rankin, 2003), the student affairs practice of working with LGBT students (Beemyn, 2005; Meyer, 2004) have led to more on-campus programs and organizations that support gender identity among these students. Moreover, Chonody, Siebert, & Rutledge's (2009) study on LGBT students found that students were more accepting and affirming of gays and lesbians.

The above argument is supported by a significant difference in gender ($t = .011$ $p < .05$). Traditional students indicated greater satisfaction with their gender identity ($m=78.51$) versus nontraditional students. This is indicated by ($m=74.69$) for traditional students and ($m=74.69$) according to gender.

LOVE

Despite the fact that the vast majority of traditional students reported being single (93.8%), the findings indicated a significant relationship of high levels of love wellness among traditional students. These results were contrary to previous studies that suggested that this age group might be more prone to the negative love style of playing games and obsessive love (Lees, 1973; Grello, Welsh, Harper & Dickson, 2003). The findings indicated minimal difference between the two groups, traditional ($m=80.70$) and non-traditional ($m=80.50$).

LIMITATION OF STUDY

The sample for the study was randomly selected and the variables were measured at the interval-ratio of measurement. However, the sample sizes for non-traditional students were not greater than 50; therefore, interpretations should be generalized with caution. Variances (SD-squared) of traditional and non- traditional students across all of the variables in the study were approximately equal as indicated in Table 6. Also, due to the overall low number of participants, any generalization of this study should be made with caution.

Another possible limitation of this study was that the instrument was designed, used and validated at a predominantly white university. Consequently, measurement equivalence, linguistic, conceptual and metric (Burnette, 1998) may have been violated. Therefore, the cultural perceptions and eventual findings of this study may be culturally-specific.

CONCLUSION

College campuses across the United States have implemented multidimensional wellness programs and wellness centers to address the identified high risk needs of college students (Chen, 2005; DiMonda, 2005; Hettler, 1998; Nicoteri & Arnold, 2005; Sivik et al., 1992). To date, these programs have offered wellness-based strategies with limited research regarding the similarities and differences in traditional and non-traditional college students' wellness behaviors. This study's findings indicated the differences in wellness behavior but also emphasized the similarities. While it is evident that there are some major differences in the wellness behavior among traditional and non-traditional students, it is important to note that the similarities can increase the counselor's ability to develop programs that incorporate the needs of both groups. By focusing attention on wellness behaviors of all college students, counselors can develop programs and incorporate activities that enhance the overall wellness for college students,

which can impact and sustain them over a lifetime. However the site used in this study is in a post-Katrina recovery mode. Consequently, this environment is prohibitive to students pursuing their wellness lifestyles. Although this environment is restricted, it does not prevent the University from developing academic and social programs that highlight issues related to areas that impact students' lives, such as time management techniques, safety measures (seat belts), or abusive relationships.

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MINORITY CITIZEN PERCEPTION OF POLICE: WHAT ARE THE INFLUENTIAL FACTORS?

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Abstract: Historically, minority perception of police has been negative. This qualitative phenomenological study explored minority perception of police roles. Specifically, the study explored how perception of police would be impacted if police officers returned to the communities they served to mentor at-risk youth. The study is significant because if citizens do not trust law enforcement agents, they may be less like to aid in police investigations, reports crimes or victimization (Krischman & Nair, 2012). Officers returning to the communities they serve in a non-enforcement capacity may foster trust and respect as citizens are allowed to see officers as human (Somerville, 2009). This study involved interviewing 20 citizens (Blacks/African-Americans and Hispanics/Latinos) and 20 police officers in the southern sector of Dallas County, Texas. The study yielded the following findings: 1) while minorities perceive prior experience with police is the most influential factor of their perception of police officers; police believed race is the most significant factor, 2) none of the participants involved in the study reported being racially profiled, 3) both citizens and police participants believe police mentoring at-risk youth would be beneficial; however, police reported they would need some form of incentive to do so.

BACKGROUND

Ethnic and racial minorities have been targeted by police since early American history (Gabbidon & Greem, 2009). During the 1960s and 1970s as attitudes and citizen perception of police first emerged, researchers focused on experiences of African-Americans and Whites Lurigio, Greenleaf & Flexon, 2009). Despite this, research has been criticized as the concepts of studied were inconsistent (Brandl, Frank, Wooldredge, & Watkins, 1997).

Government agencies are particularly concerned with the citizen perception of police because of the adverse effects distrust of police may have (Powell, Skouteris & Murfett, 2008; Renauer & Covelli, 2010). Distrust of police integrity may lead to citizens contacting police less, which may compromise safety and result in hostility towards police (Powell et al., 2008; Renauer & Covelli, 2010). Positive perception of police is essential because the success of community policing is directly correlated to successful relationships between police and community (Powell et al., 2008). The background of this study suggests that negative contacts between citizens and police result in citizens perceiving police negatively (Huggins, 2010) The purpose of this study is to explore if negative perceptions held by Hispanic and African-Americans would change if officers returned to the communities they serve, in a non-enforcement capacity, to mentor-at-risk youth.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Minority and ethnic groups often perceived that police target and abuse them (Huggins, 2010; Sivasubramanium & Goodman-Delahunty, 2008; Weitzer, Tuch, & Skogan, 2008). As a result of inappropriate behavior of law enforcement agents, significant research has been focused on this area behavior (Maguire & Johnson, 2010; Miller & Davis, 2008; Murphy, 2009). African-Americans and Hispanic-Americans perceive police more negatively than Whites (Cao, 2011; Cochran & Warren, 2011; Mbuba, 2010; Weitzer et al., 2008; Vera-Sanchez & Rosenbaum, 2010). Although minority and ethnic groups perceive police more negatively there are additional factors noted in research that influence citizen perception of police. These include the neighborhood in which they reside (Sharp & Johnson, 2009) and socioeconomic status (Warren, 2010).

Community perception of police roles is significant for numerous reasons. When citizens do not

trust police they may be reluctant to assist in police investigations, report crime or victimization (Krishman & Nair, 2012). Citizen beliefs, attitudes, and expectations are often relayed in their demeanor and overall cooperation as police seek assistance from them during criminal investigations (Weitzer et al., 2008). Police departments across the United States have implemented programs in their communities placing officers in different capacities (Somerville, 2009). This is an effort to aid citizens in seeing police agents in situations that are less threatening and less authoritative (Somerville, 2009). Community policing is one such philosophy embraced by departments nationwide intended to provide officers different opportunities to interact with citizens.

The community policing approach entails an alliance between citizens and police to resolve neighborhood problems (Yero et al., 2012). To be effective police officers must be engaged in the communities they work (Mbuba, 2010). As officers become involved in the communities, while not on duty, citizens may begin to trust them and see them as being human (Somerville, 2009). Once citizens are able to relate to officers a trustworthy relationship can ensue. A mutual respect between citizens and police may promote a new perspective of law enforcement authority. This aspect of mutual respect may also promote police legitimacy and citizen compliance with laws (Arter, 2006; Somerville, 2009).

In addition to community policing, police departments across the nation have implemented mentoring program that focus on at-risk youth. This can be evidenced in the city of Detroit's Cops Caring for Youth (C2Y) program, Iowa's Police Activities League of Waterloo and the University of California Police Mentors Program (Police Mentors, n.d.). In Detroit, police officers participating in C2Y volunteer to dedicate one year of off-duty time showing commitment to their communities and fostering positive paths for youth. C2Yworks in collaboration with Big Brothers and Big Sisters (BBBS) to match off duty police officers with local youth. Mentorship has been proven to be successful in promoting positive change in youth (Tierney et al., 2010). Youth involved in the BBBS program were found to be at lower risk to begin using drugs (46%), less likely to use alcohol, 27%), less likely to skip school and less likely to initiate a physical altercation (Tierney et al., 2010). These youth also showed improvement in relationships with peers and family members.

Factors Influencing Citizen Perception of Police

Research indicates several factors influence citizen perception of police. These include age, gender, social status, race, class, neighborhoods in which the citizens reside and contact with police (Bridenball & Jesilow, 2008; Lorigio, Greenleaf & Flexon, 2009; Payne & Gainey, 2007; Weitzer & Tuch, 2005). Age can be a significant factor in how citizens perceive police (Dowler, 2008). Younger citizens tend to view police more negatively than older citizens (Bridenball & Jesilow, 2008). Brunson and Miller (2007) conducted a study which focused on African-American youth. The study found that the youth had a lack of trust in police and were dissatisfied with their service. Participants cited beliefs were due to officers being rude and aggressive during routine encounters (Brunson & Miller, 2007). Murphy (2009) postulates younger individuals are traditionally and more frequently in contact with law enforcement agents, are more likely to engage on criminality, be arrested or victimized. A study conducted by Powell et al., (2008) found that children tend to focus on the punitive roles of police such as shootings, arresting, hurting and killing. The older the child; however the more likely he or she will identify other aspects of police officer roles (Powell et al., 2008). Carr, Napolitano & Keating (2007) found that youth with extensive incarceration histories presented with the greatest level of distrust of police officers. These stereotypical views may

hinder prosecutorial procedures as they may be considered when individuals decide if they will or will not testify to aid in criminal cases (Powell et al., 2008).

African-American children tend to perceive officers from the perspective of being African-American which entails being racially profiled, arrested or harassed (Lee et al, 2011). These youth not only expected to be handled poorly by police; however are expected to be negatively connected with criminal behavior (Carr et al., 2007; Lee et al., 2011). These negative stereotypes often lead young African-American males to perpetuate the negative stereotypes they are continually exposed to (Cooper et al., 2008). Despite this finding some ethnic youth recognize the need for police intervention in their neighborhoods (Carr et al., 2007). This can be evidenced in the study conducted by Carr and his colleagues. They conducted a study of youth across all ethnic groups and neighborhoods in Philadelphia. The results of the study suggested that all had negative perceptions police. Both African-American and Hispanic youth believe they were unjustly targeted because of their minority status; however, African-Americans believe they harassed at an even greater rate (Carr et al., 2007). Although they presented negative perceptions of police many believed that increased police presence would aid in lowering crime rates in their neighborhoods (Carr at al., 2007).

Race

Racism and discrimination has led to a great deal of both sociological and criminological research on the varying attitudes towards police (Huggins, 2012). Researchers suggest the varying perceptions between Whites and African-Americans can be linked to slavery (Bizer, 2008; Vera-Sanchez & Rosenbaum, 2010). Slavery discrimination and segregation was supported by law as officers had the duty of enforcing laws that promoted white supremacy. Skolnick posited during the 1930's officers were trained and expected to be brutal to African- Americans. Police were also responsible for capturing runaway slaves (Vera- Sanchez & Rosenbaum, 2010). If caught without papers indicating freedom these individuals were beaten and flogged (Vera-Sanchez & Rosenbaum, 2010). A primary emphasis for police departments continued to be class control as policing became more structured (Vera-Sanchez & Rosenbaum, 2010). Although the Civil War ended, police agencies still had the responsibility of enforcing Jim Crow laws which restricted African-Americans from accessing services similar to Whites (Vera- Sanchez & Rosenbaum, 2010). During this time, Latinos and Africa-Americans were not provided police protection (Vera-Sanchez & Rosenbaum, 2010).

African-American/Blacks

Although African Americans and Whites disagree with racial profiling, African- Americans perceive racial profiling is a widespread problem (Weitzer & Tuch, 2005) When compared to Whites, African-Americans are more likely to have unpleasant non-voluntary contacts with police (Miller & Davis, 2008) and be disproportionately represented in all stages of the justice system (Dunn, 2008). Studies have continually revealed African-Americans trust police less than White citizens (Warren, 2010; Weitzer & Brunson, 2009; Vera-Sanchez & Rosenbaum, 2011). Those negative perceptions held by Blacks may be attributed to negative media focusing on police degradation and mistreatment of African-American citizens (Warren, 2010). An example of such treatment can be evidenced in the case of Abner Louima a Haitian immigrant who was arrested for striking a police officer during the fight at a nightclub in Brooklyn, New York (Kirshchner, 1997). The officers involved stopped while transporting Louima and he was beaten (Kirschner, 1997). Once at the police station, Louima was sodomized with a plunger handle or something similar before the handle was forced into his mouth damaging several teeth (Kirschner, 1997). As a result of these actions Louima also suffered a laceration to

his bladder and a perforation of his rectum (Kirschner, 1997).

More recently, the deaths of African-American men (Michael Brown of Ferguson Missouri, Eric Garner of Staten Island, New York, Ezell Ford, of Los Angeles California, and John Crawford of Beavercreek, Ohio) at the hands of police have incited national distrust and protests with calls for police reform and increased transparency. Citizens; however, have argued that transparency in the form of body cameras would offer minimal remedy as the death of Eric Garner, on July 17, 2014, was captured on amateur video and made public. Garner was suspected of illegally selling loose cigarettes. The video shows Garner being placed and a chokehold by Officer Daniel Pantaleo, a tactical use prohibited by the New York Police Department. The following month, Michael Brown, an eighteen year old Black male was shot and killed on August 9, 2014, by a White officer, Darren Wilson, after being approached due to walking down the middle of the road. Officer Wilson reported Brown was instructed to walk on the sidewalk. According to Wilson, during a television interview, the two exchanged expletives before a confrontation resulted in Brown's death. In both cases; when presented to the Grand Jury, the decision was not to indict. This resulted in protests across the Nation with "Die-ins", and marches with demonstrators chanting, "Black lives matter", "Hands Up, Don't Shoot", as well as the final words of Mr. Eric Garner, "I can't breathe."

Hispanic/Latinos

In 2005, the U.S. Census Bureau published figures indicating the Hispanics are expanding beyond the southwest regions of the United States (Muchetti, 2005). This influx resulted in an economically and culturally diverse region the Midwest which was traditionally middle-class English speaking white and of European descent (Muchetti, 2005). As Hispanics changed geographically, so did the likelihood of them being a victim of racial profiling. A study conducted in Missouri, a state that experienced rapid growth in its Hispanic population implied Hispanics are stopped by law enforcement officers up to twelve hundred and fifty percent more than their portion of the overall population (Muchetti, 2005). Despite these findings there has been minimal follow-up research.

Whites/Caucasians

There is an abundance of research suggesting White citizens hold a more positive perception of police than Black or Hispanics (Cao, 2011; Cochran & Warren, 2011; Vera-Sanchez & Rosenbaum, 2010). According to Graziano, Schuck, & Martin (2010) although Whites are cognizant of the differential treatment between Black and Whites, Whites perceive this treatment is attributed due to more African-Americans being involved in more crimes.

Gender

Gender, although not as significant a race in perception of police also has implications. According to Rodriguez (2008) women are more likely to feel discriminated against. Rodriguez theorizes that this may be attributed to societal barriers women face in comparison to men and Whites. There is also considerable research indicating men hold a more negative perception of police (Mbuba, 2010; Miller & Davis, 2008). The more contact with police, the more negative the perception. Payne and Gainey (2007) posit that although women may engage in similar criminality as males, they are not a likely have police agent approach them. Overall, studies on gender perception of police are inconsistent (Miller & Davis, 2008; Payne & Gainey, 2007)

Socioeconomic Status and Neighborhood

Wu, Sun & Triplett (2009) explain African-American perception of police is not contingent upon socioeconomic status. Blacks sharing similar socioeconomic status as Whites continue to hold a more negative perception of law

enforcement agents (Wu et al., 2009). Studies revealed the same for Blacks with higher education. Research has indicated Whites of lower socioeconomic statues tended to view police more negatively; however, as they financial status improved, so did their perception of police (Warren, 2010). Warren further explained that this was not true for African-Americans who continued to view police negatively despite improved socio-economic status.

Avidja (2010) argued a neighborhood's crime condition also influences citizen perception of police. Citizens residing in economically disadvantaged neighborhoods were more likely to perceive police negatively. This may be due to the individuals residing in such communities having more contact with police than those in upper class communities (Mbuba, 2010).

Theoretical Implication of Police Culture

Judgment and perception influence an individual's stereotypical beliefs about other groups when the individual considers his or her own group membership (Pronin, 2006). Individuals may show subtle, and often not so subtle, signs of bias when dealing with stigmatized groups such as minorities (Pronin, 2006). Individuals tend to show favor to one's in-group even when differences between in-group and out-groups are insignificant (Pronin, 2006).

Culture within police departments has been the focus of research for many years (Glomseth & Gottschalk, 2009; Miller, 2010). Understanding the culture within law enforcement agencies provides insight into how officers interact with others and policing methods (Loftus, 2010). Studies have found that officers tend to over exaggerate their mission and seek excitement (Loftus, 2010). Contrary to what is required to foster positive police-community relations officers tend to be socially isolated, cynical, suspicious, defensive of their group solidarity and distrust outsiders (Glomseth & Gottschalk, 2009; Loftus, 2010; Miller, 2010, Skolnick, 2008). The most salient of these characteristics are solidarity and isolation (Wright, 2010). Officers further bond through isolation creating a greater gap between police and the community (Wright, 2010).

Police culture is also a significant factor in how officers interact with the public and there is intolerance for those to deviate from the status quo (Loftus, 2010; Skolnick, 2008). Similar to familial relationships officers are obligated to be loyal and support one another (Richards, 2010; Skolnick, 2008). Widely perceived to be dominated by White males, police organizations have cultures that warrant conformity to establish standards or face rejection (Heijes, 2007).

There are often sub-cultures within organizations. The police subculture is often referred to as the "blue code of silence" (Miller, 2010, p. 241; Shockley-Eckles, 2011). Such codes cause problems as loyalty takes precedence over integrity (Rothwell & Baldwin, 2007). The code further decreases officer's sense of fear of being discovered while increasing the likelihood of straying away from ethical values. The code not only hinders police from effectively performing their duties; however, it also undermines citizens' respect for police as it is an effort to conceal and inappropriate behavior (Rothwell & Baldwin, 2007; Shockley-Eckles, 2011). Efforts to conceal police misconduct goes beyond the aspect of loyalty and solidarity. This in many ways promotes behavior immoral (Miller, 2010; Wright, 2010). Officers who report such misconduct suffer negative consequences psychologically, physically, and within their careers (Wright, 2010).

Several theories may provide insight into how police culture influences citizen perception the police. Possible explanations can be found in Identity Theory (IT) and Social Identity Theory (SIT). IT suggests that individuals place themselves into categories and adopt expectations and meaning defined in their categories (Burke &

Stets, 2009). This theory implies roles outline expected behaviors (Asencio & Burke, 2011). Validation of a member's status occurs when the individual is successful in carrying out of his or her roles; however, when the individual is unsuccessful in he or she will experience self-doubt and anxiety (Burke & Stets, 2009).

From a societal perspective, individuals are multi-faceted and have numerous roles (Asencio & Burke, 2011). The variations of self-concepts are contingent upon the societal roles held. Individuals, from the IT perspective, analyze how they are perceived in a situation to aid in their identity process. Discrepancies result in an alteration of the individual's behavior in an effort to align with the standard identity to promote self-meaning (Asencio & Burke, 2011). Such counter-actions are meant to avoid internalization of inconsistent labels.

Social Identity Theory may also provide relevant insight. SIT focuses on the reciprocating processes between a group and individual (Nieuwenboer & Kaptein, 2008). The theory postualtes that as an individual identifies with the group identity, the group identity becomes salient while the individual identity recedes. This results in the individual subsequently altering their belief system to that of the group to attain a group consensus and ultimately depersonalization (Nieuwenboer & Kaptein, 2008). SIT is frequently viewed as resulting in group competition that may lead to the belief of superiority with an emphasis on power and status. Out-group discrimination and bias towards others over one's own group may also occur (Nieuwenboer & Kaptein, 2008).

Method and Sample

Qualitative phenomenological methods serve to remove preconceptions, hypotheses and bias from studies (Cooper & Schindler, 2010; Creswell, 2008). This serves as an effective means of discovering individual perspectives and views by bringing them to the foreground. The results are contextual and specific to the individual and environment. When focusing on human subjects there is a need to collect in-depth information and perspective through observing the participants, conducting interviews and other inductive meanings (Cooper & Schindler, 2010; Creswell, 2008).

The use of open-ended questions in this study yielded knowledge, lived experiences feelings and perspectives (Cooper & Schindler, 2010; Creswell, 2008; Moustakas, 1994). The aspect of phenomenology places emphasis on experiences of the individual. The qualitative nature may result in new theories as subjects reveal their views on social interactions and ethical issues (Cooper & Schindler, 2010; Creswell, 2008).

The population and sample of the study consisted of police officers and citizens residing in the southern sector of Dallas County, Texas. Law enforcement officers were required to have served in the capacity for a minimum of five years while citizens had to be of African-American or Hispanic descent. All participants had to be over the age of 18 years old. Prior to participating in the study, participants were informed of the following:

- There are no foreseeable risks
- Participation in this study is voluntary. The participant could withdraw from the study at any time.
- Identity will be kept confidential.
- Interviews will be recorded. The information from the recorded interviews may be transcribed. The researcher will develop a way to code the data to assure that names are protected.
- Data will be kept in a secure and locked area. The data will be kept for three years, and then destroyed.
- The results of this study may be published.

Socio-demographical information was collected as part of the study to decipher the various perspectives by race, gender, income, and age. The citizen sample was purposeful when considering race. The same included 5 African-American males, 5 African-American females, 5 Hispanic males and 5 Hispanic females. Eighty percent of the Hispanic participants were in the age range of 20–25 years old with the remaining being 26–31 years of age. Fifty percent of the African-American citizen participants were in the age range of 20–25 years old with the remaining participants at 10% for each age category. Hispanic participants' income range was divided at 50% between two categories, $0–$24,999 and $25,000–$49,000. African-American participant income range was totaled at 50% being $0-$24,999, 30% being $25,000–$49,000, and the remaining 20% between the ranges of $50,000 and $149,000.

Figure 1: *Age Range of Citizen Participants*

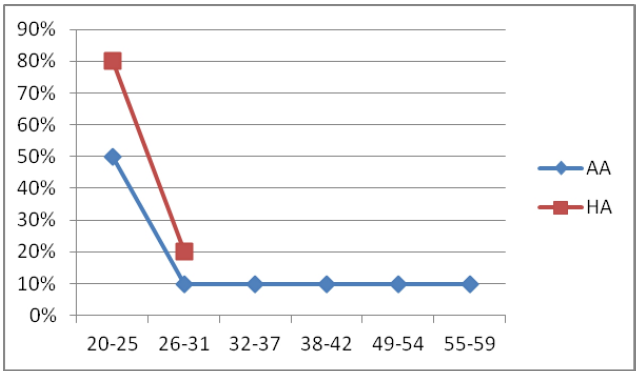


Table 1: *Percentage of African-American and Hispanic-American Citizen Participants by Income*

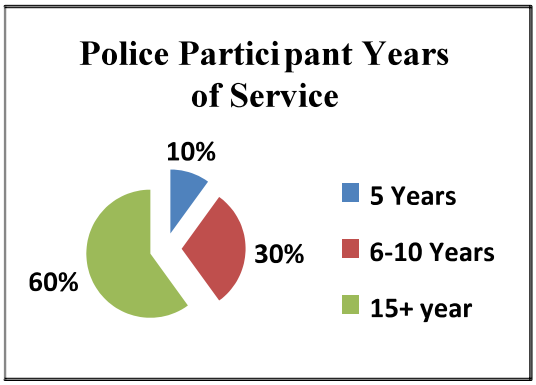
Annual Wages	African-American %	Hispanic-American %
$0–24,999	50	50
$25,000–49,999	30	50
$50,000–149,999	20	—

Police participant demographical information focused on the officer's age, race, gender, and years of service. Police participants consisted 15% African-American females, 8% African-American males, 30% Hispanic males, 10% White males and 5% White females. Years of service for the police participants consisted of 10% with 5 years of service, 30% with 6 to 10 years of service and 60% with at least 15 years of service.

Table 2: *Police Participant Race and Gender*

Police Participant	Number	Percent
African-American Female	3	15%
African-American Male	8	40%
Hispanic Male	6	30%
White Male	2	10%
White Female	1	5%

Figure 2: *Police Participant Years of Service*



Data Analysis and Results

After interviewing participants, citizen participants' responses were analyzed separately from police participants' due the varying perspective being explored in the study. Analysis began with the researcher listening to and reading the transcriptions several times. This included seeking to identify and differentiate between biased data and useful data (Taylor, Powell, & Renner, 2003). Questions were organized to aid in the identification of each participant's response and discover consistencies and inconsistencies.

Topics were organized in similar fashion to discover any correlations between questions such as patterns or themes (Taylor-Powell & Renner, 2003).

Results of the Study

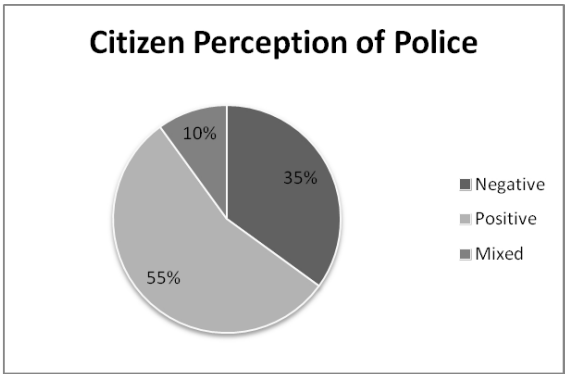
Transcripts were reconciled with audio recordings to remove discrepancies. Responses were evaluated for coding. Coding aided in the identification and development of themes of factors influencing perception of police roles. To achieve insight into data, as a whole, and meaning to the words, patterns and themes categorized and sub-categories were created. Data were classified as emergent or present (Taylor-Powell & Renner, 2003). Emergent themes are those that are not preconceived; however, are issues reoccurring in the data. The data analysis process involved three specific measures involving reducing data, data display and drawing and verifying conclusions (Punch, 2009).

The findings of the study revealed four major themes among police participants. These major themes include race, communication, parental influence and prior contacts with police. Minor themes included the context in which the contact occurred and the socio-economic status of the citizens. Sixty percent of police participants believe that minority communities hold a negative perception of police officers, 25% believed they are viewed positively while the remaining 15% were unsure. Police responses included the following statements:

- "We are looked upon as outsiders."
- "As soon as they see the badge, it doesn't matter what color you are…they go into defense mode."

Of all police participants, race was cited as the most significant factor (55%) in how police are perceived by minority communities. All but one African-American police participant reported race as a significant factor in citizen perception of police. African-Americans cited race as a significant factor in how they are perceived reporting they were viewed as being less credible than White officers because they were Black. One African-American police participant stated, "My credibility is less because I'm Black. Even within the department race is a factor is socialization." African-American officer also reported being viewed as being traitors and the enemy. Three African-American female police officers participated in the study. Of the three, two believed they were viewed negatively because they are part of two stigmatized groups, being Black and being female. Such views may further the gap between police and minority communities considering research suggests police tend to be socially isolated and protective of their group identity (Glomseth & Gottschalk, 2009, Loftus, 2010; Miller, 2010; Skolnick, 2008). A lack of intergroup interaction may result in bias (Cuhadar & Dayton, 2011).

Figure 4.3: *Citizen Perception of Police*



One officer holding a neutral perspective stated, "I believe people are afraid of what they don't understand." Fifty percent of the Hispanic police participants believed they are viewed negatively by minority communities. One Hispanic officer stated, "The uniform provides an opinion. We are always the bad guys. It's not just Blacks and Hispanics (who believe police officers are bad).

Communication was cited by 35% of police participants as a key factor in how minority communities view police. Officers reported that

effective communication has much to do with respect and compassion. Another factor noted by police participants was parental influence. Thirty-five percent of police participants indicated parents are significant in how children view police. Officers reported that parent comments to children, whether unintentional, may foster negative perceptions of police. One officer provided the following example, "…there goes the police…I'm going to tell them to take you to jail and the kid will start crying." Another officer stated, "Parental roles are also important…just as important as parents telling children the truth about police contacts."

The final major theme discovered in police responses was prior contact or past experiences with police (25%). Officers reported, "Definitely prior contacts with police. A lot of people have had bad experiences. I try to apologize and let them know we are all human." Another stated, "I believe African and Hispanic-American communities have distrust in police because of past incidents with some officers who have violated their rights."

The single major theme identified in the responses of citizen participants' was past experience or prior contacts with police (55%). Fifty-five percent of all citizen participants reported having a positive perception of police while 35% held a negative perception and 10% were neutral. Sixty percent of Hispanic participants held positive views with the remaining being equally divided between neutral and negative views. Fifty percent of African-American participants reported having positive perceptions and 40% held negative perceptions of police.

Citizen participants stated the following:

- "My experiences affect my perception. For example, the officer from the school talked to me like he cared so much about my life. It seemed like I was talking to my dad."
- "I'm influenced by the way they approach me. If they are aggressive, I can tell it's going to be a bad experience."
- "The way they treat me is the greatest influence. I don't automatically assume all police are bad."

These findings are contrary to what police believed are significant in how they are perceived by minority citizens. Considering citizens are reporting prior experience or contact with police as the most significant factor in their perception of police, technological advances may be relevant.

Eighty-five percent of citizen participants believed that police returning to the community to mentor at-risk African-American and Hispanic youth will help change negative perceptions. Citizen participants stated that such actions will show the citizens that police care about their well-being, that are officers are willing to help out and make the neighborhood more of a safe environment, and this would help citizens see police more positively. Eighty percent of police participants believed that police mentoring at-risk youth would foster positive perceptions; however, officers also reported that finding officers to give up their free time would be a challenge due to familial obligations, odd work schedules and some officers would want incentives.

Discussion

This study was not intended to confirm any specific theory; however, to explore perception of police while considering various identity theories. The purpose of this study was to explore current minority perception of police and if police returning to the minority communities they serve to mentor at-risk youth would foster positive perception of police. Sixty percent of police participants believed they are viewed negatively by minority communities. This is significant because it has been suggested that when police believe they are viewed negatively, they may become frustrated with minority

communities (Vera-Sanchez & Rosenbaum, 2011).

The findings of this study suggest there is a disconnection between police understanding factors that influence citizen perception of police and the actual views of citizens. Although police participants noted race as the most significant factor in citizen perception of police, the context is highly relevant. Police participants did not reflect on citizen race; however, an emergent theme was that African-American officers believe they are viewed as less credible than White officers. Communication was noted as the second most significant factor in how minority citizens view police. Officers stressed effectively communicating with the citizens and respect is essential. Citizens reported the most significant factor influencing their perception of police is prior contact or experience with police. Sivasubramanium and Goodman-Delahunty (2008) posit race has become the most significant predictor in negative attitudes towards police. Although African-American participants in this present study presented with the lowest satisfaction in police, race or racial profiling was not as significant factor in how they perceive police. Fifty percent of citizen participants reported prior contact or experience with police as a significant factor in their perception of police while only 25% of police participants viewed prior contact or experience with police as significant. Continual media coverage of racially biased policing has resulted in legislative mandates implemented across America. These mandates resulted in organizational changes which can evidenced by police cars equipped cameras that can be used as evidence regarding both officer and citizen behavior (Warren & Tomaskovic-Devey, 2009). Technological advances including cell phones with the capability to record and security surveillance systems may have also aided in reducing police misconduct (Huggins, 2010; Mbuba, 2010). Such advances have made police behavior more transparent than ever before. This can be evidenced in the shooting of Bobby Bennett on October 14, 2013, by a Dallas Police Officer. Bennett's mother called 911 for help explaining that Bennett suffered from mental illness, was violent, had a knife and was throwing objects at the garage. Upon Officers Cardan Spencer and Christopher Watson arriving, Bennett was sitting in a chair. His initial response was to roll back in his chair; however, as officers approached he stood up, hands at his side and remained still. He was standing still as one of the officers shot him four times hitting Bennett in the abdomen. Spencer and Watson claimed they believed Bennett was coming at them with a weapon raised. Although Bennett survived, he was initially charged with aggravated assault which, were later dropped after a neighbor's home surveillance video surfaced showing the details of the incident. Officer Spencer was subsequently fired and indicted in the shooting (WFAA, 2014).

The actions taken by the Dallas Police Department in response to the misconduct revealed in the video provided citizens with a sense of procedural fairness. This concept refers to citizens' perceptions of how they are being treated during the decision making process (Renauer & Covelli, 2010). This perspective implies that citizens will acknowledge police legitimacy and be supportive when they are dealt with fairly (Hinds, 2008; Murphy, 2009). In light of this increased transparency, citizen perceptions of police, irrespective of race, may be contingent on the actions of the justice system when citizens believe they are being unfairly treated.

Mentoring At-Risk Youth

Both citizens (85%) and police (80%) participants believed that police returning to minority communities to mentor at-risk youth would be beneficial in promoting positive police-minority community relationships. Police participants; however, believed finding officers to volunteer their time would be a challenge due to familial demands, odd work hours, and other obligations.

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USING A PEACE GAME AS A VEHICLE FOR EXPLORING CRITICAL SOCIETAL ISSUES WITH PRE-SERVICE TEACHERS

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Abstract: Many American families wrestle with the social injustices that plague our nation, such as lowness of income, lack of resources, and limited access to educational or career advancement opportunities. If and when these struggling families call out for help, their calls all too often go unanswered. Yet, as education professionals must end our silent response and begin to address the prevailing social inequalities that have embedded themselves into the fabric of our society. By way of answering these calls for help, I designed a peace game called *War Between Suburbs* (*WBS*), which was inspired by Jonathon Kozol's book *Savage Inequalities*. *WBS* presents research on two communities through a game-like experience. It addresses affluence and poverty in schooling through the player's active participation, dialogue, and reflection. By placing two communities in juxtaposition, *WBS* serves as a way to help pre-service teachers unpack social inequalities in schooling across different communities. The game does this by increasing empathy and understanding related to factors impacting academic success and educational attainment across the lifespan, all the while positioning the educator as a social change agent. Therefore, the purpose of this paper is twofold: first, to outline the theory and mechanics of my peace game, and second, to introduce educators to an alternative, social justice learning activity. In playing the game, pre-service teachers position themselves in the shoes of someone else and it is through this act of perspective taking that participants begin to see *WBS* as a feasible conflict resolution tool within teaching training. This paper also facilitate the development of socially-just teacher dispositions, a guiding set of values that determines the outwardly behavior of a teacher and the internal processing of their experiences.

A PROMISE UNFULFILLED

Meet Sebastian, a shy but pleasant kindergartener. At first glance, you'll notice the shaggy hair that covers his eyes. Each morning he approaches the school entrance dressed in his brother's hand-me-down clothes. The tardy bell rings. "Late again," grumbles the hall monitor. Soon after, Sebastian scurries to his homeroom, and barges through the classroom door. He throws his torn up book bag into his cubby and darts to his desk. Beneath his overgrown hair, you can see his droopy eyes, as if he longs to use his desk as a pillow. "Sebastian, sit up straight!" snaps his teacher. The clock ticks, the teacher rambles, Sebastian's head bobs, and class periods pass. Soon, as the noon hour approaches, the smell of pizza wafts heavily in the hallway. Sebastian lifts his head a bit more. His eyes widen, as each inhale of pepperoni serves as a promissory note that the aching growl in his stomach will subside. The lunch bell rings. Within moments, Sebastian scarfs down heaps of food, then looks longingly to his neighbor's tray in hopes of leftovers. "Hungry, Sebastian?" asks the girl sitting next to him.

Five years later and several feet taller, Sebastian still arrives after the morning tardy bell. Seemingly disheveled and aloof, his assignments are almost always incomplete. He hands over a crinkled paper to the woman tapping her toes, as if to be irritated by Sebastian's pace. "Sebastian, please work a little harder," huffs the exasperated teacher's aide. "Shape up! You're going to transfer to middle school next year, boy." dictated the school disciplinarian. "Sebastian, your teachers are concerned about your grades," the principal emphasizes, and then continues with the cliché saying: "Education is the key, son."

But, the only key Sebastian knows is the key around his neck. This is the key to unlock an empty apartment at the end of the school day. He inserts the key, turns the knob, and the door swings. He is greeted by a television and an empty kitchen. You see, Sebastian's mother does not arrive home from her second shift until long after the sun has set and the dinner hour has passed. Meet Sebastian, a latchkey kid.

Sebastian, while fictional, represents a character in a peace game I designed. I open with Sebas-

tian's story for several reasons. First, Sebastian's story is a gateway to understanding my peace game, *War Between Suburbs* (*WBS*). *WBS* is an educational teaching tool aimed at helping pre-service teachers learn about how affluence and poverty impact schooling. Speaking to the importance of this topic, Pierik and Robeyns (2007) remind us that while society has seemingly progressed in relation to equalities, social injustices have prevailed for centuries and our social structures and patterns are still dominated by these injustices. We must begin by acknowledging the existence of these social injustices in our own world. *WBS*, therefore, is intended to be a conversational and experiential conflict resolution tool aimed at elaborating on these prevailing injustices in understandable, solution-seeking ways.

Second, Sebastian's story personalizes the economic challenges many American children face each school day. The story draws attention to how, despite obstacles, families attempt to navigate and progress through an educational system that is seemingly pitted against them. Many American families face barriers to academic success (i.e., single parent households); however, addressing social inequalities is rarely done in our society (MacIntyre & Dunne, 2002). Further, there is a general absence of authentic perspective taking in our society (i.e., seeing the world through Sebastian's eyes). For this reason, *WBS* utilizes the concept of perspective taking as a way to place social justice issues back on the educational agenda.

The final reason for telling Sebastian's story is to introduce teacher pre-dispositions (i.e., the grumbling, snapping, and dictating). By teacher pre-dispositions, I am referring to the guiding set of values that determine the outwardly behavior of a teacher and the internal processing of their experiences. The notion of dispositions described above is congruent with the National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education's (NCATE) definition of dispositions. In the NCATE report, Singh and Stoloff (2008) state that, "dispositions are guided by beliefs and attitudes related to values such as caring, fairness, honesty, responsibility and social justice." Concretely speaking, the belief that all children can learn is one example of a socially just pre-disposition.

An aim of *WBS* is to foster socially just pre-dispositions in teacher candidates, a called for task for today's educators (Mills, 2013). *WBS* attempts to challenge the player's thinking about a child's ability to succeed by presenting scenarios where the teacher is challenged to look beyond a student's work ethic as the sole reason for unsatisfactory performance in school (i.e., "Sebastian, please work a little harder."). Understanding the larger social and economic factors that influence a student's academic success and educational attainment is a fundamental part of developing socially just predispositions. Mills (2008, p. 262) suggests educators who grasp concepts related to social just pre-dispositions are more likely to see themselves as agents of transformation and impactful.

Join me as this article 1) introduces the game *War Between Suburbs*, 2) explains the theoretical underpinnings of the *WBS* project, and 3) addresses the importance of this work within the current educational climate.

A War Between Suburbs: How Do We Achieve Peace?

I designed *WBS* to be a facilitator-led simulation that utilizes board game mechanics to generate dialogue, reflection, and action around ascriptive inequalities in schooling (i.e., inequalities related to race, class, and gender). In *WBS*, participants grapple with the disparities between high achieving school district in an affluent American community and low achieving school district in impoverished American community. As representation of high achieving and low achieving districts, two communities in the state of Kentucky were chosen. The decision to compare two

communities was influenced by Jonathan Kozol's (1992) book *Savage Inequalities* and more recent research suggesting that different populations, even within close proximity to one another, may have very different interpretations of what is and should be valued in learning (Walker, 2008). In particular, these two communities were chosen based on proximity to each other (they are located a few miles from one another), size of the district, comparability, and stark difference in neighborhood economics.

As part of understanding these communities, players portray a child growing up in one of the two communities. Over the course of the game (i.e., the portrayed child's lifespan), players are instructed to pay particular attention to their character's ability to make informed choices and means to achieve academic success. In doing so, players examine the deprivation of learning opportunities and variance in afforded freedoms within these two different communities, while keeping in the back of his or her mind that these two communities actually exist.[1]

Sen's definition of poverty guides this work, referring to poverty as the deprivation of capabilities *along with* lowness of income (Sen, 1999, as cited in Young, 2009). By capabilities, I also employ Walker's (2008) concept of functional capabilities, dealing with both opportunities and achievement. Specifically, socioeconomic status, cultural environment, and social arrangements may all enable or constrain a child's learning (Young, 2009). Sen (1992) posits that viewing poverty in terms of deprivation of capabilities *and* lowness of income is a crucial part of understanding poverty in richer countries like the United States. Therefore, the above mentioned conceptualizations were considered in the design of the game in mechanics such as placing the American communities in juxtaposition as a way of deepen the player's comprehension of affluence and poverty in his or her own region. Further, this design decision helps players to engage in what Robeyns (2006) calls a poverty and wellness assessment of a region.

Overview of the Game

WBS is a facilitated board game simulation situated within the serious, persuasive games genre. Swain (2007) defines games within this genre as games that "let players gain an experiential understanding of real world issues through play." There are a number of social justice oriented serious games that have a similar interest in addressing critical societal issues in their players, including *September 12th, Cart Life, Wildfire, Spent, Guess My Race, Me Tycoon, UN Food Force, Real Lives, Sixteen Tons*. *September 12th* is a game about how violence begets violence. *Cart Life* takes a look at retail work and the struggle to make ends meet. *Wildfire* was created to address the United Nations Development Programme's Millennium Development Goals. *Spent* is a game about homelessness in America. *Guess My Race* promotes critical thinking skills around race and culture. *Me Tycoon* is geared towards young adults, recognizing that young people often have limited access to career preparation materials. *Me Tycoon* seeks to improve their job readiness skills. *UN Food Force* immerses players in the realities of humanitarian efforts to distribute food to areas in need. *Real Lives* allows players to virtually experience what it would be like to live in other countries around the world. *Sixteen Tons* is a game about labor and debt bondage. It addresses how money impacts social class and privilege. There are many more which can be found on the Games for Change website (gamesforchange.org).

The participant population for the *WBS* project includes pre-service teachers enrolled in undergraduate and graduate coursework and practitioners within the helping profession. Due to the nature of the content, the game is intended for adults, rather than children within a K-12 setting. *WBS* is a multiplayer experience designed for single use. While the experience is single use, the activity is intended to be embedded in a larger

curricular experience aimed at fostering socially just teacher dispositions.

Participants are broken up into groups of 2-6 people to play the game as a small group. *WBS* consists of 3 phases: 1) the character development phase, 2) the board game phase, and 3) the reflection phase. A detailed description of these phases will follow. There are, however, two optional additions that will not be detailed in this paper, but are worth mentioning here: a further readings phase and a 'participant-as-game-designer' phase. These phases are intended to guide the player towards further action.

The Character Development Phase: Stepping Into the Shoes of Another

The goal of the character development phase is to determine your character's profile, a composition of characteristics that distinguish your character's home environment, friendships, and community setting. This phase was heavily influenced by concept called the Human Development Index (HDI), developed by the United Nations Development Program (Konrad, 2012; Martínez, 2012). The HDI consists of three dimensions (health, education, and living standards) and four indicators (life expectancy at birth, mean years of schooling, expected years of schooling, and income). Using the categories referenced in the HDI, as well as relevant social endowments, I identified eight categories to include on the *WBS* character development card. The eight categories are: 1) the type of parental representation in the home, 2) the type of neighborhood the character resides in, 3) the type of housing, 4) environmental factors such as drugs, cleanliness, and safety, 5) parental income levels, 6) highest level of parental education, 7) the type of friendships the character has, and 8) race.

An algorithm for the character development card was devised based on findings suggesting how factors influenced measures on the HDI (Battle & Lewis, 2002; Brown-Ford, 2010; Goodlad, 2004; Lerman, 2010). An example of such literature used to shape these categories includes material like Lerman's (2010) article on how the dynamics of unwed fathers can shape a child's school and home life. This article states that unwed fathers are statistically more likely to have less than a high school education, spend less time engaged with children for school related activities, and have an annual income that is influences by the father's relationship with the child's mother.

To determine the categories on the character development card, participants roll the die to determine their status for each of the eight factors, starting with what type of parents the player's character has. Parental options include 1) single parent, 2) alternative household (i.e., lives with an adult that is not the biological parent), 3) non-standard American traditions (e.g., vegan, religious minority, illegal citizenship, or oral differences), 4) same sex parents, 5) both parents work, and 6) both parents are present in the character's life and one parent stay at home. Each option has an assigned weight, which will be marked on the character development card and later be added up for a cumulative point total. For example, the character with a single parent household receives one point and the character with both parents present receives 6 points.

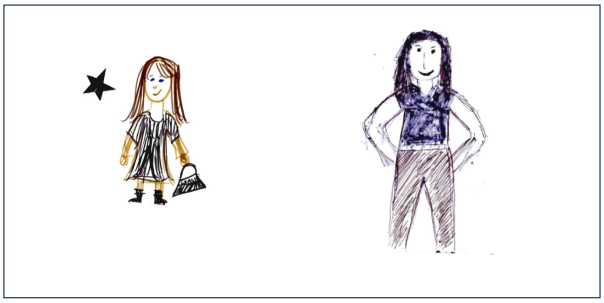
Similarly, a weighted point system applies to the type of neighborhood a participant' character lives in (e.g., urban, rural, suburban), housing (homeless, section 8, apartment or multi-family dwelling, or house), whether drugs are present, whether the facilities are clean and safe, parental income (no income or unemployed, an income below the poverty level, starting teacher salary, mid-career teacher salary, administrative pay grade, or above $80,000), parental level of education (no general education development (GED) certificate, GED certificate, high school diploma, associate's degree, bachelor's degree, or above a master's degree), friendship level (weak friendships or friends who get into trouble versus

strong connections or friends who stay out of trouble), and racial identification (white or non-white).

After all of the participant's character traits have been determined using the character development card, a final score is computed. Participants are asked to stand in order from highest score to lowest score. The half with the highest score on the character development phase is assigned to the blue track (the affluent track in a high achieving district). The lower scoring participants are assigned to the green track (the impoverished track in a low achieving district).

Players are given corresponding art supply bag. The blue art supply bag contains colorful writing utensils, glue, stickers, and scissors. The green art supply bag contains dull colored pens and pencils that are often broken or need to be sharpened. There is some variety in the supplies among the bags to avoid painting too much of a dichotomous picture of the two sides. Using their art supplies, participants are instructed to draw a visual representation of themselves on an index card. This paper avatar serves as their game piece for the board game by placing a paper clip on the bottom (see Figure 1).

Figure 1.



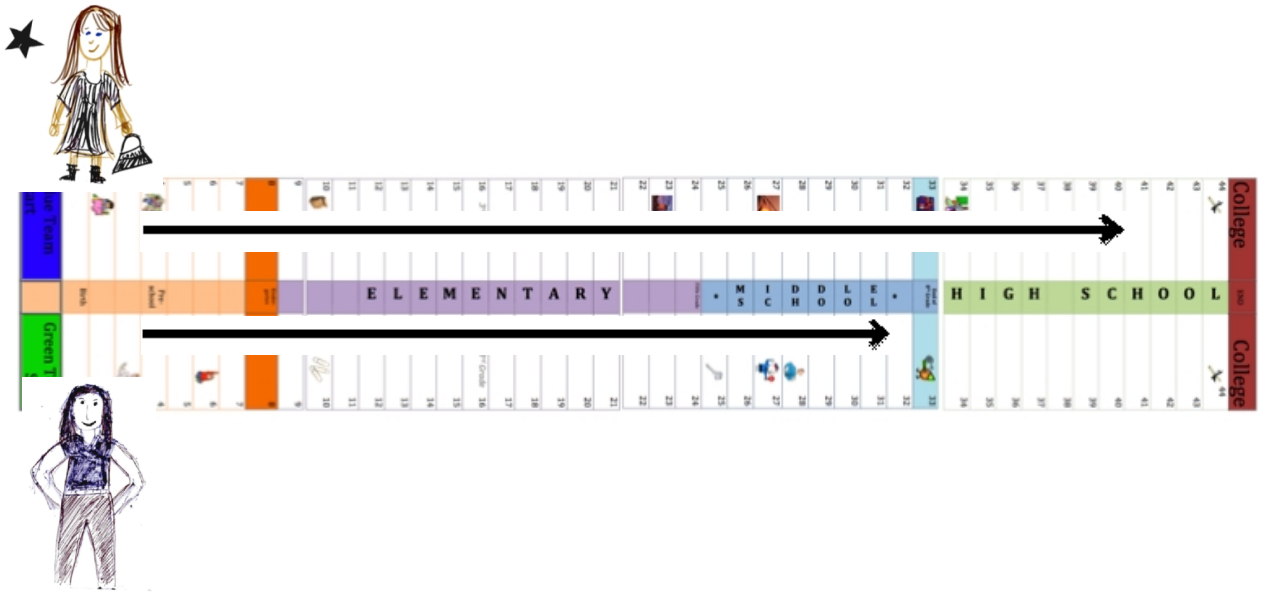
The Board Game Phase: Playing for Understanding

After creating their game piece, participants are divided into groups of 2-6 people per game board. Individual facilitators may choose how they wish to divide the groups. Ideally, there will be a nice mix of blues and greens in each group; however, each group requires at least one green and one blue player.

Each group receives a game board, a die, mentor cards, and a blue and green booklet containing details about the spaces they land on. The board provides the structure for the game (see Figure 2). The goal is to try to advance their character from the beginning of the board marked 'birth' to the end of the board marked 'college.' Players advance their game piece by rolling the die. This draws on elements of games of chance (Miller, 1974, p. 207). Mentor cards can be collected if you land on a space offering a mentoring card (e.g., "According to the Children's Defense Fund, "each day in America 8 children or teens are killed by firearms. I am pretty lucky because my older cousin has been helping me stay safe and off the streets. Take a mentor card" (*WBS*, green, space 30). Mentor cards can be used to help get you out of trouble (e.g., Kentucky has the 25th highest teenage pregnancy rate of any state. Of the 10,610 teenage pregnancies each year in Kentucky, 73% result in live births. I roll the die. If I get a 1,2, or a 3 I lose a turn because I am pregnant. However, if I forfeit a mentor card, I will not lose a turn" (*WBS*, green, space 37).

In total, the board contains 49 spaces. Through the roll of a die, players progress "through life" along the board, hopefully passing through preschool, kindergarten, elementary school, middle school, high school, and on to college. As a player lands on a space, he or she reads the prompt aloud to the group. The board bears resemblance to what the field of counseling would call a lifeline (Miller, 1993; Rosenthal, 2010), which depicts a person's progression through life. The lifelines presented below represent actual lifelines created by participants who tracked their participant over time during gameplay in order to tell the story of their character's life.

Figure 2.



The prompts on the numbered spaces are narrative illustrations of what might happen to a person living in the community at that stage in life. By narrative illustration I mean text using first person language (e.g., blue track: "My family eats dinner together. I learn table manners, increase my vocabulary, and learn about current events. I advance one space [*WBS*, blue, space 15]" versus the green track: "My family does not eat dinner together. I have to scrounge around cabinets for food. I settle for Ramen Noddles, again. Blah, I am tired of eating Ramen Noodles, but that is all we have" [*WBS*, green, space 13]).

Social endowments, such as race, physical attributes, parental guidance, and psychological health (Rassool & Morle, 2000) are reflected in the narrative (e.g., A family member volunteers as a teacher's assistant, which makes getting out of homework more challenging" [*WBS*, blue, space 13]). The narrative illustrations are also based on research findings from the communities represented in the game. Data was collected from the school websites, the US Census, state report cards, the state website, and the community's police and village website. To maintain anonymity, the school names are not provided.

An example of data collected from a school website includes: "When Congress passed the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001, it included a provision that requires schools to release the names, addresses, and phone numbers of students to military recruiters, unless parents opt out. My school placed this form online to notify parents. My family completed and returned the "Opt Out" form to the school office" (*WBS*, blue, space 36). An additional example of material drawn from a website includes a comparison of extra-curricular programs offered at each school. For example, the blue track would read, "Go Lions! You were encouraged to join an extra-curricular activity. Add one of these activities to your character card: Odyssey of the Mind, Governor's Cup Competition, or the Student Technology Leadership Program. Advance one space" (*WBS*, blue, space 21). By comparison, the green track would read, "Go Cats! Roll the die. If you get an even number, you can participate in an extracurricular activity and advance one space. If you rolled an even number, add one of the following activities to your character card: chorus, cheerleading, basketball, and after-school program, or Accelerated Reader Club (*WBS*, green, space 20).

The US Census data was used to compare information such as how many impoverished families with a female head of household lived in the community. State report cards were used to compare school performance. Information was also gathered about the communities from the state website and local police force. An example of information from the community's police and village website being applied is: "In 2005, juveniles committed 1,312 crimes in Green County. Recently, another crime was reported to the police. I will check my friendship score on my character card to see if I have strong friendships. If I have strong friendships, my friends kept me out of trouble and I was not involved with the crime. However, if I do not have strong friendships, I will roll the die. If I roll a 4, I must move back one space because I was mixed up with the crime. If I have a mentor card, I can forfeit this to stay out of trouble. If I roll something other than a 4, I stayed out of trouble" (*WBS*, green, pace 28). Other data sources include information about immunizations (e.g., 30 % of two-year olds in Kentucky are not fully immunized).

In gathering data about the communities from the sources listed above, I categorized information to include a rich range of material presented in the game about a child's coming of age in a community. My categories were inspired by Martha Nussbaum's (2003) list of Central Human Capabilities. Nussbaum's list of Central Human Capabilities includes 1) life, 2) bodily health, 3) bodily integrity, 4) senses, imagination, and thought, 5) emotions, 6) practical reason, 7) affiliation, 8) other species, 9) play, 10) control over one's environment. Factors on the human development index (HDI) were also included: three dimensions (health, education, and living standards) and four indicators (life expectancy at birth, mean years of schooling, expected years of schooling, and income).

The Reflection Phase: Our Role in Fulfilling the Promise

The reflection phase runs the risk of being the most contentious part, because of its potential to generate phenomenological disruptions or changes in the way we conceptualize matters. Nussbaum (2006) and Macintyre & Dunne (2002) cautioned that the task of examining your own country's policies or culture's conduct is delicate in nature. Therefore, extra attention should be put forth to ensure that the reflection phase is embedded within a climate of mutual respect and desire to combat ignorance.

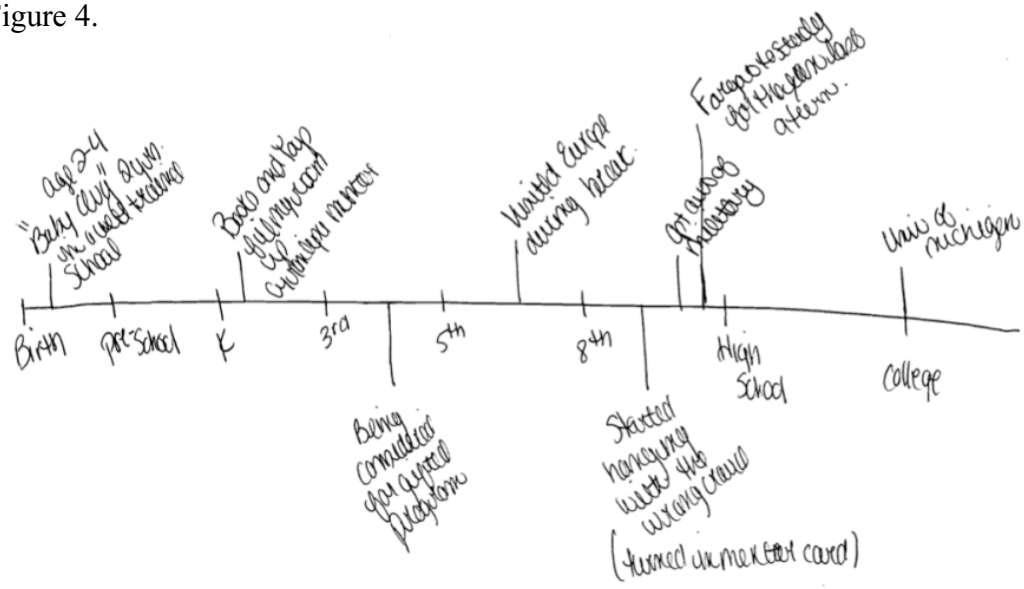
After the facilitator establishes the importance of mutual respect, the reflection phase begins. As soon as one player crosses the finish line, marked "college," the game ends. As the different groups of students conclude their games, the room usually erupts with loud sighs and reactionary remarks. At the conclusion of a game, one player stood up and said, "that side was rigged," as the player points at the blue side of the board. When the player was asked to explain his comment in more detail, he expressed the obstacles he faced on the green side were not congruent with those his classmates faced on the blue side. He explained that he felt this way earlier while engaged in gameplay, but wanted to finish the game without disrupting the flow of the game with accusations of inequality. One participant, pushed the table back and said, "I didn't stand a chance." On several occasions, players would asked if the other team would hold up their supply bags so they could see the difference between the supplies provided. One student remarked, "This is my life. Someone else has all of the colorful markers, scissors, and stickers while my supply bag looks gray and full of broken promises." Other players made similar remarks regarding disappointment and disbelief, citing the wording from the spaces that kept them

from advancing. This player told the other players at his table, "Yeah, not only did I get into drugs and get pregnant, but you got to go to summer camp and visit museums in Europe." One player, upset with the way his game turned out, threw his pencil down on the table when the game ended. He reported being unhappy with the spaces he was landing on from the green side, and being disappointed with his inability to change his course. Many of the players on the green track expressed that they wanted to believe in their ability to change their character's trajectory, and were frustrated by the real-life obstacles outlined on green track.

Players on the blue track were more likely to talk about their successes and their pride in their game pieces. One of the participants from the blue track expressed excitement and pride about her game piece in her reflection. She notes the use of bold letters to her name on the game piece, and her written reflection used exclamation points and smiley faces. Three additional participants shared similar pride in their paper avatars, as seen in the following images. The participants noted their smiles and the resemblance the paper avatar had to themselves as successful learners in real life (see Figure 3).

Figure 3.

Figure 4.



The players from the green track and blue track often processed their experiences in these ways, which were quite different from one another. In pointing this out, one participant said to the whole class, "the point of the game is to learn, not to finish." Participants are asked to leave their game pieces in place as they transitioned to the reflection phase, where they could unpack statements such as the purpose of playing.

As participants segued to the reflection phase and examined the position of their pieced on the board from a more reflective positionality, players were asked to explain where each player had been on their educational journey from birth and in the direction of college. This helped strengthen the human connection of the material presented in the game. The reflection phase was designed to strengthen our ties to other human beings, because like Martha Nussbaum (2006) has stated, human beings are bound to all other human beings by points of mutual recognition and concern. By design, the mutual points of recognition and concern were intended to move the participant through raised awareness and empathy to seeing the situation as something they can begin to make a difference with in the field of education.

After participants had a chance to look at where their game pieces were in comparison with their teammates pieces, participants independently drew a lifeline, depicting what happened to their avatar during the game (see Figure 4). Some timelines present a happier picture, a seen in the example where the player writes, "My character's path was pretty lucky." Participants are asked not to judge what happened to their character or to have an emotional reaction regarding fairness, but rather to see the big picture of their character's development over time in what Carini (2001) would call nonjudgmental inquiry. Nonjudgmental inquiry is an important part of resisting a preoccupation with "the disadvantaged," which can "risk of further pathologising, tokenising or homogenising groups" (Rassool and Morley, 2000).

Given the prevalence of deficit model thinking and identity politics in our schools and communities, it is important to consider the stereotypes this game (or any other educational activity related to addressing race, class, gender, and ability) may reinforce. By way of addressing the concerns of stereotyping, players engage in small group reflection using prompts to contemplate whether a) the game is a game of war or a game of peace, b) whether the game reinforces stereotypes and c) how they would redesign the game to support a pedagogy of hope, a climate where all children feel like they can succeed.

Afterwards, a facilitated reflection with the class as a whole occurs. Large group prompts concentrate on their role, as helping professionals, in fostering a pedagogy of hope. As the group dove into a conceptualization of a pedagogy of hope, players used reflective tools (e.g., photovoice, rich pictures, artwork, game prototypes, and other creative representations of the student's thinking) to generate richer dialogue around social inequalities. One group asked their teacher if they could continue this work by designing a new game that they could use to further their classmates understanding of social inequalities (Killham & Kohan, 2012). Similarly, another student from a different course asked if she could elaborate on the concepts presented in the game by facilitating a line game regarding social inequalities.

Through the analysis, I learned *WBS* raises questions about the nature of the player's work within the helping profession. The students cited above who wanted to continue working on the ideas presented in the game expressed a sense of moral obligation to raise awareness and to promote more reflective pedagogy with future urban educators. Consistent with Frederick, Cave, and Perencevich (2010), this activity helped many

teacher candidates take ownership over their learning and start viewing themselves as responsible change agents. They began to examine education as embedded in larger social contexts, scrutinized their own schooling experiences and stepped outside of their own conceptions of education to initiate discussions of social justice.

Also, several participants reflected on our country's policies that support and/or hinder student progress. One participant asked the class about how coming out as gay during school years would impact the experience. Also, a conversation around the politics of obtaining a GED were discussed, when one player said she wished there was more discussion about alternative options to graduating in the game, as well as in real life. Participant expressed that they wanted to the opportunity to follow the student after college. They bounced follow-up questions off each other such as: Do high school graduates that continue on to college from both tracks succeed in college?, What happens to each of them?, and What are the differences between the students after high school?

The process of questioning and reflecting on one's practice is a crucial part of increasing presence in the professional development of teachers (Kohn, 2003, Sawyer, 2011). Participants are asked to contemplate how the game content supports or strays from the material they are learning in the teacher education program (or equivalent program). Students in Introduction to Education report higher levels of congruency with the material covered in the game and the material covered in their class. Students in Introduction to Educational Psychology express more difficulty making connections between issues of social justice and their course content.

When asked to contemplate difficult questions about the content covered in the game, participants wrestle with whether the material is congruent with their personal set of beliefs, consider the stereotypes the game may reinforce, and contemplate whether American schooling serves the good of a few or works for the common good of many. Also, participants recommended the game be played with other professions, in addition to the field of education. Participants have suggested the game's usefulness in the field of counseling.

Conclusions

To close, I want to circle back to the earlier story of Sebastian. As we recall, Sebastian's ability to succeed in middle school was in question, like many other American children in our public schools. As we revisit Sebastian's story now having walked through the full *WBS* activity, I want you to imagine Sebastian ambling into your eighth grade homeroom. The tardy bell sounds. Minutes later, Sebastian enters the doorway to your class. You glance disapprovingly at him. He casts an unashamed glance back. Or, perhaps you see a slightly apologetic look across his tired face as he sneaks his way into the room, attempting not to disturb. His stance seems hardened. You sigh. You are no less perplexed and troubled by Sebastian's behavior. As he drops his book bag near his desk and slouches in his seat, his eyes still droop from tiredness as they did when he was younger. But, his spirit is less cheerful than the boy you knew in elementary school.

You pause. You recall the reflection phase in *WBS*, thinking back to your character's lifeline. You begin to relate your character's lifeline to this young boy slouched before you. Sebastian is in eighth grade. His "lifeline" is far from complete. You then realize the game *War Between Suburbs* has just walked into your classroom, nearly six feet tall wearing torn up Carhartts, carrying a ripped backpack and incomplete homework assignments, and a frown. He is so easy to reject, so difficult to understand, and much less pleasant than the rest of your students. You pause again to look inward, recognizing in this moment that you are one of Sebastian's mentor cards. You, alone, cannot fix his situation, but you can most certainly help to propel him forward on his journey through school. Eighth

grade graduation may still await, high school may indeed be ahead, and high school graduation and college are still viable options. Send Sebastian on a new trajectory: play your mentor card.

NOTE

1. While the current version of *WBS* centers around this issue a broad range of factors influencing academic success; however, *WBS* can be modified to fit more specific issues of social justice (i.e., digital divide or access to healthcare).

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PEOPLES' PERCEPTIONS ABOUT MODERNITY AND SELF EXPRESSION VALUES AS DETERMINANTS OF THE BELIEFS IN ISLAMISM IN PAKISTAN

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Abstract:: This study examines the influence of modernity principles (rational/secular and self-expression values) on Islamism in Pakistan. Using data from the World Values Survey for 1999–2004, a series of regression analyses are performed. Analysis results are mixed; some results suggest that modernity principles do promote Islamism, while other results support the opposing viewpoint. The findings also indicate that in general, views on Islamism should be reassessed, to take into consideration the socio-historical contexts of nations.

INTRODUCTION

This study examines the influence of modernity principles on Islamism in Pakistan. Modernity principles are defined as rational/secular and self-expression values. Islamism is defined as anti-pluralist ideology in Pakistan. This anti-pluralist ideology includes some "global" (and Western) constructs, such as anti-Western and anti-US views, disfavoring democratic ideals, and supporting radicalism in religious movements. Islamist intellectuals blame modern-rational values (hence, a capitalist mentality) for promoting adverse effects on their societies, while Neoclassical development thinkers argue that it is that the *lack* of modern values which is responsible for problems in Pakistani society. In addition to these opposing viewpoints about the source of adverse effects in Pakistani society, Pakistan also has an extensive socio-historical-political contextual distinctiveness that makes it unique in comparison to other Islamic societies. This distinctiveness is expected to play an important role in shaping the attitudes of the people of Pakistan.

Using the World Values Survey data for 1999-2004, a series of regression analyses are performed. Analysis results are mixed; some results suggest that modernity principles do promote Islamism, while other results support the opposing viewpoint. The findings also indicate that in general, views on Islamism should be reassessed, to take into consideration the socio-historical contexts of nations.

The study was divided into several sections. In the first two sections, the relationships between rational/secular and self expression values and various elements of Islamism are explored. These sections are followed by a short discussion of the relationship between religiosity and Islam. Next, the socio-historical-political distinctiveness of Pakistan as an Islamist state is examined. Fifth, a discussion of the Data and Methods used to empirically examine the relationship of rational/secular and self expression values with Islamism in Pakistan. Finally, results of the empirical analyses and their implications for understanding Islamism are presented.

MODERNITY PRINCIPLES INFLUENCE ON OPPOSING DEMOCRACY

There exist great variations in definition of Islamism, which has likewise produced a greater variation in the findings of studies. Zemni's (2007) definition of Islamism, however, does seem to best capture the general idea of the concept. Several scholars (e.g. Lewis 2008; Harris 2007; Huntington 1996; Fatah 2008; Warraq

2007; Irwin 2007) view Islamism in Muslim societies as the result of the absence of modernity principles (as reflected in the "clash thesis"). Zemni (2007) argues that Islamism is the consequence of "undigested modernity." Wallerstein (2008) argues that Islamist movements can be fuelled by anti- or pre-modern perspectives, but that the Islamist movements have their own modernist values and beliefs as well. A corollary of Wallerstein's view denies the idea that the absence of beliefs in democratic ideals is sponsored by anti- or pre-modern values.

The culturist narratives in the Islamic intellectual world, however, emphasize that the meaning of "progress" necessarily embraces "democracy" in the age of globalization, whereas the meanings of these ideas differed significantly during the age of high imperialism and the subsequent age of neo-colonial period (Massad 2008). Therefore, it is possible to imply that democracy is just an issue of discourse, which is the last phase in a generalized intellectual narrative in the Arab world. Massad (2008) shows how this discourse is produced to portray the Arab world as "delayed", "behind", "late", "backward" etc. This discourse, however, has to deny any positive relationship between the modernist approach and the beliefs in democratic ideals. Nader Hashemi (2010) shows that both Huntington and Lewis are "ahistorical" and "oblivious" in depicting Islam as anti-democracy, since secularism itself is a result of Western social construction, whereas the adoption of liberal democracy is possible in non-secular but tolerant Muslim societies.

While El Fadl (2005) refutes the claim that Islam necessarily rejects anti-democratic ideals and is against human rights, Olivier Roy (2004) argues that Islamism is not fuelled by anti-modernity or anti-self-expression values, but neofundamentalism may indeed be fuelled by anti-modern and anti-self-expression discourses in society. Roy (2004, 2007, & 2008) presents the evidence that many Islamist movements (for example, Algerian movement for freedom and democracy in 2001) proclaimed democratic ideals in society, while the movement itself was organized to establish Islamist state. In reference to the cases of Turkey, Iran, and Tunisia, Roy argues that Islamism is promoted by a Westernization of ideas. Extending his view, one may even argue that modernity and self-expression values, which are reflections of Westernization, do not erode Islamism; rather Westernization may promote Islamism.

Roy (2004 & 2008) hits on another interesting point by providing the socio-politico-historical contexts of Muslim societies. He argues that rationality principles exposed in the secularization of the West became an integral component of democratization; yet in the Muslim countries, rational/secular political leaders oppose democracy. The evidence of this observation is not scarce in Muslim societies, as Roy suggests. Moreover, his stance does not explain why there are many Muslim societies that present a matrix of traditional values and anti-democratic beliefs. Brumberg (2003) calls the situation "the trap of liberalized autocracy". He suggests that the rational-modern political elites promote liberalized cultural values in society, while values promoted and supported in the political sphere merely sponsor an undemocratic political system. This happens because of the elites' fear for losing their control of resources and power (Talibi 2003). Such a dilemma is obvious in several other relatively more liberal countries, such as Bangladesh (Ahmad 2008). The dialectics in the operation of contrasting discourses in Muslim societies are what Hassan (2008) calls "Muslim Consciousness," to be investigated in its plurality among the Muslim minds. The variation in the Muslim minds is deeply rooted in socio-historical and political contexts of society. In other words, the Muslim consciousness is diverse, and therefore it may be influenced by both modernity as well as self-expression values and anti-modern and anti-self-expression values, in varying degrees, depending on the social contexts in which they are present.

Radicalism and the Resistance to the Western Culture

The issue of radicalism, which is often coined with the term "Jihad", and the opposing the West are two separate but supplementary issues that require careful scrutiny, to evaluate the effects of modernity and self-expression values on them. These two components (radicalism and opposition to the Western culture) of Islam capture the views that may include the support for the dominance of the Muslims, the killing of those who harm the Muslims, the views that the Western culture is harmful, and that the Westerners are bad people. To address the complex relationships between the modernity principles as well as self-expression values and radicalism, as well as the resistance to the Western cultures, scholars provide wide variety of contrasting arguments.

In addition to Huntington (1996), several scholars in the field (e.g. Fatah 2008, Harris 2007, Lewis 2008, Warraq 2007) equate radicalism or "Jihad" or fanaticism with Islamism. Except for some (e.g. Harris 2007), most of them blame the lack of modernity as well as self-expression values as the root causes of Islamism in the Muslim societies. Harris (2007) argues that the modernization processes in Muslim societies paved the way for Islamism. He relates this point more with the instrumental aspects of modernization than with the cultural aspects. Harris (2007), however, mentions that Islamism is such a phenomenon that it is inherent in Muslim minds; therefore, Muslims cannot be free of a social ideology which promotes "fanaticism". This, as he points out, can be accelerated and strengthened only by providing modernizing instruments, while the modernization ideals are not accepted by the followers of fanaticism. By interpreting this otherwise, it can be contended that Harris (2007) supports the view that the lack of modernization principles in the Muslim societies is the root cause of all "evils".

Hence, some would argue that at the core of Islamism is radicalism, or the ideology of supporting Jihad, which is a necessary component that relates to the hatred for the West and its culture. Therefore, the clash between the West and Islam can be translated into the clash between the beliefs that call for the killing of others who are against Islam (which would establish the dominance of Islam) and the beliefs that oppose those views. This interpretation has produced huge debates in the field among scholars.

Lewis and Churchill (2009) provide an excellent account of how discourses within social and political movements within the Muslim and non-Muslim societies created spaces for the support for radicalism. They showed that the movements such as Wahhabism and Salafiyya actually emerge as protests against modernity principles as well as self-expression values. Such counter discourses ultimately move against people who are pro-modernity and supporters of self-expression values, and thus the "enemies" of Islam. The extreme corollary of such discourse promotes the killing of people who are considered "enemies". Also, the frequent call for *Jihad* by these movements addresses the unity of Muslims all over the world, not the Muslims of a single land or country. In addition, it projects Islam as the direst antithesis of the West and the West's ideals (Hassan 2008; Tibi 2012; Bayat 2013).

These discourses in the Muslim societies, as well as the non-Muslim societies, encourage Muslims to be against modernity principles and self-expression values. Instead Muslims are encouraged to become the supporters of radicalism, which is defined as a composite of the beliefs that support the killing of people who are considered to be against Islam and the support for "Ummah" (the community of Islam). Also, since the movements are against the modernity principles and self-expression values, then followers of these movements must be against Western cultures, which brought "impure" ideas into their societies.

Although Lewis and Churchill (2009) are excellent in providing the logical breakthrough in the literature on understanding the relationships

between the lack of modernity, self-expression values, and Islamist views against the West, it is not very clear whether the symptoms reflecting such complex outcomes are unique in all Muslim societies. There are counter arguments as well. Malik (2008) argues that the emergence of modernity fuelled violence in the West. In one way, the elimination of both traditional values and the supporters for these values were brutally implemented by the people who upheld the modernity principles in the countries, while violating the self-expression norms. The examples of colonial enterprises in countries are used to make this point. Therefore, in this perspective, the absence of modernity principles as well as self-expression values may not necessarily influence Islamism, of which *Jihad* has an important influence.

El Fadl (2005) argues that the notion of *Jihad* has different meanings to different people. Following the Quran, he points out that the definition of *Jihad* does not comply with the killing of others if not attacked by another country. Thus, this suggests that the *Jihad* for *Ummah* does not capture the view that supports the killing of others, even if they have policies against Islam. Since the calls by the radicals relate an extremist tone of "Jihad," even when the respective countries are not attacked to wipe away Islam, the "Ummah" based extremism is also unacceptable. This view, he argues, is condoned by many Muslims who are considered moderate, and the moderate Islamic views are capturing the space day by day.

Although Qutb ([1988] 2005), a fundamentalist Islamic thinker, portrays Islam as an ideology supporting any war against the unbelievers, Ali ([1977] 2005), a modernist Islamic scholar, shows that the Quran generally does not sponsor the war against the "unbelievers" if not attacked by them. Just two verses in the Quran (Sura II, 245 & 247; Sura IX, 124) provide general or absolute support for such war, whereas these two contradict several others that allow "limited" or "conditional" wars only. The rule in the exegesis of the Quran suggests that, according to Ali, the "limited" version is paramount over the "absolute" one since the earlier has clearer expression and interpretation than the later. Therefore, extending and integrating Qutb ([1988] 2005) and Ali ([1977] 2005) with El Fadl (2005), it can be argued that the ideas supporting radicalism vary with "puritan" and "moderate" or "modern minds" among Muslims. Hence, the presence or absence of modernity principles and self-expression values may have different outcomes in relation to supporting radicalism. Likewise, the same can be argued about the resistance to the Western culture. Western culture is considered vastly harmful for Islam by fundamentalist thinkers, because this brand of cultures can only produce "decadence," and thus it is "self destructive" (see Maududi [1992] 2005; Qutb [1988] 2005; Shariati [1980] 2005). Therefore, Muslims should avoid "Westoxication" (Ahmad [1982] 2005), which can afflict the Muslims by many Western socio-political-cultural beliefs and ideologies, such as democracy, "communism", feminism, and so forth. Ahmad calls this affliction a disease. Following (denial to modernity principles and self-expression values) or denying (supporting modernity principles and self-expression values) this track of beliefs, one may refuse or accept respectively the Western cultural ideals as an element for Islamism.

The premise of liberal thinkers (e.g. El Fadl 2005), however can equally be supplemented by Hassan (2008) who claims that the Muslim minds are not unique, and therefore, they have "Minds" not "Mind". The plurality of the term emerges out of socio-cultural and historical backdrops of the Muslim societies. His basic premise suggests that the support for radicalism is greatly influenced by the level of modernization of the country or society where one resides, and therefore, it varies largely among people. Also, Hassan (2008) points out that there are significant differences between the supremacist, puritanical interpretation and the mass Muslim public's interpretation of texts. The

same arguments apply to the self-expression values as well.

While discussing the relationship between the modernity principles as well as self-expression values and Islamism, one obvious factor that needs to be addressed is religiosity. The level of religiosity plays a large role in promoting the feelings of being in the "Ummah"; thus, the effect of religiosity on Islamism needs to be assessed. In the above theoretical arguments, however, religiosity functions as a control variable.

The Relationship between Religiosity and Islamism

Hassan (2008) provides ample support for the linkage between religiosity and community consciousness ("Religious Consciousness" and "Ummah Consciousness"). While the fundamentalist thinkers and political leaders (e.g. Maududi [1992] 2005; Qutb [1988] 2005; Shariati [1980] 2005) deny rationality, and thus the modernity principles as well as self-expression values, to uphold Muslim religiosity to a great extent, the liberal thinkers (e.g. Ali [1977] 2005; Abduh [1906] 2005; Ali [1922] 2005) do not see much confrontation between rationality/modernity as well as self-expression values and Muslim religiosity. This clear demarcation between these two camps can then be extended to the point of supporting or rejecting Islamism.

Obviously, the puritan thinkers portray religiosity in a way that it has to support Islamism, since Islamism is the manifestation of "real" Islam (Qutb [1988] 2005), which is the antithesis of the Western culture and values. By contrast, the liberal or moderate Muslim scholars deny the Islamist tenor of the religion since the hostility premise is rejected in Islam from their viewpoint (Ali [1922] 2005; El Fadl 2008). As far as discourse on the issue goes, there is no consensus about the relationship between religiosity and the rejection or support for Islamism.

Therefore, based on the discussions presented above, the current research examines the effects of modernity principles, self-expression values, and religiosity on Islamist attitudes of the Muslim public. Pakistan has a strong Islamic heritage, but the society has complex mix of values pertaining to both modernity and self-expression values. Also, Pakistan was the first "Islamist" country in the World.

Pakistan: The First Islamist State, and Legacy of Tragedy

Pakistan's socio-historical background has created a situation that the complexity of the political and cultural discourses within the country makes it really difficult to generalize the consequences of social processes. Some scholars claim that Pakistan is one of the two countries (the other is Egypt) where the idea of Islamism first appeared through the inception of Jamaat-I Islami, the fundamentalist political party that adopts the writings of Abul-Ala Maududi as its ideological framework (Roy 1994; Haqqani 2006). Also, Pakistan based its ideological underpinning in Islam, as opposed to Hinduism of India, and the country was created in 1947 as the first Islamist nation in history (Fatah 2008). The main difficulty, as can be viewed, in the process of the society was its internal social contradiction.

The father of the nation, Muhammad Ali Jinnah, and many of his followers had a dream of a country where citizens would have equal rights, privileges, and obligations, irrespective of creed, caste, and color (Qadeer 2006; Fatah 2008). There was a complex dualism in the dream of renaissance for the Muslims in India, and later in Pakistan, because a very significant proportion of the political elites wanted the country be driven by egalitarian principles, despite adopting Islam as the foundation of state ideology and violating other religions in the country. Thus, Pakistan was a born nation of contradiction (Fatah 2008). On the one hand, it had Islamist tenor in social and political discourse; on the other hand, the initial leaders of the country wanted to move this country towards democracy, one of the pillars of modern-

ity. In its sixty-year history, this contradiction prevailed in the society, and created strong avenues for Islamism in the mind of millions. At the same time, however, because of strong dualism in the socio-political-cultural discourse pertaining religion and modernity, a significant proportion of the educated people opposed Islamism.

One very initial contradiction is found in the tension between what the father of the nation declared as the mission of the country (announcing that all citizens of the country will be equal) and the action taken by the Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan (making Islam the state religion). This clearly paved a different track for the emergence and survival of modernity principles, and thus, the effects of these principles on the attitudes about Islamism at a later time were not as unique as suggested by modernization scholars. Since its first inception, the leaders' overwhelming emphasis on religion was received by the citizens, as this was considered to be tool to fight Hindu India. The tension between the definitions of a Muslim and Islamism was fuelled by the disagreement among Imams and Islamic scholars (Fatah 2008). A commission (Munir Commission) was formed, which concluded that these two groups are not in agreement with the definitions of Islam and Islamism, and thus, Pakistanis started their journey with this contradiction in their ideological framework. Making point is the following quote:

"The sublime faith called Islam will live even if our leaders are not there to enforce it. It lives in the individual, in his soul and outlook, in all his relations with God and men, from the cradle to the grave, and our politicians should understand that if Divine commands cannot make or keep a man a Musalman, their statutes will not." (Justice Munir Commission Report cited in Fatah 2008: 36).

The political leaders and discourse originators did not adhere to this statement, however. The result was obvious: the country was the panorama of the rule by a mullah-military complex (Fatah 2008; Hassan 2008; Haqqani 2006). The major political elites, however, did not hear the thoughts of the masses. The ultimate alliance of political elites with the mullahs, as well as the military, discouraged the socio-cultural-political modernity in society, as a method to the control the masses who lacked rationality and modern views. Haqqani (2006:85) argues that such mindset is rooted in the "praetorian ambitions of the Pakistani military and the Pakistani elite's worldview". In the first legislative election of 1954, the supporters of Islamism were severely rejected, while shortly after the election, the military-mullah interest group captured power in four years. For the next ten years, the country was a panorama of a mixture of Islamism and modernity principles. While the rulers were modern in their internal world views, they used Islamism as a political weapon to defeat the opposition, both nationally and internationally. The dialectics in international politics had put Pakistan in such a situation that its alliance with the USA was a step towards modernization of the country, while the use of Islamism was encouraged by the USA to obstruct the intervention of the "Communist" Soviet Union. Thus, both nationally and internationally, Pakistan was victimized by the alliance of comprador bourgeoisie and the metropolitan elites in the USA and other western countries. This led to a bloody consequence in the country, when East Pakistan (later, it is now called Bangladesh) separated itself from the rest of Pakistan. At least 1 million (many reports suggest 3 million) people were killed in the name of Islamism (Fatah 2008). This incidence, however, did not bring the end of Islamism in the political arena of Pakistan.

Right after the independence of Bangladesh in 1971, the Bhutto regime started with the promise of modern statehood, while an opportunist take of Pakistan politics influenced the regime in a way that the country experienced the so called idealism called "Islamic socialism." While underscoring modernity in some routine moves for economic development, the Bhutto regime compromised greatly in promoting Islamist political parties to undermine major political rivals. The separation

of East Pakistan in 1971 on the basis of ethnicity weakened the power-base of Bhutto, and ultimately led the Bhutto regime to play the Islamic card so that the country could move closer to Saudi Arabia. However, these moves had the unintended consequence of empowering Islamic forces. Relating this to the social premises of the society, it can be argued that such moves created an "awkward modernity" in society, which led to greater acceptance of Arabist-Wahhabist culture. Consequently, the Islamist camp in the social discourse was strengthened, because the Islamist discourse captured social space in the perception of vast majority of the Pakistani masses. The "apparent" modernist exposure of Bhutto and his political party, however, were criticized for their "not so much Islamist" tenor, and this paucity was fulfilled by the next regime led by General Ziaul Huq (1977-89).

During Zia's regime, anti-modern moves were promoted, supported, and implemented, which ultimately patronized Islamism to reach its peak in peoples' perception. The symbolic meaning of Jihad was even changed. A political analyst on Pakistani politics observes, "General Zia had begun to give new meaning to the concepts of war, conflict, and *jihad*. *Jihad* no longer remained defensive, but became an offensive war. Thus during Zia's time was born Pakistani-style jihadist Islam, spawning a whole generation of militants" (Hussain 2009:9).

The Saudi-backed Islamization was implemented by introducing sharia law, the application of which marginalized minorities, progressive ideologies, and women once more. This Islamazition project infused Islamic conservatism in the state and society (Irfani 2009), which arguably influenced the collective mind of the population of Pakistan. The promulgation of *Jihadi* culture and ideas eclipsed the South Asian identity, while the acceptance of "Arabist" identity further fuelled the "awkward modernity". This, we argue following Irfani (2009), justified the killing of others, even children and innocents on the ground that the victims were not innocents since they did not support *Jihad*. Obviously, peoples' commitment to religion and their religiosity were greatly exploited in launching the Islamization project in society.

While the promotion of education proceeded at a relatively much slower pace compared to its neighboring countries, e.g. India and Bangladesh, Pakistan improved in education somehow. The spread of education, a combination of traditional aspects and modern views, created a weird mix of genre in social discourse. We call such mixture of modernity principles and traditional conservatism as an "awkward modernity," which could not contribute to decreasing Islamism as an ideology. Even after the assassination of Huq in 1989, the successive regimes followed the same principles.

The ideology of Islamism is sometimes used as a weapon to fight India. In Pakistan politics, India syndrome is very important. This is one of the reasons why the elite of Pakistan sometimes equate Islamism and opposition to India as being in the same category. As a result, people with modernity principles do not seem to comply with the decrease of certain components of Islamism (e.g. Permitting Killing), because one major idea in Pakistan is that India is anti-Muslim, and therefore, they are the enemies. Thus, even when people are "modern" in Pakistan, they think India should be punished, not only because of India's enmity to Pakistan as a country but also for its enmity to Islam.

Since its first inception in 1947, in no election has the fundamentalist forces won. Clearly, the people of Pakistan opted for something different than what Islamism might require. However, even though people learned liberal views over time, because of their long historical backlash in the hegemony of a centralized political discourse in society, their modernity principles might cause Islamism to proceed in a different direction than was assumed by the modernization scholars. If the use of the term "democracy" is taken as a brand to

be produced in the indigenous soil, people may not opt for a democracy imported from the outside. Likewise, modernity may have some different outcomes in relation to radicalism, if peoples' religiosity is impacted. In our view, the effects of the modernity principles on Islamism are greatly modified by the long-standing declared mission of the country to being an Islamist country.

Data and Methods

Data

The data are based on national values surveys carried out in Pakistan during 2001–2003. Questions about the impacts of the values relating modernity vs. tradition, and self expression vs. survival values, on the attitudes pertaining to the components of Islamism held by ordinary Pakistani men and women can effectively be investigated with data from the World Values Survey (WVS). The data are based on national representative samples of the adult population of Pakistan. A total of 1220 respondents drawn from Pakistan; the age range in the sample (N=1220) was 21 through 95. Among the respondents, 48% were males and 52% were females.

Measures

The dependent variable is attitudes about Islamism. The main independent variables are secular/rational values (versus traditional values) and self-expression values (versus survival values). Other independent variables serving as controls in the study are religious service attendance, age, marital status, educational attainment, and income attainment.

Dependent Variable:

Attitudes about Islamism

Largely, the support for Islamism is reflected in respondents' attitude towards certain politico-cultural constructs. The present day reality suggests that Islamism necessarily is counter-response to something we call westernization, and thus, this construct requires an evaluation of how the respondents view the Western culture. Theoretically, the modern aspect relates to the individualistic view, and the orthodoxy relates to communitarian view that makes the government responsible for taking care of the people's needs. Taking modernist view (e.g. Huntington 1996; Lipset and Lenz 2000) into consideration, one proposition may suggest that the orthodox or traditional cultural beliefs may approve an Islamism that restricts openness to the hegemonic external cultural forms, e.g., the West. Therefore, democratic ideals are necessarily considered as an external force, which break the harmony of an Islamist society. By the same token, at the extreme form of Islamism, it may not be unlikely that one wants elimination of rival forces. This is the radical face of Islamism in general. Combining the described view, the study tests whether Islamism can necessarily be an Islamic phenomenon.

However, Islamism is a very hard issue to measure. A general perception of Islamism, however, consists of certain political-cultural-ideological constructs. If one is communitarian by religious-economic beliefs or democratic beliefs, one may justify to be anti-West, anti-democracy, and pro-killing. Therefore, the present paper takes political Islamism as the primary area of the study. In so doing, three basic cores of ideas are chosen to test general hypotheses presented earlier. These three cores include anti-western sentiments, disfavoring democracy, and support for radical political moves.

Views About Western Culture. Three items from the WVS dataset have been used to measure the construct of how people perceive Western culture in general. These include whether one agrees or disagrees on the issues such as the exposure to the West is not harmful, most Americans are good people even though the US policies toward other countries are bad, and the Western as well as the US cultures have many positive attributes. The value 1 was assigned if the respondent agrees with the views, and the value 2 was assigned if he/she disagrees. The study ran Principal Component

Factor Analysis with Varimax rotation. The items showed a unidimensional pattern, and factor loadings were adequate (more than 50%).

Attitudes About Democracy. Two items from the WVS dataset have been used to measure the construct of how people perceive Democracy in general. These include whether one agrees or disagrees on the issues such as democracy is a western form of government which is not compatible with Islam, and a truly Islamic country should not have a parliament to pass law. The responses were coded in a 1 through 5 point scale so that the low values indicate positive perceptions about democracy, while high values indicate negative perceptions. This variable is easily interpretable when referring to one aspect of Islamism in the political realm of life, as mentioned by Davis and Robinson (2006). The opinions were measured on a 1 through 5 point scale where 1= Strongly Disagree, 2=Disagree, 3= Neither, 4=Agree, and 5= Strongly Agree. Principal Component Factor Analysis with Varimax rotation was utilized. The items displayed a unidimensional pattern, and factor loadings were adequate (more than 50%).

Support for Radicalism. Two items from the WVS dataset have been used to measure the construct of support for radicalism in general. These include whether one agrees or disagrees on the issues such as nationalism is compatible with Islam because it requires "ummah", and a true Islam permits killing if a country pursues policies against Islam. The responses were coded in a 1 through 5 point scale, so that the low values indicate the support for radicalism while high values indicate the opposite view. This variable is easily interpretable while referring to one aspect of Islamism in ideological realm of life (Warraq 2007). The opinions were measured on a 1 thru 5 point scale where 1= Strongly Disagree, 2= Disagree, 3= Neither, 4=Agree, and 5= Strongly Agree. The study ran Principal Component Factor Analysis with Varimax rotation. The items showed a unidimensional pattern, and factor loadings were adequate (more than 50%).

INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

The definition of modern/ post-modern values are operationalized into two components: principles of rationality and self expression, respectively. The opposite values, thus, represent the beliefs in traditional ideas and survival principles. To test the propositions outlined above, two hypotheses have been formulated. The first hypothesis requires the test for the effects of rational-secular-modern vs. traditional-conservative values on Islamism. As indicated earlier the modern-traditional dichotomy relates to rational-"non-rational" world views about life. Rational thinking is an outcome of enlightenment, which is largely called modernity in literature. The Weberian thesis confirmed that the spirit of capitalism was inherent in Protestant ethics, and this prevailed in Europe to enhance capitalism. Although this specific type of values originated in Protestant ethics, the prevalence of Protestant ethics in Catholic and other European societies (e.g. France, Belgium) spread gradually. Thus, people adhering to rational values are more likely to have less inclination towards religions, values related to religion, and authority of any sort, as claimed by scholars supporting modernity principles in society. As the Weberian scheme suggests rational-secular-modern values move people towards actualizing ideological realm by using effective tools. Therefore, our hypothesis tests whether modernity values, compared to the opposite values, motivated the Islamic publics in Pakistan to endorse Islam. The measure of value orientation around secular-modern-rational vs. traditional scheme is illustrated as the following.

Secular/ Rational vs. Traditional values: Inglehart and Welzel (2005) use five items from World Value Surveys, and calculate factor scores to measure Secular/ Rational values vs. Traditional values. The positive pole indicates Secular/ Rational values. The items that are emphasized by

traditional values are as follows (secular/rational values emphasize the opposite): "God is very important in respondent's life", "It is more important for a child to learn obedience and religious faith than independence and determination (Autonomy index[1])", "Abortion is never justifiable," "Respondent has strong sense of national pride," and "Respondent favors more respect for authority." The factor loadings are adequate. The data on these items are collected at individual levels in four waves since 1981 in 78 societies. This study uses the averages of factor scores for developing countries from the wave of 1990. Data are available in Inter Consortium for Political and Social Research (ICPSR) website. (For details, see Inglehart and Welzel 2005).

H1: When one holds more traditional than modern values, one's endorsement for Islamism is higher.

The second part of the hypothesis requires self-expression vs. survival values to be explained. The self-expression values also relate to modernity principle of social life. These values promote humanistic approach that overrules egocentric approach, and therefore self-expression or post-modern attitudes correspond with quality of life as well as satisfaction of life. These also relate to "bridging ties" instead of "bonding ties". The bridging ties make people more conscious about social wellbeing, and thus oppose any centralized ideology, such as Islamism. When one has these values, one accepts values from all corners, even from outside. Since people with self-expression intend to construct bridging ties among people of the society, they accept all orientations in society, such as all sexual orientations. By the same token, trusting people is another component of self expression. In constructing bridging ties, the members of society should have trust for each other. The opposites to the aspects of the propositions for self expression outlined here denote survival values, because these opposites necessarily reflect egocentric instead of humanist aspect of social life. Therefore, survival values support ideology with communitarianism, such as Islamism. It is egocentric in the sense that it encompasses only a group with a high level of superiority complex among the believers as compared to others.

Based on the above description, the measure of survival vs. self-expression values is as follows:

Self-expression vs. Survival values: Inglehart and Welzel (2005) use five items from World Value Surveys to calculate factor scores to measure Self-expression values vs. Survival values. The positive pole indicates Self-expression values. The items that are emphasized by Survival values are as follows (Self-expression values emphasize the opposite): "Respondent gives priority to economic and physical security over self-expression and quality of life (4-item Materialist/ Postmaterialist Values Index[2]), " "Respondent describes self as not very happy," "Homosexuality is never justifiable," "Respondent has not and would not sign a petition," and "You have to be very careful about trusting people." The factor loadings are adequate. The data on these items are collected at individual levels in four waves since 1981 in 78 societies. This study uses the averages of factor scores for developing countries from the wave of 1990. Data are available in Inter Consortium for Political and Social Research (ICPSR) website.

H2: When one holds more self expression than survival values, one's support for Islamism is higher.

Control Variables

Religious Service Attendance. Another variable, which is considered as related to the support for Islamism, is how often one attends religious services. Arguably, religious service attendance may not solely support Islamist view among the Muslim public in Pakistan. The respondents were asked to mention how often they attend religious services. The answers ranged from (1) more than once a week to (8) practically never.

H3: The more one attends religious services, the more one holds Islamist beliefs.

Other Demographic Control Variables: In general sense, old people are thought to be conservative, and more inclined towards religious centralized beliefs. To test this relationship regarding age and Islamism, I measure age by young and not-young, where young are considered at or below 26 years old, and age above this range is considered otherwise. Thus, age is a dichotomous variable that codes young as 1 and not-young as 0. Since the married people are normally more cautious securing life, they do not want change in society, and therefore, they prefer conservative thinking to progressive one. I tested the effects of marital status where 1 denotes "married", and 0 means "all other" groups. For sex, 1 is coded for male, and 2 is coded for female. The hypotheses can be presented as follows:

H4: Young than old people are more likely to be Islamists.

H5: Married than single people are more Islamists in beliefs.

To assess the impacts of one's socio-economic background, two variables are included: education and income. This test is required since there is a prevalent claim that educated people are less ethnocentric or believers in centralized religious domination. By contrast, some scholars (Narvey 2005; Rubin 2005; Schwartz 2005) argue that the elites of the Islamic countries deny democratic values (and thus support Islamism) to protect their interests, and they influence the society in a way that the society does not oppose Islamism.

Education is measured by 1 through 3 point scale, where highest educational attainment is coded as 3, medium as 2, and the lowest is coded as 1. This variable was recoded from the original variable of education where the lowest value was assigned for "inadequately completed elementary education", and the highest value was assigned for "university with degree".

H6: Those with a high educational attainment do not endorse Islamism.

Income is also measured with a low to high scale, with the values 1 through 3. One view is that those individuals in the higher income group in Islamic societies do not promote Islamism, since this is an obstacle in making their way of life more enjoyable. By contrast, another view suggests that higher income groups in those countries endorse Islamism to maintain their rule in society. The high income group is coded 3, the medium is 2, and the low is coded as 1. This variable was also recoded from the original variable of a 10 point scale, of which 1 denotes "lowest step", and 10 denotes "10^{th} step". The first belief can be put as the hypothesis while the contrasting argument can be at place as alternative hypothesis.

H7: Those with a high-level of income attainment do not endorse Islamism.

Analytical Strategy

As the discussion indicates, individual level values pertaining tradition vs. modernity, and self expression vs. survival are the major independent variables. However, in analyzing any socio-cultural factors, the socio-historical contexts of individuals are also important. The theoretical framework touched on contextual issues. Therefore, it is very important that the current research examines how socio-historical contexts influence the individual level values pertaining tradition vs. modernity and self expression vs. survival on beliefs about Islamism. In so doing, the study uses Ordinary Least Square (OLS) regression technique to reach conclusion in causal analysis.

Analysis Results

Tables 1 through 5 present the descriptive statistics for Islamism and the two values variables. As Table 1 suggests, most Pakistanis believe that ordinary Americans are good, and the US and Western cultures have many positive attributes (56% and 67% respectively). However, an overwhelming majority (77%) of respondents believe that the exposure to Western culture is harmful. Only a small number of people agree with the notions that "democracy is not compatible with

Islam", "a truly Islamic country should not have a parliament", and "a true Islam permits killing of others" (13, 6, & 3% respectively), whereas an overwhelming majority held the position of "neither" (51, 74, & 63% respectively, as shown in Table 2). The last group ("neither") has an important bearing on the overall causal connections for hypotheses testing. Interesting enough, even though several people accept democracy and parliament, 71% respondents agree that nationalism is not compatible with Islam.

Table 1. *Percentage Distribution on Perceptions about US & Western Cultures*

	Agree	Disagree
Most Ordinary Americans are good	56	44
Western cultures have many positive attributes	67	33
Exposure to Western cultures is not harmful	23	77

Table 2: *Percentage Distribution on Perceptions about Democratic System & the Support for Nationalism*

	Disagree	Neither	Agree	Strongly Agree
Democracy is not compatible with Islam	36	51	10	3
A truly Islamic country should not have a parliament	20	74	4	2
Nationalism is not compatible with Islam	2	26	45	26
A true Islam permits killing of others if they have policies against Islam	34	63	2	1

Next, we assess the descriptive statistics for our independent variables. Approximately 48 and 54% of Pakistanis in the sample scored above the means on modernity principles and self-expression values respectively (as shown in Table 3). About half (50%) of the respondents pray more than once a week (as shown in Table 4). On demographic control variables, about 68% are males, and 32% respondents are females; 22% respondents are young (15 through 25 years), and 78% are above 26; majority of the people have either low or medium income, whereas most people have low educational attainments (as shown in Table 5).

Table 3: *Percentage Distribution on Modernity and Self Expression Values*

	Above Mean Score	Below Mean Score
Tradition/Modernity	48	52
Self Expression	54	46

Table 4: *Percent Distribution on Religious Service Attendance*

	Percent
More than once a week	50
Once a week	24
Once a month	17
Only on special Holy Days	5
Once a year	4

Table 5: *Percent Distribution on Selected Control Variables about Socio-Economic & Demographic Status of Respondents*

	Percent
Lower Education	56
Middle Education	28
Upper Education	16
Low Income	32
Medium Income	42
High Income	26
Young	22
Non-young	78
Males	68
Females	32

Table 6: *Percent Distribution of Positive Views ("Agree") about Dependent Varibles by Modernity Values*

	Modern (Mean or Average –.4377 and Above)	Traditional Values (Score less than Mean –.4377)	Neither Modern nor Traditional Values (Score 0)
Ordinary Americans are good	65	61	55
The US & Western cultures have positive attributes	90	79	64
US & Western cultures do not have harmful effect	36	32	21
Democracy is compatible with Islam (Agree)	24	36	38
Islamic countries should have a parliament (Agree)	20	24	20
Nationalism is compatible with Islam (Agree)	1	2	2
True Islam does not permit killing (Agree)	36	38	33

Table 7: *Percent Distribution of Positive Views ("Agree") about Dependent Variables by Self-expression Values*

	Self-expression (Mean or Average – .3348 and Above)	Survival Values (Score less than Mean – .3348)	Neither Self-expression nor Traditional Values (Score 0)
Ordinary Americans are good	58	64	53
The US & Western cultures have positive attributes	82	79	63
US & Western cultures do not have harmful effect	31	30	20
Democracy is compatible with Islam (Agree)	35	27	38
Islamic countries should have a parliament (Agree)	25	18	20
Nationalism is compatible with Islam (Agree)	3	2	2
True Islam does not permit killing (Agree)	34	37	33

Tables 6 and 7 present preliminary hypothesis tests. The findings in Table 6 indicate a mixed scenario in relation to modernity principles and the belief in Islamism. Among people who scored at or above the mean score on modernity, the majority people believed that the ordinary Americans are good people and that the US and Western cultures have many positive attributes (65 and 90%), whereas only 36% among these respondents believe that the US and Western cultures had no harmful effects on Pakistan (see Table 6). Interestingly, only 24 % of modern people believe

that democracy is compatible with Islam, whereas more traditional and "neither modern nor traditional" people (36% and 38% respectively) say democracy is compatible. Similar results appear for the other Islamism dimensions, such as "an Islamic country should have a parliament," "nationalism is compatible with Islam", and even "Islam does not permit killing" (see Table 6). Overall, Table 6 shows that believing in modernity principles do not necessarily relate to disbelieving in Islamism.

This gives a preliminary assessment of the relationships between believing in Islamism and rational and modern values. Clearly, Pakistan's standings on modernity values are very low, and the support for radicalism (i.e. "nationalism is not compatible with Islam", and "Islam permits killing) is very high, and the same for disfavoring democracy as a Western concept. The perception about Americans and the Western culture is positive in general for modern people, although both traditional and "neither modern nor traditional" have an overwhelming majority about positive perception about those cultures and people. The causal tests provide evidence how far the associations between variables representing modernity principles and those reflecting Islamism.

The findings in Table 7 indicate slightly better scenario regarding self- expression values and beliefs in democratic ideals and/or Islamism. Among people who scored at or above the mean score on self expression values, the majority people believed that the ordinary Americans are good people and that the US and Western cultures have many positive attributes (58 and 82%). An overwhelming majority (79%) among people scoring below the mean also believe that Western cultures have many positive attributes. The same findings can be derived for neutral people as well (53 and 63%). However, only 31% of people scoring above the mean and 30% who scored below the mean as well as 20% of "neutral" people have positive attitudes about the effects of Western culture on the society. Interesting enough, the beliefs about democratic ideals and the support for radicalism indicate that there is no regular pattern in the relationships between self expression values and Islamist beliefs. Overall, Table 7 shows that believing in self expression values do not necessarily relate to disbelieving in Islamism.

Table 8 presents the results of OLS regression. The results indicate mixed outcomes. The effects of beliefs pertaining to modernity (rational/secular vs. tradition), and self expression vs. survival values, without controls, on the support for Islamism seem to partially comply with the first two hypotheses while the alternative hypotheses also hold tenable to a great extent. The coefficients of Model 1 presents support for the hypothesis when the opinion about the Western culture is taken into consideration. When the beliefs in democratic ideals are considered, there are significant effects for both values, but these fail to support the first two hypotheses. This means, when one holds more rational/secular or modern as well as self expression values in Pakistan, one actually denies democratic ideals in society. Furthermore, one's higher levels of self expression values lead one to support radicalism.

When controls are added, the effects of values on attitudes about western culture have greatly modified. In this model (Model 2), the secular/rational or modernity values are no longer significant for the opinions regarding the Western culture, while the self expression values continue to promote the support for the western culture significantly. For Islamism in relation to the beliefs in democratic ideals, the additive effects of controls made both value variables non-significant. However, the effects of self expression values continue to have significant effects on the support for radicalism even when there are additive effects of controls.

Table 8: Ordinary Least Square Regression Coefficients Predicting Islamism by Modernity Variables and Controls

Independent Variables	Western Culture is not Favorable		Democracy is not Favorable		Radicalism Less Favorable	
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 1	Model 2	Model 1	Model 2
Secular vs. Traditional Values	–.301*** (–.140)	–.080 (–.037)	.079* (.055)	.041 (.028)	.045 (.032)	.016 (-.011)
Self-expression vs. Survival Values	–.247*** (–.177)	–.110** (–.079)	.066* (.070)	.043 (.046)	.096*** (.103)	.068* (.073)
Attendance of Religious Services		.089*** (.098)		.006 (–.009)		–.025 (–.042)
Young (Age 15 through26=1)		.109 (.041)		.162** (–.092)		.040 (–.023)
Sex		–.234*** (–.116)		–.014 (–.010)		–.039 (–.030)
Marital Status (Married=1)		.347*** (.156)		.001 (.001)		–.039 (–.026)
Education		–.326*** (–.231)		.035 (.037)		–.027 (–.029)
Income		–.178*** (–.133)		.030 (.033)		.116*** (.132)

Notes: p<.001=***; p<.005=**; p<.10=+

The findings presented above are not fully conducive to the "clash" thesis of Huntington (1996) in the sense that the publics of any Islamic country do not necessarily anti-Islamism even when they have secular/rational and self expression values. Turning to the effects of the participation of religious services, there are mixed results once more. The findings suggest that the more one attends religious services in Pakistan, the more one is anti-West, whereas the effects are not significant for the rest of the variables representing Islamism. Therefore, the mainstream claims for the relationship between Islamic religiosity and Islamism is not fully supported.

Considering the effects of other controls, the results are not consistent while the combined effects changed the effects of values variables greatly. Socio-economic condition, sex, and marital status have significant effects on the perception about the West among Pakistanis. Compared to females, males of Pakistan are more anti-West. Higher levels of socio-economic status do not endorse the perception against the West. Thus, both hypotheses 7 and 8 are supported.

When the beliefs about democratic ideals are taken into consideration, age is significant for Pakistan. Thus, young people are less supportive for democratic ideals in Pakistan, and this supports the fourth hypothesis. On the last item of Islamism, i.e., the support for radicalism, the additive model shows only income has a significant effect for supporting radicalism in Pakistan. Thus, in Pakistan, higher income groups support radicalism more than lower income groups.

Discussion and Conclusion

The present study does not find strong evidence in support of several mainstream propositions relating modernity principles and disfavoring Islamism. On the other hand, it does not necessarily hold true that the modernity principles

as well as self-expression values can ensure an Islamic society free of Islamism. The findings actually pose a warning against any simplistic claim relating the Western views and the support for Islamist ideals. The findings also suggest that only the effects of modernity principles are conducive for mainstream claim in relation to the support for the West, while these are highly inconsistent for other items of Islamism. The effects for modernity principles on the perception about Islamism indicate the opposite view to the mainstream claims, such as Huntington's clash thesis. Clearly, Pakistan's socio-historical processes enforced anti-democratic values in society, which could not make people supportive of democracy even when they are modern. Thus, modernity and self-expression values have multiple faces depending on socio-historical processes. The explanation could be that the modern Pakistanis are still anti-democratic ideals as the democratic governments in the country were not even close to success. Huge corruption and political unrest in the country during democratic regimes made even modern people in Pakistan have doubts about democratic ideals.

The discourse against democracy is very strong in Pakistan, particularly when a military regime is in power. It can be noted that Pakistan is a country that has been under military rule most of the time since its first inception as an independent country in 1947. The failure of building the effective democratic institutions made people frustrated of democracy itself, since the political elites did not play their due roles in the enterprise.

An excellent scenario of social contradiction is presented in the findings in relation to the support for radicalism. When people have higher levels of self expression values they are more likely to support radicalism. How could it be possible? The explanation could be that the self expression values bear the spots of socio-political processes in the country. Therefore, when they express their progressive views about self expression, still they do not tolerate countries/people who insult Islam. This is again a result of long-standing socio-political hegemonic discourse that the rulers used against non-Muslims, particularly India at the first place, and then this discourse turned to the Christian Western world. The religious extremists took the advantage of socio-historical processes in Pakistan. Thus, the social contradiction fuelled by the historical process itself put many Pakistanis on progressive side on the one hand and they become the supporters of radicalism on the other. Another reason that could explain Pakistani dynamic is possibly the wrong foreign policies of the West including the USA toward Muslims. The message most Muslims get from the Western foreign policies does not put them in a comfortable condition to hate radicalism, when it is translated to them as a message for emancipation from the exploiters residing in the Western hegemonic territory. This same interpretation may further explain why Pakistanis are anti-West.

The effects of controls are very inconsistent, however, although they modified the effects of values variables to a great extent. An interesting note could be made about the effects of the attendance of religious services. The social processes in Pakistan in the past and in the present put the effects of the attendance of religious services to be negative for the support of the Western culture. In the current situations of Pakistan, the forums of religious services are actively used by many extremist forces in a way that the exposure to these forums might lead one to support views towards opposing the Western culture. However, the mainstream claim against the effects of religious practices does not seem consistent for all items of Islamism.

Overall, the present study challenges some modernity discourses that claim the effects of modernity principles to be unanimously good for removing Islamism from public discourse in Islamic societies. The paper endorses the view against any simplistic generalization like this. We argue that the socio-historical-political contexts should be taken into account while making such

claim. The future research on the issue could produce more consistent conclusions. It is suggested that the "high" Islam is not the situation for most Islamic countries, and thus, all Islamic countries are not the same in terms of the parameters of Islamism. The future attempts towards more extensive comparative analyses would provide ample opportunity to come to a more valid conclusion.

NOTES

1. Please see Inglehart and Welzel (2005) for details on Autonomy Index.
2. Please see Ingelhart and Welzel (2005), Ingle-hart and Baker (2000) for details on Materialist and Post-materialist values.

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SOCIAL JUSTICE LEADERSHIP FOR AMERICAN INDIAN SOVEREIGNTY: A MODEL FOR PRINCIPAL PREPARATION

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*Abstrac*t: The Indian Leadership Education and Development project (ILEAD) at Little Bighorn Tribal College and Montana State University did not begin with an intentional focus on social justice; this article tracks the evolution of the program to becoming a model for indigenously sensitive/culturally responsive preparation for K-12 school leaders.

Beginning with a U.S. Department of Education grant in 2006 and after three iterations, the program has trained over 70 American Indian school administrators serving Montana, South Dakota, North Dakota and Wyoming.

Despite the program's success in preparing school leaders for historically underserved reservations and other schools across Indian country, the program has not achieved success without significant transformation from a dominant society, western academy, typical educational leadership program to becoming a program sensitive to Indigenous ways of being/ knowing but actually honoring and recognizing how these American Indian ontologies/epistemologies made the program stronger for all students - Indian and non-Indian.

Introduction

The Indian Leadership Education and Development (I LEAD) project is designed to recruit, educate, certify and induct American Indian educators to effectively lead schools and school systems. It would be wonderful to write that the ILEAD project began with a purposeful vision for social justice and an effective action plan. Unfortunately, the first glimpse of that social justice vision only began to unfold after the first year of program implementation. The most accurate description of how I LEAD began fits best within the "garbage can model of organizational choice" (Cohen, March and Olson, 1972).

In this model, several problems freely floated independent of a stream of potential solutions, just waiting for problems to surface, all of which were independent from the political will necessary to get anything done. One evening in a hotel bar, an American Indian school superintendent and two university faculty members contemplated what it might take to make the world a better place. In the solutions stream was a geographically-based graduate cohort model, partnerships between the university and the school district, and problem or field-based leadership instruction. In the problems stream was a revolving door of school leaders entering and leaving isolated rural schools stalling out the potential for meaningful school improvement. Hampered access to high quality graduate courses and professional development for rural communities because of distance and severe winter weather that starts in October and continues through May was another issue that freely floated in the problems stream. Within the same week, one of the faculty members saw a request for proposals (RFP) for a multi-year professional development grant. The RFP opportunity and subsequent award of a 1.2 million dollar, 4-year grant integrated the problems, solutions, and political will necessary for action. That action was the birth of the I LEAD project.

So, the initial conception of I LEAD was as a school improvement project slowing the revolving door of school leaders, especially in Indian country, enough for school improvement efforts to be implemented and providing educational access to graduate education for educators living in remote communities. But before we delve too deeply in the details of the I LEAD program and its significant impact, it's important we describe Indian education in general

and contextualize Indian Education for All in Montana and how it's become a bellwether for increasing social justice through culturally responsive pedagogy.

Our Montana Context

Montana, which is located in the high plains and Rocky Mountains of the West is larger than Japan and it can take more than a day to cross the state by car. We share a border with three Canadian provinces. Our only city, Billings, stretches over 32 miles and has just over 100,000 inhabitants; only four additional towns have a population greater than 35,000: Missoula, Great Falls, Bozeman, and Butte-Silver Bow.

Nonetheless, even though the 2010 Resident Population Estimate did not reach the million mark, the American Indian population in Montana is substantially higher than the national average. The first inhabitants were American Indians and today, 12 tribal nations call Montana home: Assiniboine, Blackfeet, Chippewa, Cree, Crow, Gros Ventre, Kootenai, Little Shell, Northern Cheyenne, Pend d'Oreille, Salish, and Sioux. Montana has seven Indian Reservations each of which is a sovereign nation and supports a Tribal College. In addition, the Little Shell Band of Chippewa Indians who are landless, call northern and central Montana home.

According to the 2010 Census, the percentage of American Indians in Montana was 6.5% (Montana Office of Public Instruction, 2013). This is much larger than the national average of only 1.2%. In comparison to other states, then, Montana's American Indian population is sizable and, in fact, growing. For the 2012-2013 academic year, the Office of Public Instruction (OPI) reported the American Indian K-12 student population in Montana to have increased to 13.5% (OPI, 2013), more than ten times the national average for American Indian students in K-12 classrooms.

According to State Superintendent of Education, Denise Juneau (Mandan/Hidatsa), only 6 percent of Montana's school districts have student populations greater than 500, while 54 percent have enrollments of fewer than 100 (McNeil, 2009). Approximately 92 percent of all American Indian and Alaska Native candidates across the U. S. and in Montana attend regular public schools (U. S. Department of Education, 2011). In Montana, American Indian youth attend regular public schools on or near reservations with high concentrations of other American Indian students. In fact, in 58 public schools in the state, the American Indian student population is between 75-100%, 17 report 50-75% American Indian students and 37 report 25-50% American Indian students (OPI, 2013). Of the non-reservation school districts with a 50–100% American Indian student population, 27 of 62 did not meet Annual Yearly Progress (AYP) goals while 66% of the school districts on the seven reservations across the state did not meet AYP.

In fact, many American Indian students are not successful in their respective learning communities and a staggering 50% of American Indian students in Montana, as is the case nationally, do not graduate high school. To address these inequities, Indian Education for All (IEFA), an unprecedented state constitutional reform effort 40 years in the making, inspires educators to become more culturally inclusive in their classrooms and communities. In addition, "In 2007, the Montana State Legislature passed a statute, Montana Code Annotated (MCA) 20-9-33-, appropriating $200 per American Indian child, totaling over $3 million dollars per year, to provide funding to school districts for the purpose of closing the educational achievement gap that exists between American Indian students and non-Indian students." (OPI, 2013, p.1).

In addition to low academic achievement associated with these American Indian schooling contexts, what is noteworthy here is that, wherever American Indian students attend public school and whether their classmates are Indian or

non-Indian, they are unlikely to have an American Indian teacher.

Addressing the Cultural Mismatch

A lot has been written about the cultural mismatch between the increasingly diverse K-12 student population and what is described as a teaching corps made up primarily of white, middle class, females in the U.S. At the inception of the I LEAD program in 2006 there were only twelve licensed American Indian school leaders in Montana and only 2% of the K-12 teachers were American Indians (OPI, 2013). It is our task then, to prepare our educators to be culturally competent and to meet the academic and social needs of ALL of our students. In Montana, that means making sure all school personnel know about American Indians' unique histories, cultures and contemporary issues, as well as their contributions to core curricular areas.

"Most non-Indians don't know a great deal about the first peoples of the Americas, but what's worse is that much of what they do 'know' is wrong" (Fleming, 2006, p. 213). IEFA benefits Indian students in several ways: by reducing anti-Indian bias resulting from a lack of knowledge, by enriching instruction through cultural relevance, and by instilling pride in cultural identity. Pewewardy (1998a) claims, "Enhancing the self-concept of American Indian learners is essential to their effective education. Helping learners recognize their heritage and giving them a sense of belonging as well as a sense of their uniqueness as American Indians are equally essential" (p. 11).

As Fleming (2006) points out, American Indians are the most misunderstood and most isolated of all cultural groups. Although there are over 563 distinct tribal nations across the United States, stereotypes and pan-Indianism abound. Pewewardy (1998b) observes that because many teachers grew up with stereotypical and oftentimes racist imagery and messages regarding American Indians, it is sometimes difficult for teachers to become culturally responsive educators. Congresswoman Carol Juneau (Mandan/Hidatsa) explained, "Indian people have understood for a great many years that it is only by educating our young people that we can reclaim our history and only through culturally responsive education that we will preserve our cultural integrity" (2006, p. 217).

Self-Determination and Indian Education

The spirit of self-determination and the U.S. governmental shift in dealing with Indian sovereignty began with the advent of legislation such as the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 and culminated with the Indian Civil Rights Act of 1968 and the Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act (ISDEAA) of 1975. Prior to and during the decades between these pieces of legislation, the U.S. history of Indian interaction has ranged from a long-standing policy toward Indian people and culture of genocide and paternalism to cultural colonization, assimilation, dismissal, and extinction. As American Indian author, theologian, historian, and activist Vine Deloria, Jr. has long suggested and as President Nixon stated upon the passing of the ISDEAA in 1975: "The time has come to break decisively with the past and to create the conditions for a new era in which the Indian future is determined by Indian acts and Indian decisions" (Utter, 2001, p. 269).

These federal shifts in Indian policy were influenced by overall civil rights actions throughout the 1950s and 60s but ultimately by Indian activists fighting for these changes.

As Indian sovereignty has evolved and grown, Indian education has as well resulting in programs throughout Indian country that have been developed with an increasing deference to Indian tribal leader design and implementation. The I LEAD Program has embraced this approach and has tried with all due diligence to honor Indian cultures, and tribal leadership has played

a key role in the design and implementation of the program. Indian activists such as Deloria have "pushed Indigenous people to achieve self-governance, but he advocated change through education rather than through violence" (Author & Fennimore-Smith, 2010, p. 4).

INDIAN EDUCATION

The visionary Crow Chief Plenty Coups knew the importance of being educated. As he once famously said to his people, "Education is your most powerful weapon. With education, you are the white man's equal; without education, you are his victim, and so shall remain all your lives" (Little Big Horn College, 2009). Although Indians have always valued education, what they have encountered in the Western educational system is the colonization of their minds and identity. The system is designed to promote socialization and adherence to Western values, beliefs, and traditions. The brutality of this indoctrination process is well documented. Unfortunately, Indigenous pedagogies which are community-based, which are holistic, and which highlight the reciprocal relationship between teaching and learning, differ greatly from the Western philosophy on education. (Author & Fennimore-Smith, 2010). The incongruence between these two pedagogical approaches has had a negative impact on Indian students since the Boarding School era. The hegemony of Western educational policies and practices explains the compliance of Indigenous peoples to the educational system that in effect has enforced their own oppression (Smith, 2005).

"The exclusion of Indians from America's story also excludes them from a prominent place in our collective understanding of the American 'we'" (Starnes, 2006, p. 186). In this way, generations graduated from the educational system with little knowledge regarding American Indians and their contribution to America's story. This enigma was echoed by multicultural education theorist James Banks at the IEFA Best Practices Conference in Bozeman, Montana: "In order to endorse the national culture, people must see themselves reflected and valued within that culture. We must make all children feel included in our national identity" (personal communication, 2007).

There has been a long history of culturally inappropriate services being pushed on Indian communities. Although there is no one proven formula for successful reform of Indian education, it is clear it must involve the entire school system, as well as American Indian leaders. "Individual teachers can do phenomenal things, but nothing (in education is going to change systematically) … until power is shared", says Julie Cajune (Salish), director of American Indian education for the Ronan Public Schools on the Flathead Reservation. Montana is crafting a unique approach to school reform by recognizing tribal sovereignty, partnering with tribes, honoring self-determination, and promoting economic development (Boyer, 2006).

INDIAN EDUCATION FOR ALL

Montana educators have legal, instructional, and ethical obligations to teach all Montanans, Indians and non-Indians alike, about the unique histories and cultures of the state's first inhabitants. Statewide collaborations between Indians and non-Indians help educators fulfill that obligation. The Indian Education for All (IEFA) Act in Montana, a state constitutional mandate and law, requires educators to integrate American Indian content in all instruction. IEFA is for *all* students, as Montana's Superintendent of Public Instruction, Denise Juneau (Mandan/Hidatsa) asserts: "This constitutional, ethical, and moral obligation, known as Indian Education for All, is not only for Indian students; in fact, its principal intent is that non-Indian students gain a richer understanding of our State's history and contemporary life" (Juneau, 2006, p. 3).

In 1972, the delegates of the Constitutional Convention included language in the state's constitution specific to preserving the cultural integrity of Montana's 12 tribal nations. Article X, Section 1 (2) pledged, "The state recognizes the distinct and unique cultural heritage of American Indians and is committed in its educational goals to the preservation of their cultural integrity" (Mont. Const. art. X, §1).

The constitutional language was finally codified in 1999 when the Legislature passed MCA 20-1-501, now known as Indian Education for All (IEFA). It requires that "every Montanan ... whether Indian or non-Indian, be encouraged to learn about the distinct

and unique heritage of American Indians in a culturally responsive manner. ... all school personnel should have an understanding and awareness of Indian tribes to help them relate effectively with Indian students and parents. ... Every educational agency and all educational personnel will work cooperatively with Montana tribes ... when providing instruction and implementing an educational goal" (MCA. ttl. 20, ch.1, pt. 5 § 1, 1999).

American Indian-inclusive content stands to reduce the cultural dissonance Indian students feel between home and school environments, easing their alienation and encouraging staying in as opposed to dropping out, and, in this way, affecting what has been a persistent achievement gap. A hopeful comment from a member of the Little Shell Chippewa tribe of Montana expresses this new possibility:

I think Indian Education for All…will help our children understand who they are, take pride in their identity, and see that they have possibilities and opportunities. When I was in school, we didn't talk about being Indian. If we could, we kept it secret. That was a way to get along. But with IEFA, our children won't have to do that. They will see themselves in school. They will know that their classmates are learning important things about them. (Hopkins, 2006, p. 207)

The growing success of this unique legislation has depended on adequate funding, collaboration with tribal partners, active state leadership, and a long-term commitment to professional development. More important, though, is the willingness of educators to engage in the demanding, but often profound, endeavor of becoming culturally responsive. IEFA recognizes a continuum of awareness, promotes an environment of respect, empathy, and cultural sensitivity, and "is a hopeful indicator of the changing paradigm of public education; rather than aiming to inculcate nationalism through a culturally homogenized curriculum, IEFA attempts to strengthen democracy by fostering relationships and including multiple perspectives" (Author, Jetty, Munson, & Veltkamp, 2010, p. 197).

Indian Education for All exemplifies tenets shared in myriad definitions of multicultural education. Neither a prescribed curriculum nor an add-on program, IEFA is a comprehensive approach to be infused in every aspect of education. By challenging and confronting misconceptions, untruths, and stereotypes about American Indians, educators effect social change by making curriculum more inclusive of all groups (Banks, 1998).

THE 4 R'S + 1

Kirkness and Barnhardt (1991) identified four requirements for promoting more equitable relationships and interactions between Indian and non-Indian educators in education. These include: respect, relevance, reciprocity, and responsibility. Another key factor, relationality, is emphasized by Indigenous educators who honor the significance of relationships (Deloria & Wildcat, 1998; Kovach, 2009; Wilson, 2008).

Kirkness and Barnhardt's (1991) research provides a template which can be used for negotiating inequities within the education system. Their study sought to transform the relationship between First Nations/American Indian students and the faculty, staff, and administrators in higher education across Canada and the United States. It focused on the mismatch of perspectives and the effect on pedagogical practices. Their findings are applicable to preparing classroom teachers and school leaders in the K-12 system.

RESPECT

Smith (2005) poses the question, "What is respect…? What does respect entail at a day-to-day level of interaction" (p. 97)? With this query, she is teasing out the complexities embedded in cross-cultural interactions and understandings. Respect for the individual…may have been considered a social norm…, but these ethical codes tend to inscribe as truth a single perspective of morality (Lincoln & Cannella, 2009). Good intentions can be inadequate; concern for the rights and well-being of individuals may ignore the communal nature of Indigenous cultures and the values and responsibilities of individuals within these social structures.

RELEVANCE

Learning from Indigenous perspectives implies an acknowledgement of the value of Indigenous knowledge and listening to what is important in Indigenous perspectives. Historically, this was never recognized. Indigenous knowledge has "been viewed by Euroculture as inferior and primitive" (Kinchloe & Steinberg, 2008, p.136). Sequestering Indians on reservations, legislation such as the *Dawes Allotment Act* (1887) and the *Termination Act* (1953), and placement of Indigenous children in boarding schools are evidence of a concerted effort toward destruction of Indigenous cultures and assimilation to American values (Cajete, 2008; Grande, 2008). Any consideration of Indigenous knowledge has been to regard it as "peculiarly local" (Battiste & Henderson, 2000, p. 134). Indigenous knowledge has been relegated to a lower, more provincial status—an alternative knowledge that is marginalized within general society, and certainly within the academy. Additionally, study of Indigenous knowledge has often resulted in romanticization of traditions and customs

Reciprocity

Reciprocity within our schools implies a give-and-take within the education process that has largely been absent in Western pedagogy:

For those imbibed in privilege, to know someone is to expect them to reveal themselves, to tell themselves, to give up their sovereignty, while at the same time shielded by their privilege, never having to show their own bloodstains, track marks, piling bills, or mismatched socks (Fine, Tuck, & Zeller-Berkman, 2008, p. 169).

It is an issue of power. The power differential is determined by whose knowledge is valued, who determines the importance of ideas, and who determines the rules for procedures for examining knowledge. Dismantling or interrogating this power differential requires an examination of the purposes—who initiates and who benefits—and clarification of institutional policies and procedures that inform protocols. Reciprocity within an educational context demands collaboration, interchange of ideas, sharing power, learning *from* the other. Hermes (1997) defines the concept of reciprocity as "going back and forth between the problem, the practice, and the community" (p. 23).

Overcoming the power differential through a dialogic process may move participants to disregard or downplay differences in a movement toward shared understandings, which leads to a spirit of unity. Recognition of ever present issues of power and privilege are necessary for the educator to successfully engage in truly collaborative and reciprocal teaching-learning.

Responsibility

The concept of responsibility rests with both the Indigenous community and with educators. Indigenous communities have realized that they can't depend on the school system to protect their cultural traditions, values, and knowledge. The school system values Western perceptions of the world and conceptions of knowledge as frames for educating youth and maintaining the status quo (Smith, 1999). "Indigenous peoples must control their own knowledge and retain a custodial ownership that prescribes from the customs, rules, and practices of each group" (Battiste, 2000, p. 136). Many Indigenous communities are taking responsibility for defining their own educational goals within the community. Assuming control of the education process enables guidance of the purposes of education to the benefit of the community, as well as protecting the community from inappropriate practices and commodification of Indigenous knowledge (Author & Fenimore-Smith, 2010).

The most important responsibility for educators is a willingness to learning *from* rather than *about* Indigenous peoples. This creates opportunities for a reconceptualization of the education process that recognizes issues of sovereignty, identity, culture, and place (Lincoln & Cannella, 2009;

Mihesuah, 1998). Educators are also responsible for ethical use of knowledge that has been entrusted to them. This translates into providing a venue for Indigenous voice as well as a critical examination of the systems and discourses that continue to promote colonization.

Relationality

Many Indigenous scholars emphasize the importance of relationships, not just current human relationships, but the connection Indigenous peoples have to their ancestors, the future generations, nature, and to the land (Author & Fenimore-Smith, 2010). Deloria, Deloria, Foehner, and Scinta (1999) explain that relying on our interconnectedness as a methodological tool for obtaining knowledge "means that we observe the natural world by looking for relationships between various things in it" (p.34). Full implementation of IEFA involves collaboration with the entire school staff, relationships with tribal members, and continued work to create policy change.

Successful relationships between public schools and tribes depend on individuals' willingness to share information and make sometimes uncomfortable forays into unfamiliar territory. Anger, fear, indifference, or resistance may arise from a significant historical context that, if recognized and respected, can facilitate greater understanding.

Relationality is key in Indian country. Relationships in the twenty-first century world often rely on reports, contracts, email, and other forms of *impersonal* transactions. In contrast, American Indians place a high value on long-standing *personal* relationships and oral communication. Opportunities for misunderstandings abound between these two value systems, worldviews, and operating cultures. Even though misunderstandings and disappointment are inevitable in any relationship, they are likely to surface more frequently in a relationship challenged with cultural differences, power imbalances, and very different communication styles.

When Wilson (2008) polled his colleagues, "Several stated that the relational way of being was at the heart of what it means to be Indigenous" (p. 80). He emphasized that the sharing and participation that relationship building entails is an important aspect of Indigenous life. When Linda Tuhiwai Smith was interviewed, she described introductions in this way, "In our culture we begin by introducing ourselves by naming our geography, where we come from, then our ancestral lines, and then finally we name the people" (Smith et al., 2002, p. 169).

The four Rs, as discussed here, are practices that provide entry to the relationship building process between an educator and Indigenous community; however; it is relationality that will allow both parties to create intimate, on-going relationships and is the key to building trust and understanding and embracing Indigenous ways of knowing. According to Wilson (2008), if Indigenous ways of knowing have to be narrowed through one particular lens (which he emphasizes it certainly does not), then surely that lens would be relationality. In fact, the key to being included has more to do with how well you have connected with members of that community than the work you have done in the past. As Wilson has observed, "the relational way of being was at the heart of what it means to be Indigenous" (2008, p. 80). The most important lesson learned by the faculty and university staff was that relationality lay at the heart of I LEAD's success.

I LEAD Program Overview

The true potential for I LEAD as a meaningful social justice project was not understood until the project was in its second year of implementation. Toward the end of the first year of the first I LEAD cohort, a vacancy occurred at one of the high schools in a American Indian community. One of our I LEAD candidates was hired for the

Principal position at that high school. It is not uncommon for a candidate in our principal preparation program to be appointed as a school principal while still in the preparation program. The frequency in which this occurs underscores the needs and disparities of isolated rural communities on and/or near Indian reservations. This candidate was among our best and brightest. He understood best practices in organizational and instructional leadership and flawlessly implemented best practices in leading the school. As a condition for his temporary administrative licensure, the state required he be supervised by university faculty. This promising candidate, flawlessly implementing the lessons taught by our Educational Leadership faculty, but he was fired within six months of appointment, and had to leave town in the night with his family under the threat of violence. This tragic event humbled each Educational Leadership faculty member. Shocked to its core, the faculty, as individuals and as a collective, was awakened to a point where we could see, listen and learn. From that day to now, we seek to question our assumptions, especially those assumptions tainted by privilege, and better understand how those assumptions play out in our teaching, research and professional practice. That day was a first step on the *road from Selma to Montgomery*. We continue to walk on that road to Montgomery slowly step by step, not always going in the right direction, but we do reorient ourselves without wandering too far astray. For us, Montgomery is still a long way off but getting there is a shared vision.

Edgar Schein (1985) included in his seminal definition of organizational culture the notion that organizational culture is created from a series of individual events pivotal in the organization's success. This collective failure of the faculty and the faculty response to it by questioning their assumptions of privilege and professional action has been institutionalized into the culture of the Educational Leadership program. The above mentioned candidate is now among our best and brightest alumni; he has been a successful Principal and Superintendent for a number of years. He has been one of only a handful of school leaders that have been able to successfully turnaround a persistently low-performing school in a American Indian community.

Since that day of our collective awakening, the faculty members continue to meet and discuss meaningful issues more frequently. Relational trust and collegiality among the faculty and between candidates and faculty members is strong. The shared vision of I LEAD is a vision for social justice and this shared vision is deeply embedded into the fabric of the larger context of the Educational Leadership program.

Lindsay, Robins and Terrell (2003) have noted a continuum in understanding and addressing cultural differences. On one end of the continuum you have cultural destructiveness where cultural differences are addressed by stomping out the difference. In the middle is cultural blindness where cultural differences are ignored; then pre-awareness where cultural difference is acknowledged at a superficial level, then at an increasingly more in-depth level driven by a desire to better understand. Finally, at the opposite end of the continuum is cultural activism. From the inception of the I LEAD project, faculty had cultural awareness regarding a potential social justice impact, but not until our best candidate was fired for doing everything he was taught did we begin to understand the social justice impact and our role in perpetuating oppression. After seeing the nature of the oppression and the link between the oppression and our own actions, seeking better understanding without helping to intervene against the oppression no longer was an option. Activism became the only viable decision to make. The awareness of injustice and inequity grew more personal compelling us to engage and to act.

I LEAD Conceptual Framework

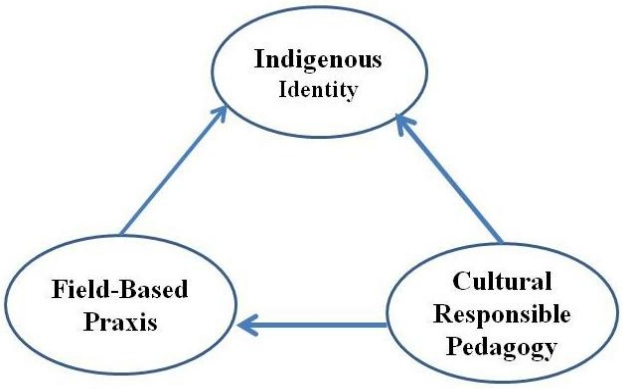
The purpose of I LEAD is to prepare and support Indian school leaders and school systems leaders

working in American Indian communities with the knowledge, skills and understanding to improve educational equity and college/workforce readiness for the children of those communities. The project began in 2006 and has been sustained by a series of grants from the U.S. Department of Education, Office of Indian Education, to recruit, educate, certify, place and induct American Indian educators into leadership positions within schools and school systems. Sixty-three leadership candidates have graduated from the program since its inception and currently 48 candidates are matriculating through a Masters of Education, Educational Specialist, or Doctor of Education program in Educational Leadership. Of the 63 I LEAD graduates, more than 93% have or are currently serving in administrative positions at the school, district, state, and federal level.

I LEAD CONCEPTUAL DESIGN

Three interconnected subsystems drive the preparation and support of I LEAD candidates before and after graduation—Indigenous identity, culturally responsive pedagogy, and field-based praxis. The first component, Indigenous identity, reflects how the I LEAD program honors the cultural heritages and life experiences of the candidates such that their worldview can expand and their authentic leadership can be realized. The second component, culturally responsive pedagogy, serves as the curricular approach emphasizing academic rigor and professional excellence. The third component, field-based praxis, merges leader identity and professional knowledge resulting in active engagement in the practice of school improvement and a strong understanding of the link between theory and best practices research. Such praxis is dynamic and synergistic. Indigenous identity informs culturally responsive pedagogy which in turn drives field-based praxis which further deepens Indigenous identity and culturally responsive pedagogy reinforcing a positive feedback loop that strengthens candidate growth like a flywheel.

Figure 1: *I-LEAD Conceptual Design*



I LEAD is a collaborative endeavor between Montana State University (MSU), the state's land grant institution, and Little Big Horn College, the Crow tribal college. Through this partnership, a Center for Native American Leadership was created at Little Big Horn College. The center exists to facilitate a better understanding of Indigenous identity, tribal community leadership, and culturally relevant pedagogy among the I LEAD candidates. The role of the Native American Leadership Center is to facilitate the I LEAD candidates' abilities to enhance relationships within the education community and among American Indian communities contributing to the goal of self-determination. To enhance the relationships among these communities, I LEAD candidates must: (1) understand the inherent complexities and contradictions that exist between the nature of American schooling as deculturalizing (Spring, 1998) and the policy of self-determination for American Indian communities; (2) reconcile the conflict in the daily routines of schools between cultural identity and assimilation pressures tacit within No Child Left Behind (NCLB) accountability; (3) develop the dispositions and skills to create a climate within school systems that enhances and celebrates the identity and achievement of all students. Through the Center, semiannual retreats are designed and presented, featuring prominent Native American scholars and leaders, to facilitate essential and

deep understanding of the educational leadership issues of American Indian communities.

Additionally, the Center has been instrumental in one of the most important developments in I LEAD's evolution, the embedding of two courses on Indigenous leadership and identity, designed and delivered exclusively by American Indian scholars, into the curriculum. Beyond demonstrating reciprocity and respect, embedding coursework that is culturally relevant provides a forum for each I LEAD candidate to articulate and examine deeply held Indigenous values and perspectives repressed through 16 plus years of colonizing formal education. The courses cultivate and celebrate Indian ways of knowing which in turn enable I LEAD candidates to articulate their Indian voice as leaders. The projects and discussions in these courses have proven to be some of the most profound in the program where dreams of what Indian schooling could be are articulated and the challenges of these dreams becoming reality are discussed as well.

Culturally relevant coursework engages the I LEAD candidates in critical conversations and readings regarding the realities of educating Indian children in the dominant society's schooling system, as well as affording them the space to openly discuss the challenges they face personally in leaving their homes and families to pursue graduate education and how that will position them back home in their communities. Holding their contexts in what Palmer (2004) calls the *tragic gap* which is the space between *what is* and *what could be,* invites these candidates to be leaders who can lead in that space and model how great leaders allow that space to pull their hearts open but not break their hearts.

Culturally Responsive Pedagogy

The innovative teaching and delivery methods discussed by Author and Erickson (2008) continue to be incorporated into current teaching and leading practices. What has evolved has been a tacit understanding among faculty and candidates regarding professional commitment. The I LEAD curricular framework invites candidates to engage in the personal meaning of professional excellence in school leadership as they develop an understanding of theoretical constructs and how they intersect with the daily realities of schooling. Also, within this curriculum, as we encourage these leaders to embrace these constructs internally, we encourage them to embrace the demands of facilitating second-order change. Visiting scholars with national reputations in the field of Educational Leadership come to MSU's campus each summer to deliver a course in their specialty.

We honor the five Rs framework as we deliver our curriculum for this Educational Leadership program. We feel confident that our coursework accommodates the theoretical and practitioner demands for school leadership in Montana but we also know that the demands on school leaders in Indian country are not the same as the demands on school leadership in the dominant context. Although we recognize that our program reflects the dominant bias of educational leadership research and praxis, we deliberately create space where all voices can be heard so the curriculum isn't colonizing or promoting the status quo of institutional racism. As Author and Fennimore-Smith (2010) noted, "In order to create institutional change, the curricula, textbooks, instructional strategies, practices and policies, and research protocol need to be decolonized" (p. 6).

We have to embrace uncomfortable realities if we are to honor the five Rs of respect, relevance, reciprocity, responsibility and relationality. We have to look at our own participation and collaboration with the benefits of white privilege and the myth of American meritocracy. Essentially, to honor the five Rs throughout the program, we need to examine our inner-

commitment to this framework so that our pedagogy might emanate from the spirit of a Freirean leadership pedagogy (Kaak, 2011). Kaak recognized that institutional models of leadership can be a means of oppressing would-be leaders. We as a faculty must hold "a whole-hearted conviction that those once called students are credible contributors to the overall process of learning" (p.135).

By combining the five Rs framework with a Freirean critical leadership pedagogy, we hoped our hearts and minds as faculty might create in our courses safe spaces or a sort of "third space" where boundary crossing could happen along with a "variety of means to make sense of the world" (Bhabba, 1990) as well as a rejection of false dichotomies and in its place more of a both/and thinking could be cultivated (Zeichner, 2010, p.92). Critical pedagogy must be a good faith effort to question the inequalities of power and the false myth of meritocracy so that we may prevent these deeply ingrained ideas from influencing our impact on others (Burbules & Berk, 1990). In doing this we also hope our program might honor the alternative approach of *Red Pedagogy* which:

> …necessitates (a) the subjection of the processes of Whitestream schooling to critical pedagogical analyses; (b) the decoupling and dethinking of education from its Western, colonialist context, including revolutionary critical pedagogy; and (c) the conceptualization of Indigenous effort to reground candidates and educators in traditional knowledge and teachings (Grande, 2008, p. 244).

By practicing these pedagogies within the five Rs framework, our non-Indian candidates will deepen their leadership enabling them to serve better all students especially those who fall in categories of disenfranchisement. The I LEAD course design and program delivery makes it not only a viable graduate education venue for excellent schools in Indian country but across all communities. As Author and Fennimore-Smith (2010) wrote:

> …to reframe paradigmatic structures to reflect the values and beliefs of Indigenous peoples so that the Indian/non-Indian divide is bridged with a culturally responsive…paradigm. This process raises a number of ethical issues related to voice and privilege that we believe have to be resolved in order to be inclusive of multiple perspectives (p. 1).

Kirkness and Barnhart (1991) in describing reciprocity wrote, "…the emphasis is on making teaching and learning two-way processes, in which the give-and-take between faculty and candidates opens up new levels of understanding for everyone" (p. 10). We knew that inviting Indian candidates into a leadership paradigm which honors their worldview would also make our non-Indian candidates better school leaders; it had the potential to be a classic win-win program.

Field-Based Praxis

Field-based praxis is the reflective connection between theory and practice through guided leadership experiences performed in K-12 schools. There are three developmental phases of praxis embedded in I LEAD. During the first year, I LEAD candidates engage in field-based praxis through participation in authentic course projects designed to augment improvement efforts at the schools where the candidates work. During the second year, students complete a minimum of 324 hours of logged field experience (internship) requiring them to complete a major activity for each Interstate School Leaders Licensure Consortium (ISSLC) standard. The third year of field-based praxis is each candidate's induction year as a school administrator. Throughout each of these phases mentors play a key role. Mentors are previous I LEAD graduates who are trained in mentoring skills and seasoned by several years of leadership experience in schools serving American Indian communities.

One of the most important advances made in the evolution of I LEAD is the fact that with this third cohort, previous I LEAD graduates, who have gone on to prove themselves as capable, outstanding leaders, serving successfully in Indian schools, are available to mentor current ILEAD candidates. In the section above discussing the 5Rs, we noted that responsibility required the joint engagement of both educators and American Indian communities. It is through the mentoring of I LEAD candidates by I LEAD graduates seasoned by leadership experience that responsibility integrates educator and American Indian community into coherent praxis. It is through the mentoring process that education for self-determination truly begins. All mentors are American Indian school leaders with 3 to 30 years of experience as administrators of schools serving American Indian communities. Furthermore, mentors are initially provided five full days of training and then meet for two days each quarter as a group to discuss and reflect on issues related to the preparation of I LEAD candidates.

As described more robustly by Author and Erickson (2008), a key aspect in the initial ILEAD design was to contextualize the coursework through the assignment of course projects specifically developed to initiate improvement of instructional and organizational processes and programs in the schools where the I LEAD candidates worked with the cooperation and collaboration of the schools' principals. Unfortunately, the full potential of this design was not fully realized in either of the first two cohorts because of large variations in the feedback given by different course instructors and situated school leaders. The quality of instructional feedback has one of the largest impacts on learning when compared to all other teaching attributes (Hattie, 2009). Therefore, in contextualizing coursework, the contextualization learned by students is dependent upon the contextualization of the feedback and not so much on the contextualization of the instructional materials. Through the use of mentors assigned to candidates at the very beginning of the program, the elements of responsibility and relationality strengthen this component of I LEAD by providing consistent feedback through an ongoing relationship with the candidates.

Integration of Subsystems into the Flywheel

A positive accelerating loop integrates all three I LEAD subsystems while creating an expanding network of experienced leaders situated in tribal communities, school systems, state education agencies, universities, and professional associations. The mechanism driving this expanding network of leaders starts with the five Rs creating a safe space for American Indian educators to assert their identity. Through culturally responsive pedagogy, I LEAD candidates and faculty interact in a reciprocal process of teaching and learning. In formal coursework, candidates and faculty share knowledge, experience and perspective. However, a deep, common understanding and perspective begins to take place in the field-based praxis subsystem in which candidates and experienced leaders jointly focus on concrete school improvement actions.

The development of a common perspective (Bruner, 1997) required to frame and act on complex issues of school improvement in a concrete context, create relationships between ILEAD candidates, university professors, mentors and practicing site administrators. These relationships then facilitate a deeper common understanding about the shared perspective. Through this perspective a better understanding regarding issues of identity and leadership emerges facilitating an increased degree of reciprocal teaching and learning and a greater capacity for common perspective in solving concrete issues within a specific school context.

There are several important program design elements that we have not discussed such as recruiting and selection of candidates, student support interventions, and program assessment.

Each of these elements were designed and implemented within the five Rs framework and systemic design described above. For example, respect was demonstrated in recruiting efforts in discussing I LEAD with tribal officials and making presentations to communities at school board meetings. This demonstration of respect signaled the importance of both identity and relationality. Student support interventions were integral to a culturally responsive curriculum and demonstrated responsibility, respect and long-term relational commitment inherent in relationality. Program assessment encompassed each component of the design system and the methods used highlighted reciprocity and responsibility.

Lessons Learned

Several important findings have surfaced over the last six years of the I LEAD program. We highlighted some of these here while knowing there are several more to be discovered. Without question, Kirkness and Barnhardt's four Rs, respect, relevance, reciprocity and responsibility and the fifth R of relationality suggested by Wilson (2008) as well as Author and Fennimore-Smith (2010) have informed our development of the program and undoubtedly been at the root of its success. Navigating the colonizing perspectives embedded in K-20 education while honoring and maintaining their Indian identity remains a challenge for I LEAD candidates specifically and American Indian graduate students in general; however, faculty members mindfully honoring Indigenous identity make critical differences in student success.

Lesson 1: Increased Indian Involvement in Program Design is Essential

As discussed previously, we have increased Indian input into program design, and course content and strengthened feedback systems with each cohort as I LEAD evolved. This involvement helped us make the five Rs more of a reality as we remain open to learning from our candidates and stay sensitive to our own positions of power and privilege. This willingness and openness to learning on our part as faculty has fostered trust with our candidates, tribal leaders and community elders. These leaders have offered significant input for improving the program's relevance which has in turn made the program increasingly Indian-owned, better connected to American Indian communities, and better in meeting the goal of education for self-determination.

Lesson 2: Understanding Connectedness Compels Activism

Perhaps one of the most important lessons for all of us involved in I LEAD, including candidates, graduates and faculty members is a deepening of our various epistemic realities which in turn has expanded the understanding of our individual identities. Indeed, a circle has emerged where epistemic revelation has yielded an ontological awareness which has in turn deepened us epistemologically. Recently, Frank (2013) in rebutting Siegel's (2008) epistemic diversity discussed what he calls epistemic injustice using a quote from Fricker:

> …we must take up the point of view of those on the losing end. If you are the one doing the crushing…then not only are you not in a position to know what it is like to be crushed, but also—and this is a separate point—your general picture of the social world in which such crushings take place will be in an unhelpfully partial perspective, the perspective of the powerful (p. 288).

Frank continues,

> If the perspectives of those positioned without power in our social world go unheard, then our collective epistemic resources are less robust than they otherwise would be. This situation is one of epistemic injustice. Those without power are silenced and this leads to an incom-

> plete and inaccurate vision of the social world (2013, p. 365).

An unintended consequence of the I LEAD program for all involved with it was a deepening understanding that compels activism toward addressing epistemic injustice. It is one thing to become aware of epistemic injustice; yet, as awareness crystalizes into understanding, action toward eradication of injustice, both in the social context and the academy, remains as the only moral choice.

As non-Indian faculty we have come to understand that the longest journey undertaken is the sixteen inches from head to heart. Through this understanding, we deepened our capacity to teach and bridge relationships across a greater diversity of candidates because of our engagement with I LEAD.

Lesson 3: Dialogue Expands Teaching Capacity

As our collective identities, epistemologies and pedagogies have taken new shape within the five Rs framework, how we teach has changed not so much in terms of content, although minor content changes have occurred, rather how we delivered the courses changed and the content has reflected these changes. Specifically, all of us have started *marching from Selma to Montgomery*.

This change of heart also surfaced in our willingness to negotiate a broader interpretation of the standards used to assess the candidate's ideas and assignments. As with most graduate educational leadership programs, we provide a foundation in organizational, instructional and relational leadership research. And as is typical, an ability to understand, synthesize and write analytically about these ideas and their practical implications is expected. In both classroom discussions of case studies and in written responses, the I LEAD candidates brought their epistemology with them and the 5Rs demanded that we question tacit assumptions about the validity of our teaching and assessment methods. For example, assessment rubrics built upon deconstruction and linear expectations needed to be adjusted to accommodate a more holistic and circular reasoning approach. Epistemic injustice compelled us to honor what seemed like a new way of knowing. For a detailed account of negotiated standards in assessing a doctoral course assignment, see Author and Author (2010).

Lesson 4: Overcoming Colonization is an Ongoing Struggle Toward Hope

Some of our most important findings have been those discovered within our own minds and hearts. Over the last six years of working with these candidates, visiting these educators in their communities and seeing firsthand the cultural disconnects and economic injustices that can exist between the dominant society and oppressed populations, these experiences have changed all of us in several ways. We have experienced many of the common feelings that members of the dominant group will feel when confronted by a more accurate historical picture as its injustice plays out in the structures of racism and the stories of that racism as told firsthand by these candidates. We have been confronted by what Duran (2006) has called the *soul wound* perpetrated upon Indian nations and its ongoing repercussions.

These confrontations have created discomfort but we have also experienced an array of positive and even joyful experiences. We have witnessed Indian humor and humility and hospitality as many of us have been invited to their ceremonies and into their homes. We have witnessed purposeful storytelling in our classes that have stirred deep emotions for both Indians and non-Indians present. All of these experiences have invited us to be more humble, more forgiving and better listeners. We have experienced in the telling of these traumas the paradox that telling and hearing suffering resolves nothing and yet seems to resolve everything.

These confrontations with this soul wound have also witnessed hope. We have seen this hope first-hand in the resilience of our candidates. The capacity of heart of these educators to hold in creative tension the reality of the cruel history, cultural and physical genocide, that has been visited upon their nations and to know that suffering can have meaning as Frankl (1946) has suggested provides a source of continued hope. While holding historical trauma, current realities of reservation life, and truths unseen by outsiders, somehow these educators know they can hold all of these truths yet their hearts remain intact rather than being shattered. The true hope is that they can and do bring those hearts to service in their communities. Each of the I LEAD candidates would be successful educators and leaders in any community, in communities where the effects of historical trauma are not as evident and in communities where their rewards might be more visible and immediate. As their teachers and mentors, we have been humbled and amazed by their willingness to stay and serve in communities where the levels of poverty and its impact rival any place in the world suffering these realities.

In conclusion, the overarching essential understanding learned from the I LEAD journey is that any effort by members of the dominant society to be activists in the fight for social justice requires constant vigilance because the weave of privilege exists throughout the fabric of our identity. Tacit assumptions based on privilege permeate decisions about how we organize a syllabus, select course materials, prepare assessments, and evaluate educational outcomes. Constant vigilance and mindfulness are the means to recognizing and questioning these tacit assumptions of power and privilege. Additionally, we have learned to ask forgiveness and become vulnerable. Scollon's advice on responsiveness has become real for us, "[As] the faculty we must allow ourselves to become vulnerable. Institutional invulnerability is the mark of institutional unresponsiveness" (cited in Kirkness and Barnhardt, 1991, p. 9).

NOTE

The terms Indian, Native American, American Indian, and Indigenous are used interchangeably throughout the manuscript to refer to tribal members.

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AN INQUIRY ABOUT INQUIRY: AN APPROACH TO PREPARING TEACHERS OF YOUNG CHILDREN TO TEACH SCIENCE IN URBAN SETTINGS

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Abstract: This study examines the comfort of pre- and in-service early childhood teacher candidates to teach science before and after the science methods course that is part of Early Childhood Teacher Education at a public college. On the pre-test many candidates indicated that they were apprehensive about the idea of teaching science. The course is taught with a hands-on inquiry-based approach with materials the candidates could use with young children but utilizing concepts challenging the candidates at an adult level in order to give them experience with inquiry, since many had no experience of it and inquiry is currently an important method in science education. The study found that candidates' feelings of comfort in teaching science increased, but that that confidence did not always translate into the use of inquiry in their classrooms.

INTRODUCTION

According to the report of the US Commission on National Security in the 21st Century, in the coming years, "Vastly more Americans will have to understand and work competently with science and math on a daily basis (page 14)." In addition, in 2007 the federal No Child Left Behind initiative began to require that "states measure students' progress in science at least once…each year (Report to Congress, p.17). This "new" requirement is slowly wending its way into school cultures. Clearly, science learning is a higher priority than ever before.

Although science assessments are not administered in the early childhood years, science learning begins very early and the Inquiry Approach, which is in the National Science Learning Standards, is appropriate and engaging for young children and lays the foundation for later learning (Moran, 2002, Worth, 2003). The field of Early Childhood Education has long advocated science experiences for young children beginning in preschool and earlier. Research strongly suggests that the hands-on practices children experience in the early years through inquiry-based programs, promote learning of scientific concepts and aid their understanding of higher concepts in later grades (Marcon, 2002; Schweinhart, Montie, Xiang, Barnett, Belfield, & Nores, 2005).

DEFINING THE INQUIRY APPROACH

According to a Northeastern Illinois University College of Education website, "Inquiry-based instruction is a student-centered and teacher-guided instructional approach that engages students in investigating real world questions that they choose within a broad thematic framework (http://neiu.edu)." Inquiry teaches children observation, planning, investigation, data collection, data organization, pattern recognition, and representation (Worth, 2003). Inquiry-based curriculum is a process approach to learning rather than specific lessons. The process relies on student-generated questions about how and why things work, hypotheses formed from their prior knowledge, and child or teacher initiated investigations to find answers to questions that arise. In this manner, the inquiry process increases students' participation in decisions about what to investigate and how to go about the investigation. Hubbard (2001) argues that what distinguishes inquiry methods from other forms of learning is the emphasis on student-generated questions and the trust teachers need to have in the abilities of children to come up with appropriate questions: "In order to engage students and make topics more relevant, the teacher must trust the students to choose significant and meaningful topics. This requires the teacher to relinquish some power as all-knowing…and…[assume] a co-learner position (p. 298)."

In the inquiry approach, the teacher facilitates children working in small groups devising in-

vestigations according to their own questions and curiosities. The teacher provides relevant materials, listens to the children's ideas, encouraging all ideas, correct or incorrect, at times challenging children's thinking with comments or questions. For young children, the teacher encourages them to represent their ideas at each step of the investigation in a variety of literacies, including drawing, sketching, sculpting, tallying, block building, dramatic play, and other "languages" young children can comfortably employ.

Research Questions

Many candidates enrolled in the teacher preparation programs in early childhood education at our urban college have told us that they do not care for science, either because it was not taught to them in engaging ways or because they did not grasp the concepts they were being taught. I designed the current study to determine whether the science methods course incorporating the inquiry approach with hands-on materials for the teacher candidates would enhance pre and in-service teachers' interest and comfort in teaching science to young children and whether the approach would then be applied in the candidates' classrooms.

National Science Learning Standards

There are no National Science Standards for Teaching below the Kindergarten level. The first level of the National Science Standards for Kindergarten through 4th grade (only the younger half of whom qualify as in early childhood) calls for teachers to plan and implement Inquiry-Based science programs (National Research Council, 1996). However, The National Association for the Education of Young Children also advocates the inquiry approach for all the ages it encompasses. It publishes a variety of books, articles and videotapes illustrating these methods with young children (e.g. Worms, Shadows and Whirlpools, 2003; Discovering Nature with Young Children, 2003; Exploring Water with Young Children, 2005). According to many studies, inquiry-based curriculum has been shown to develop independent and critical thinking skills, positive attitudes, and curiosity about science in a variety of ages of children (Edelsky, Smith, & Faltis, 2008; Hall & McCudy, 1990; Kyle et al, 1988).

Significance and Relevance of the Study

This study is important because fear of and inexperience with the subject of science can keep teachers from helping young children engage in meaningful ways with science material. Sometimes, teachers of young children may even be providing science activities without realizing it (e.g., water play, cooking), and thus may not be able to recognize and utilize the potential for science learning from these activities. If teachers of young children are to be competent to build a foundation for science education, they will need to feel comfortable with the subject and the approach. They will also need to be comfortable with the element of not knowing exactly what will happen and of giving up some control of what is going on. Kelly (2000) suggests that early childhood teachers are not necessarily comfortable with or well-versed in science, since their preparation for teaching typically does not require advanced science courses, and their school experiences in science have been infrequent, often passive and oriented toward the collection and memorization of facts. In addition, science has been a lower priority in schools, since the No Child Left Behind act required testing only in literacy and math.

Hands on practices are particularly relevant for teachers and children in urban settings. In the 21st century, learners in urban settings are held back from science exploration in a variety of ways. Children in urban settings are spending less and less time outdoors exposed to a variety of science and nature experiences (Clements, 2004, Louv, 2008). Not only do they spend more time in

settings far from natural environments, but they are now often indoors even more because of crime in the natural settings they do have nearby. In addition, the candidates themselves in the urban college where this study took place have often grown up in urban settings and thus had little exposure to science and nature outside of school, as well. Thus, investigations with natural materials are particularly important for those in urban settings.

Working with children with disabilities and with English Language Learners are also areas of increased interest in recent years (Council for Exceptional Children, 1993; Edelsky, Smith, & Faltis, 2008). Since the pre and in-service teachers in the study are preparing to teach in a large urban area, they will undoubtedly be working with both of these populations. The literature on the Inquiry Approach indicates that it can be particularly useful for these populations as well as typical learners (Chira, 1990; Edelsky, Smith, & Faltis, 2008; Rosebery, Warren, & Conant, 1990), since it is hands-on, rich in sensory input, and the small groups offer opportunities for children to utilize their home language as well as their developing English.

Issues of gender apply here, as well. Since teachers of young children are primarily women and science has traditionally been more of a "boys' activity", at least in the United States (Sommers, 2001), female teachers may not themselves have engaged in informal science activities during childhood as readily as many boys have (Alton-Lee & Praat, 2000). Thus, they may not be as aware of and comfortable with children's natural proclivity for inquiry. This unfamiliarity may add to feelings of discomfort in teaching science.

For all these reasons, study of methods that aid early childhood teachers in being more comfortable with science and particularly with the inquiry approach is timely, relevant, and, in fact, urgent. Early childhood teacher candidates need to gain hands on experience and comfort with a variety of materials which young children can use and with which they can collaboratively discover science concepts over time.

The Literature on the Use of Inquiry by Teachers

The literature on the use of inquiry is overwhelmingly positive about its impact, the promotion of higher order thinking and the depth of understanding that results (Marshall, Horton & White, 2009; Nadelson, 2009; NRC, 2000; Plevyak, 2007). The authors of these studies found that inquiry teaches students to examine their ideas, argue from evidence, and communicate their thoughts increasingly effectively. Inquiry has, in all probability, been used throughout history, as it is human inclination to look for explanations to answer the questions we wonder about. Anecdotal evidence suggests that teachers throughout history have used this approach. However, as a formal approach to curriculum design, it came into use during the 1960's when Jerome Bruner (1965) saw learning as a cycle of inquiry. He encouraged students to formulate questions and investigate to find answers.

MacLean (1985) studied primary-grade children and found that they were able to do scientific inquiry, when the teacher understood and respected their way of thinking and knew how to probe their ideas with age-appropriate language. Curtis and Millar, in 1988, concluded that, "as children's language becomes more sophisticated, they are able to both develop and express richer conceptions about scientific phenomena (p. 74)." Gott and Duggan (1999) wrote that kindergarten children are "competent at making a variety of justifications of their ideas, …asking questions about causal relations, and beginning to be able to put together more than one piece of information to predict an outcome (p. 105)." This calls into question the ages at which Piaget set his developmental stages of thinking, but is in line with Donaldson's (1978) revised way of looking at Piaget's stages. Donaldson argues that

children can understand concepts sooner than Piaget found if the concepts are presented in a way that takes their thinking into account.

Leonard and Penick (2009) ask the question, "How do we know when inquiry is authentic?" they answer with a checklist to assess if the inquiry is real. They assert that in authentic inquiry the teacher usually,

- creates a safe, stimulating environment where students feel free to explore, question, digress and communicate,
- asks questions that require thoughtful responses or actions,
- listens to what students say and respond in ways that encourage students to examine and investigate ideas, questions and suppositions,
- promotes multiple and creative ideas for researchable questions,
- develops classroom characteristics that place value on student
- communication, diversity, individuality and intellectual freedom (p. 2).

Keat (2008) discusses the use of inquiry as a particularly effective method of reducing defiance and non-compliance. She discusses the problem of teachers not knowing how to teach and implement strategies, which allow children some control over their environment. She uses the example of research by Sisgard (2005) who studied scolding in schools in Denmark and used teacher inquiry to help teachers change their practice and use less scolding, having become aware of it as ineffective. Wien and Callaghan (2004) did a similar study in the United States with comparable results. Both studies concluded that to promote self-regulation the teachers needed to see clearly and graphically from their own research and be guided in discovering exactly how scolding is unproductive. Keat concluded that teachers may need an experience with inquiry to understand how to help children take the initiative to create their own investigations.

Nadelson (2009) grapples with the paradox of how teacher education candidates (both pre-service and in-service teachers) who have been instructed, for the most part, through teacher-directed approaches in their prior education, can come to understand and use inquiry. He argues that teachers need a process of scaffolding to guide their own inquiry lab activities in order to do inquiry independently and effectively with children. Nadelson gives an example of how he begins the scaffolding of a guided inquiry assignment. In it he asks students to choose an area they are interested in, develop their questions, conduct investigations and report the results.

Marshall, Horton and White (2009) also examined how to prepare teachers to do inquiry-based teaching. They provided a series of rubrics for assessing the quality of the inquiry in the instruction. The rubrics included analysis of what students/children spent the majority their time doing, what teachers spent their time doing and the quality of the class discussions, including the quality of the questioning and the interactions among the children and with the teachers.

Dawn Garbett (2007) concluded from her research with pre-service teachers in New Zealand, that the teachers needed more than science facts and specific activities to be able to engage children meaningfully in conversation exploring science concepts. They needed pedagogical content knowledge and knowledge of developmentally appropriate practice to feel comfortable and be competent in teaching science.

The pre-service teacher candidates Plevyak (2007) taught and studied felt they had a deeper understanding of science after 10 weeks of using inquiry. They felt it promoted engagement and wished they could teach that way. However, a

majority felt unsure about who was in control of the learning process. Many were afraid they might lose control of the children, not sure misconceptions would get cleared up and uncomfortable about not covering more of the curriculum. Plevyak concluded that pre-service needed more than one course and supervised practice time in order to internalize the method fully and feel capable of using it.

METHODOLOGY

The current study was carried out with 30 candidates from the Science Methods courses in the Graduate and Undergraduate Early Childhood Teacher Education programs, in the Early Childhood and Childhood Education Department at a public, urban college. It was administered to candidates who agreed to participate. They filled out a survey at the beginning and end of each semester regarding their comfort with teaching science to young children. Some agreed to have their classrooms observed. I observed those candidates and interviewed them briefly to find out how much of their learning from the course was being applied to the science curriculum in their classrooms.

The first part of the study included a pre-test (see Appendix) gauging the comfort level of the graduate students in teaching young children science before the science methods course. The pre-test, given in the first session of the course, asked students about their background in science, what kinds of high school and college science courses they had taken and how comfortable they felt in teaching each of the subtopics, including, but not limited to, life science, physical science and environmental science, to young children. **(See Appendix 1.)**

Post-tests, given at the end of the semester, were in order to determine the comfort level of candidates to teach science to young children after taking the course. The post-tests included questions about whether the candidates' comfort level was raised by the course or not and which course activities, readings and/or discussions were most useful to candidates. There was space for written comments on their feelings about science in general, as well.

After the course, I visited the three candidates who had agreed to classroom observations. Even though I offered a small stipend, only 3 candidates agreed to be observed. I observed their classrooms to see what evidence there was of science activities and interviewed them briefly about their current way of approaching science with the young children in their classrooms. I asked if their teaching practices in regard to science had changed at all since they participated in the course that focused on inquiry, and, if so, how. I then analyzed the answers on the pre and post-test to find out the candidates' conclusions after the course.

THE TEACHING SCIENCE METHODS COURSE FOR EARLY CHILDHOOD PRE- AND IN-SERVICE TEACHER CANDIDATES

The 14-week course covers a selected number of concepts and curriculum appropriate for young children in the various subtopics of science and in the use of inquiry. The course includes experiences with a variety of science materials and tools appropriate for young children from each subtopic. Since inquiry relies on children's prior knowledge, experiences, and understanding of scientific concepts that teachers cannot fully know ahead of time, they cannot employ a formal, set curriculum or completely pre-plan experiences.

The process of using the materials themselves offers candidates:

- opportunities to explore materials they could use with children (e.g. magnets, batteries and bulbs, seeds, small animals)
- basic knowledge of science concepts appropriate for young children (magnetism, electricity, growth)

- ways to provide experiences and support inquiry-based learning
- ways to make decisions about curriculum and
- ways to assess the learning from investigations.

For this purpose, I purchase science materials including small live animals (such as worms, crickets and snails), tools (such as magnifying glasses, tweezers and eyedroppers), planting equipment, supplies for investigating liquids, sand and non-toxic solutions (basters, sieves, cups, bottles), the components for simple machines (such as ramps and pulleys), ingredients for cooking (chemistry with young children is done, in part, through cooking) and materials for investigations of magnets, batteries, bulbs and electricity. I buy all materials inexpensively or use simple objects readily available in homes and classrooms.

I try to choose materials and questions that challenge the candidates' thinking, but are the same materials and tools children themselves can use. For instance, I provide objects made of different types of metals along with the magnets, since candidates themselves often think that any metal will be attracted to a magnet. They are often surprised and puzzled when copper or aluminum objects do not attract the magnet. This opens a discussion about how learning can be stimulated and Piaget's concepts of assimilation and accommodation. As the instructor modeling facilitation of learning rather than direct instruction, I support the candidates with questions that test their preconceived ideas. Even such ostensibly simple concepts as "sink and float" become learning opportunities for teachers when I provide large, heavy objects that float and small, light objects that sink, since they often think weight and size are the only characteristic that determine buoyancy. As much as possible, I encourage candidates to follow their own line of questioning (inquiries) to their own discoveries. I hope they will recognize and support children in following their own lines of inquiry. We discuss concepts children might and might not understand, the differences between concrete and abstract, and which vocabulary teachers might choose to use with children. We examine questions and comments teachers might use to mediate children's thinking and learning, as well.

In the course, I ask teachers to begin to prepare curriculum for children by simply setting out intentionally thought out materials preliminarily planned from the teachers' experience of children's interest in a topic, observing what children do with the materials, holding discussions on what children know and want to know about the topic. They are free to choose any age appropriate materials to begin their study, present them to children, with only a few safety instructions, observe the explorations and, with the children, choose questions on which to base their further investigations. They can then plan the follow-up study based on how children responded to the first experience. I then assign the candidates to create and carry out a semester-long investigation of their own with children, based on the children's interests and questions from the first experience.

The course also includes discussions of how a teacher who does *not* have an in-depth background in science can join children and share in the learning from inquiries. By definition, using inquiry means that the teacher does not have answers to all children's questions since the questions guide the approach and the teacher cannot know the questions children will ask in advance of the investigations.

FINDINGS

Thirty enrolled students completed the pre-test, using a 5-point Likert Scale where 5 = very comfortable, 4 = somewhat comfortable, 3 = unsure, 2 = somewhat uncomfortable and 1 = very uncomfortable with the subject of science or a subtopic of science. On the last day of the course, 15 weeks later, 30 students completed the

same 5-point Likert Scale. The data was analyzed using a repeated measures design with science type and pre-post test as the factors. The mean ratings and standard deviations are shown in Table 1.

Table 1. *Pre and Post-test Mean Comfort Levels for Science Area*

		Pretest	Posttest	Difference
Life	mean *sd*	3.67 *0.88*	4.37 *0.89*	*0.57*
Enviorn mental	mean *sd*	3.83 *0.87*	4.47 *0.86*	*0.63*
Physical	mean *sd*	3.60 *0.86*	4.33 *0.80*	*0.73*
Earth	mean *sd*	3.77 *1.10*	4.33 *0.88*	*0.63*

It appears that for each science type the mean of comfort level increased from the pre-test to the post-test. The difference ranged from .57 to .73. The repeated measures analysis indicated that there was a significant difference for the pre-test, post-test comparison but not for science type or the interaction between test and science type. This is shown in Table 2.

In order to determine which of the pre-post test comparisons for science type was significant matched pairs t-tests were used for follow-up comparisons. All pre-post test differences were significant as shown in Table 3.

Table 2: *Repeated Measures Analysis of Variance for Science Type and Test*

Source	Df	Mean Sqiare	F	Sign
Test time	1	1	20.045	.000
Error (Test time)	1	1.30		
Science	1	.021	.089	NS
Error (Science)	29	.235		
Test Time X Science	1	.068	.340	NS
Error	29	.113		

The written comments on the post-test revealed further details of the candidates' feelings about teaching science. Many gave additional, specific descriptions of how their outlook and confidence had changed (See Table 4 for examples). Many said they gained confidence and knowledge in teaching science and in using inquiry, but needed more experience and professional development to feel ready to use inquiry in their classrooms. Some candidates said they increased in their understanding of what science is and in their feeling of being able to support science learning. Very few candidates felt uncomfortable about teaching science after the course, although more said they were not ready to use the inquiry approach.

Table 3: *Results of Paired T-tests for Pre-post Test by Science Type*

Science Type		Paired Differences			T	df	Sig. (2 tailed)
		Std. Error Mean	95% Difference Confidence Interval				
			Lower	Upper			
Pair 1	Life2–Life1	.193	1.094	.306	3.633	29	.001
Pair 2	Env2–Env1	.162	.966	.301	3.898	29	.001
Pair 3	Phy2–Phy1	.151	1.042	.424	4.853	29	.000
Pair 4	Earth2–Earth1	.171	.916	.217	3.319	29	.002

Table 4: *Candidate Written Comments on the Post-Test*

Very Comfortable	Somewhat Comfortable	Somewhat Uncomfortable and Very Uncomfortable
I used to teach it [science] without realizing I was, but now I have a better break down and step-by-step knowledge. I feel more confident.		
I just made it…complicated in my head. But now I know it does not have to be.		
I am now aware of how I could get information to improve my teaching of science and... facilitate inquiry		
	I would have to do…research on the topic and then see if I am very comfortable breaking it down into child-friendly terms. (3 candidates)	
I understand science better and concepts that I did not realize were science I now understand are science.		
I don't feel scared about science any more.		
I feel the subject areas that I have let the children explore allow[s] me to be comfortable in teaching the subject.		
	I got some great ideas and techniques. Since I am not in the classroom yet, I was unsure about how to teach it.	
I can use simple everyday elements like water, light, blocks and animals to teach science concepts.		
		I am not comfortable with life science. I do not like to touch or experiment with...creatures. (2 candidates)
For the most part I feel like I have the skeletal structure for proceeding with scientific inquiry investigations…		
I've learned that science is everywhere.		
I feel more comfortable that…things I can do with my [class] will open the door to a good feeling of learning science.		
	Physical science would have to be more hands on (2 candidates)	
	I have only begun to incorporate different aspects in my class.	
Every year I refused to be responsible for class pets… this year I finally accepted, and now I have 5 lizards, a bunch of crickets, oh, and earthworms! This class helped me see that I can share the pet responsibility with children.		
I learned that it is very important to do science with children because when children do science they remember everything…		
A teacher does not have to be an expert in every subject…encourage children to explore, create questions and try to answer them on their own…		

Discussion

The research conducted here on the early childhood preparation course clearly suggests that the hands on, inquiry-based methods used in the course increased teacher confidence in teaching young children the various topics of science, as measured by a Likert scales and the written comments on the post-test of the course (Table 4). The hands on experiences with the tools and materials of science were clearly a major factor, according to their explanations. Some students mentioned that the emphasis on inquiry had also proved to be helpful. The videos of classroom science experiences with children were mentioned, as well. Those who said they were "Somewhat Comfortable" gave reasons that referred to needing MORE time and experience. Those who said they were uncomfortable gave personal reasons not related to the course.

Candidate Implementation of the Inquiry Approach

Some comments on the post-test suggest that students are implementing some level of inquiry with the children in their classrooms. Two teachers/candidates pointed out ways in which they were using activities or ideas from the course in their comments on the post-test. One said, "I am finding it quite interesting as I engage in discoveries with the children." The other observed, "I find that I am actually doing science with my class now."

Subsequent observations in the three classrooms of candidates who agreed to interviews and observations, however, showed that not all of this confidence translates into use of inquiry with children, at least in the initial time period after the course. The classrooms did have ample evidence of hands-on investigations of materials through play. All the classrooms had water for water play with tools for investigation, blocks with appropriate accessories for building, collections from nature, and nature games. Two had sand for sand play, with tools that invited inquiry. One classroom had a weather chart and one had an animal. I did not find out how many of these play/ investigation materials had been in the classrooms before the candidates took the science methods course. I did not, however, observe evidence of ongoing in-depth science investigation projects in any of the three classrooms.

I asked the three teachers whose classrooms I was able to observe in their own setting how they felt the course had influenced their science curriculum and whether they had used the inquiry method since the course. All said they felt more confident about doing science with children. One said she felt like her science curriculum was more substantial and that she understood and focused on central science concepts. When asked whether they used the inquiry approach, the teachers gave varied reasons why they had not. Two said their schools had a prescribed curriculum for science (concepts to cover each month), which made it difficult to follow children's interests in choice of topics. One said she had found she did not feel enough comfort with the inquiry approach to implement it. This corresponds to comments candidates made on the post-test.

Admittedly, the disappointingly small sample of in-service candidates/teachers who agreed to be observed and interviewed, is problematic. Although a stipend was offered, only three agreed to observations. However, these three observations and interviews were consistent with the survey findings on the thirty students in the two sections of the course, so can serve in a small way to triangulate the findings.

The scant use of inquiry by teachers of young children in their classrooms may have a variety of reasons. Certainly, having to follow a prescribed curriculum is one. It may also suggest, as Plevyak (2007) concluded, that one course is not enough to change practice to such a disparate teaching method. Or, it may suggest that candidates are comfortable with the methods they have used in the past and do not see a reason to change. It must be acknowledged that it can take teachers more

than a few months to internalize new understandings and experiment with new techniques (Weimar, 2010).

Despite the fact that I did not see in-depth inquiry in use in classrooms, the finding that the course increased pre- and in-service teacher confidence in teaching science may be significant and augers hope for what teachers actually do when they complete their teacher preparation programs. I continue to experiment with ways to support the graduate and undergraduate candidates in the course in finding ways to use inquiry in their classrooms.

Difficulties with the Use of Inquiry

Inquiry is not an easy process for teachers to acquire in their repertoire of teaching strategies. It is complex and requires practice. Inquiry and the National Science Education Standards: A Guide for Teaching and Learning, a publication of the National Academy of Sciences, says,

> Teaching science through inquiry requires a new way of engaging students in learning. It therefore requires that all educators take on the role of change agents. To foster the changes in teaching required by inquiry-based approaches, administrators and other leaders need to provide a wide array of support—from opportunities to learn, to materials and equipment, to moral support, encouragement, and "running interference." Without such support, inquiry-based science programs are unlikely to succeed and even less likely to be sustained (p. 152).

Also, a number of pedagogical concepts in the course were not clear or were confusing to the candidates in the methods course. The two-hour class sessions were packed with adult investigations. Although the class discussed implementing inquiry, the comments on the survey show that it was not always obvious to the candidates how much of what they had experienced in class they could offer the children in their classrooms at one time, how to translate these explorations into age-appropriate ones for children, the teacher's role in supporting children in the investigations and how much they needed to extend the time given to the children or allow for repeated explorations. In addition, not all students understood how much of the science vocabulary they could or should use with young children. To some extent, this is inevitable, given the short time a course meets and the newness of the approach to most candidates. I attempt to address these issues as much as possible when they arise in the class or with individual students and continually strive to address more of them in subsequent semesters in which I teach the course. In essence, the candidates are doing ongoing inquiry on the inquiry approach and I, as the instructor, am doing continuing inquiry on their inquiry.

Conclusion

The approach to preparing early childhood teachers to do science in their classrooms by giving them experiences with the same materials and tools they could use with children but with explorations on their own level of understanding seems to have had a positive impact, enhancing teachers' confidence in a subject in which many feel less than competent. Especially when the approach is one many teacher candidates have not experienced in their childhood school experiences, it may give them a deeper understanding and feeling of efficacy in being able to support science investigations with the young children in their classrooms. In addition, it may have given them personal knowledge of the engaging quality of science and the inquiry approach, its value, and its impact.

Not planning exactly what will happen and not "telling/lecturing" children about the ideas they will learn before doing the investigations was particularly difficult for these teacher candidates. Not having total control of the situation made many students uncomfortable and not giving children the answers to their questions before or

even during the activity was a new experience for them, as shown by their written reflections.

Nonetheless, the Inquiry Approach, although in the National Standards, is still not in frequent use by teachers. Questions then arise as to why, if it is so effective, it is not used. Do teachers know how to use it effectively? Do they feel comfortable using it? If not, how can they become confident and competent in using it? Clearly, there are many ways inquiry can be used misguidedly or haphazardly, which then become ineffective in supporting learning. This raises many new questions for investigation and research and the inquiry continues.

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AN EXAMINATION OF TRAUMA AT THE INTERSECTIONS FOR WOMEN OF COLOR IN THE ACADEMY RENAY SCALES, KENTUCKY COLLEGE OF OSTEOPATHIC MEDICINE

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INTRODUCTION

While The National Center for Educational Statistics (2011) reports that the numbers of women of color in academic settings have increased, the data also supports there is a psychological, physiological, and social cost for their participation. Discrimination and harassment emerge from aggressive and passive behaviors of exclusion and one's way of thinking about people of color stemming from the impact of the systemic devaluating of identities that make up the group. The individual and systemic stereotyping of non-majority groups and the display of active hostilities toward them in relationships and exclusion from consideration as viable colleagues serve to inflict harm and injury on those targeted (Bryant-Davis, 2007).

Barbara, an African American professor at a local university found herself experiencing heart palpitations, sweaty palms and a feeling of being sick to her stomach after pulling into her office parking lot. Why did she have such a feeling of dread? After seeing several doctors about her high blood pressure, she recognized the feeling of dread was linked to strained relationships with faculty colleagues, a disproportionate level of work, and unending challenges to her ability to prove that a woman of color can perform in an academic setting. (Vakalahi, et al.,2012 p.2)

For the purpose of this article, it is important to define racism. Racism is defines as race prejudice + power (Tatum, 2004 p. 127). In other words, individuals from racial groups who have not historically or presently had enough economic power to systemically oppress another group are excluded from being able to perpetrate "racism." While such individuals and groups can have prejudice and stereotype others, they are not situated in systems in society to effect systemic oppression. Racism is, however, the systematic mistreatment of people of color as an outcome of individual, group or institutional training, and can be intentional or unintentional.

Racism, a systemic oppression, is a powerful stressor that can lead to various forms of injury. These injuries manifest in psychological, emotional, and physiological symptoms (Brave Heart, 2001). This kind of harm is considered trauma. Experiences with racism are neither vague nor entirely subjective, especially when the outcome is trauma. Prominent trauma researchers have suggested that a more expanded understanding of the use of the word trauma is necessary (Carter, 2007). Although it is argued that some form of injury is the by-product of all types of trauma, the impact of racism-based trauma is both potentially pathological and connected to poor outcomes. Trauma can be further described as cumulative in that it involves repeated injuries that result in short-term and long-term consequences. One injury could result in self-doubt that disables women of color, for example, from effectively completing assignments while another may result in lasting physical impairment. One case of racism-based trauma landed a woman of color in the hospital with paralysis on her left side from the stroke she experienced as a result of repeated injury at the hands of her colleagues (Vakalahi et al., 2012).

Racism-based trauma represents a broad pattern of practices experienced by individuals in an environment characterized by micro-aggressions including insults and indignities, discrimination,

prejudiced attitudes, bias and unfair treatment (Sue, 2007). The perception of this pattern as being institutionally ingrained and a manifestation of racism is a key element of this concept. Traumatic events are viewed as aversive and involve the nonverbal transmission of a behavior, feeling or emotion that is viewed in a negative manner (Anderson, 1998; Guerrero & Hecht, 2008).

Women of color are no strangers to experiences of racism, discrimination, harassment, and outcomes of trauma (DiNitto, Grant, & Vakalahi, 2007). Regrettably, women in general, and women of color in particular, often suffer in fear and silence (Vakalahi & Starks, 2010). The silence perpetuates the destructive nature of the oppression experienced by recipients in that it results in cumulative suffering by those targeted. Women of color in academia who openly process their experiences with racism often suffer the backlash against voicing their perspectives (Starks, 2007). Consequently, the task at hand is to more widely acknowledge and make clear the reality of racism-based trauma among women of color in the academy and to stop it. It is time to further examine the experiences of these women in the academy and to develop new models and innovations designed to reduce or eliminate the impact of traumatic harm. The next generation of women of color should be prepared to work in the academy without the specter of traumatic experiences based on their racial identity. A culturally responsive, developmentally appropriate, and systematic approach to understanding the experiences of these women is urgently needed. Racism-based trauma and its impact on overall health and well-being must be uncovered and dealt with head-on.

Although the scientific literature specifically on racism-based trauma experienced by women of color academics is limited, existing information speaks to the reality of this issue and the need for further understanding. This article defines racism-based trauma through the literature and the added impact of sexism or gender oppression, and the relevant shared experiences of women of color in institutions of higher education. In an effort to determine next steps in addressing trauma for women of color in academe, the work review coping strategies in the literature in determining what else can be done to reduce or limit the impact of oppression on these groups.

Literature Review

The scientific literature on racism-based trauma and women of color academics is not only almost non-existent, it does not reflect the true state of the often gloom and oppressed lived experiences of women of color in the academy. Several core studies speak to this reality. The groundbreaking work of Robert T. Carter (1991) discussed the ambiguous, subtle, and unintended experiences of racism that generate stress and the ultimate result of trauma. When coping fails due to the emotional injury associated with racism and psychological and emotional injury, a woman can find herself with health issues, psychiatric symptoms, and overall discomfort.

The important role of mental health professionals in relief and redress of trauma resulting from experiences with racism was also reported (Carter, 2007, p. 14) with a caution about the compound effect of existing disparities in healthcare services for people of color (Rahman, 2011). Griffith (2007) also attests to the fact that racism can produce trauma when coping fails. Indeed, racism has multiple effects on the person as discussed in works by Harrel (2000), Jackson and Greene (2000), Neville and Carter (2005), Pieterse and Carter (2009), and Seaton (2003), including the physical manifestation of trauma resulting from racism. Weight gain is an example of one such impact among women (Hannah, 2009).

To advance the development of effective r-esponses to these issues, Thompson-Miller and Feagin (2007) strongly recommended the need for accurate assessment and recognition of racism-

based traumatic stress injury. In another study, Blitz (2006) affirms the need to use culturally competent multicultural frameworks for trauma recovery. Brondolo, ver Halen, Pencille, Beatty, and Contrada (2009) also support the need for a coping or recovery system through what they refer to as multi-faceted and systematic strategies.

There are several defining features of traumatic events that help us understand how the individual experiences them. The individual's perception is always important in understanding both stress and trauma. These events are subversive in nature and involve the nonverbal transmission of a behavior, feeling or emotion that is viewed in a negative manner (Anderson, 1998; Guerrero & Hecht, 2008). Traumatic events evoke a sense of uncontrollability, making the individual feel that any action could produce a harmful outcome. Additionally, these events are characterized by their suddenness and unpredictability, resulting in on-going stress.

The issue of feeling safe is also an important element of the experience of trauma. Not unlike the consequences of domestic and other forms of abuse, multiple injuries, and constant harm create a dynamic of instability and fear that is pervasive. Often, women of color are left to survivalist strategies—ones that can appear dysfunctional or irrational to those around them.

Racism and Health

The harmful impact of racism on health and outcomes of trauma among women of color in academia are inevitably complex and multi-dimensional. Although studies on women of color academics are almost non-existent, studies on people of color, including women in general, have documented the relationship between racism and risk for cardiovascular disease, blood pressure problems, stress-related disorders (i.e., hypertension, etc.), and mental health issues, to name a few (Clark, 2000; Fang & Myers, 2001; Guyll, Matthews, & Bromberger, 2001; Richman, Bennett, Pek, Siegler, & Williams, 2007; Tull, Sheu, Butler, & Cornelious, 2005). Likewise, studies have affirmed the relationship between racism and engagement in risky behaviors such as smoking and substance abuse (Borrell et al., 2007).

While racial differences in morbidity and mortality can be explained in part by differences, such as access to healthcare and resultant health-seeking behaviors, as well as some lifestyle behaviors, these do not justify the incidences, treatment or outcomes (Shavers & Shavers, 2006). The Institute of Medicine issued a report that racial discrimination plays a role in health care. Further, healthcare provider prejudice, stereotyping, uncertainty about treatment, and other factors for racial minorities add to disparate healthcare.

Such health disparities have become part of the national agenda is recent years. Raising the level of research and development on health disparities for minorities serves as further evidence of the significant impact of racism. Work once done on the issue was part of the diverse departments within he National Institute on Health. The urgency of this work is being raised by the establishment of The National Institute on Minority Health and Health Disparities (NIMHHD). U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, using the foundation of the Affordable Care Act is promoting evidence-based approaches to best practice models to reduce these disparities (Science of Eliminating Health Disparities Summit, 2012).

Brondolo, Gallo, and Myers (2009) and Williams and Mohammed (2009) argue that racism operates at multiple systemic levels and is a public health threat that affects the targets, perpetrators, and observers individually and collectively. Klonoff (2009) also found ethnicity-based disparities in healthcare services and systems. Racism affects worldviews that conceptualize policies and practices that govern individuals, institutions, and communities, sometimes resulting in disparate services and segre-

gation. Regardless of whether it occurs at the individual, institution, or cultural level, exposure to racism can lead to acute and negative changes in physiology, cognition, affect, and behavior as well as increases the risk for stress-related disorders.

In addition to understanding risk factors, the literature also posits protective factors for racism-based illness and trauma. For instance, studies have attested to the protective influence of ethnic group pride, connection, and belonging on ostracism and isolation; and the buffering effects of a strong positive racial or ethnic identity and attachment on mental health distress (Banks & Kohn-Wood, 2007; Bynum, Burton, & Best, 2007; Greene, Way, & Pahl, 2006; Lee, 2005; Mossakowski, 2003; Wong, Eccles, & Sameroff, 2003). In particular, social support was identified as protective for physiological and psychological health across diverse communities (Allgower, Wardle, & Steptoe, 2001; Symister & Friend, 2003).

Racism and Trauma

The insidious nature of racism, the lack of scientific research, and the general disregard for the cultural experiences of people from different backgrounds contribute to the difficulty of thoroughly examining and assessing the presence of racism-based trauma (Miller, 2009). However, the work of Carter and associates has shed significant light on the issue. In a study by Carter and Forsyth (2010), participants of color reported having recurring experiences with racism and traumatic stress disorders particularly in the workplace and/or school. As Carter (2007, p. 109) described, when experiencing trauma, one may choose to freeze, flee, or fight and may become overly self-conscious in that process. He further explains that the symptoms of intrusion, avoidance, arousal, irritability, and emotional numbness are examples of reactions to events of trauma. These reactions may be exhibited emotionally, physiologically, cognitively, behaviorally, or in combination, for example, through fear, anxiety, anger, depression, low self- esteem, shame, guilt, trouble sleeping, weight issues, or cardiovascular problems. Reactions to experiences with racism in particular reflect an individual's experience with traumatic stress injury. When racism-based trauma is re-experienced, cumulative trauma becomes a danger to one's health and well-being (Carter & Forsyth, 2010).

Incidences of racism related bullying is also prevalent in institutions; unfortunately, it is subtle, covert and often not dealt with at all (Bentley et al., 2012). Scholars (2012) further explained that bullying is a type of racist behavior focused on inflicting pain that is particularly prevalent in law enforcement, education, and healthcare professions. In institutions of higher education, people are not above engaging in racism-related bullying, which is commonly associated with schoolyard juvenile behavior; and when adults engage in bullying, the results are more consistently pervasive and intensive. Such bullying can range from malicious gossip to physical violence. Researchers have referred to the experiences of people with bullying as equivalent to the same emotions and stresses as battle-scarred troopers. Among the many manifestations of bullying are post-traumatic stress disorder, physical illness, and emotional turmoil (Carter, 2007).

Additionally, the literature offered some discussions on possible strategies for dealing with trauma related to experiences with racism. Carter (2010) suggested that intervention strategies can range from simple and basic practices such as facilitating open dialogue about the issue, to a more formal model that includes listening, reassuring, planning (developing a personal safety plan), acting (discussing, advocating, and journaling), and communicating (sharing these strategies with everyone). With the changing ethnic/racial demographics in the academy, a cultural and linguistic framework needs to be integrated into these strategies (Carlton-LaNey &

Alexander, 2001). Likewise, social support of friends and families has greatly benefited victims of trauma (Carter & Forsyth, 2010). Mental health services can also be beneficial when services provided are relevant to the specific experiences of people of color with racism (Helms & Cook, 1999).

Experiences of Women of Color in Academia at the Intersections of Social Identity

Women of color academics have increased slowly in numbers and influence and power over the years (Council on Social Work Education, 2005). Their contributions are reflected in the cultural competency, diversity, cross-cultural, and race and ethnic literature and pedagogies. However, even in the twemty-first century, they continue to face enormous organizational and individual barriers to advancement in the academy. Racism and sexism-based practices including lower comparative salaries and lower numbers in tenured and professorial ranks have created major disparities (Giddings, 1984; Starks & Cashwell, 2007).

In academia past and present, White European American women have had the greatest gains from the feminist movement in terms of being supported and protected in their goals to advance in the academy. This experience has substantially negatively impacted the continuing vulnerability of women of color (Shields, 2008). This disconnect among feminism, race, and culture (Hooks, 1989) resulted from the disregard for the intersections of gender, class, culture, race, and other factors relevant to the lived experiences of women of color has led to many feminist scholars of color challenging the authenticity and relevance of feminist theory to liberating all people from domination and oppression (Hamlet, 2000). Black feminists challenged the movement's failure to acknowledge the unique stories and experiences of women of color from that of White women (Collins, 1998). Other women who were not recognized in the feminist movement, including women with disabilities, mental health issues, and from the LGBTQ communities joined in the protests (Morris & Bunjun, 2007). Supported by transformative research on intersectionality (Crenshaw, 2000) and models of marginalization (Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008), an inclusive and collective feminist movement began to unveil (Sanchez-Hucles & Davis, 2010). Advanced by parallel movements, such as civil rights, disability rights, indigenous rights, and others (Morris & Bunjun, 2007), intersectionality became a key component in the work of feminist scholars of color (Shields, 2008).

According to another source (Dill & Zinn, 1994) women of color experience oppression based on the intersections of their gender and race identities. They are subjugated as a result of dominance and privilege, and, therefore experience structural or social inequality as a consequence. In words, culture is not the basis for oppression for women of color, but the social rankings of race, gender and class in society. Privilege is reserved for whites, males, and those having substantial financial resources and classified as "upper" class. These system positions enable white women to be more privileged and women of color more oppressed.

The system of social devaluation of women of color, specifically African and Native American, has placed them as fader for sexual violence. Olive (2012) reports that women of color risks are different from the victimization of white women because of this history. Racism in embedded, she says, in women of color victims being held responsible for their rapes and assaults. This marks yet another way that these women are treated differently than others.

Specific to the academy, Black women are seen as outsiders and are isolated in accordance with their perceived strangeness (Henderson, Hunter, & Hildreth, 2010). Supported by the work of Burke, Cooper & Harrison, 2000 and Harley, 2008) Black women report feelings of mar-

ginalization and invisibility while at the same time while at the same time experience over-scrutiny for performance. For example, one outcome of being relegated to outsider is an increased teaching and service load (Patton, 2004). These assignments are not the choice of Black academicians, but substantially preclude time and attention to research.

Once again, with regards to trauma, racism is viewed as either structural or institutional in these works. Within this context, social oppression—the obstacle and individual acts that maintain the power of dominant groups—in part of such a structure and system (Pittman, 2010). One study reports that a key manifestation of oppression for women faculty of color overall is white male student resistance to their authority in the classroom (Pittman, 2010, p.5). These students question the competency of women of color faculty and show disrespect for their scholarship.

Addressing the complexities of intersectionality of gender, race, class, and other social constructions is imperative for capturing the dynamics of women of color academics and a more comprehensive understanding and development of relevant responses to their experiences in the academy (Browne & Misra, 2007; McCall, 2007). Advanced by scholars, including Crenshaw (1989) and Shields (2008), intersectionality which refers to the combination of different aspects of identity to construct reality, compels examination beyond a singular social construction of an individual. The reality of multiple identities and relationships that impact an individual on multiple levels are important to understand (Cole, 2009). Conversely, relationships and interactions with systems and institutions are impacted by multiple identities of race, class, gender, and other divisive social constructions (Valdes, 1995). Institutions, such as academia, continue to operate in response to political agendas that uphold existing power at the expense of vulnerable groups, such as people of color (Covarrubias, 2011). Intersectionality facilitates fully capturing the complexities of the impact of identity on experience and vice versa (Sanchez-Hucles & Davis, 2010). For instance, a White woman may experience gender discrimination, whereas a woman of color may experience gender and racial discrimination. Through an intersectional lens, gender and race are clearly identified as relevant factors for a woman of color; at the same time, this combination may complicate the accurate identification of the factors that are linked to the discrimination (Stewart & McDermott, 2004). Thus, because intersectionality occurs at the macro level but is played out at the micro level (Bell, 1992; Covarrubias, 2011), a comprehensive, holistic, and complex response to issues, such as racism-based trauma, is necessary (Bowleg, 2008).

In addressing the issue of racism-based trauma among women of color academics, a clear understanding of interpersonal, institutional, and structural racism is important. According to Lawrence and Keleher (2004), structural racism, the most profound form of racism, is a system of inequity and white supremacy that legitimizes privileges, power, access, opportunities, and positive outcomes for White people and adverse impacts and outcomes for people of color. Structural racism is extremely difficult to ameliorate because it is infused across societal systems and reinforced by history, politics, multiple institutions, and cultural norms, which reproduces multiple forms of racism, including interpersonal and institutional racism. As such, individual racism refers to personal prejudice, internalized oppression, and privilege within a person, whereas institutional racism includes race-based discriminatory treatment, unfair policies, and inequitable opportunities and outcomes that are generated and perpetuated within and between institutions. When acting in manners that disadvantage or advantage certain people based on race, an individual acquires institutional power (Lawrence & Keleher, 2004).

Building on research on the experiences of African Americans with subtle racism (Pierce, Carew, Pierce-Gonzalez, & Wills, 1977), micro-aggressions, defined as racial insults, derogatory slights, offenses, or indignities experienced consistently on a daily basis, have also gained attention as a more detrimental source of stress for women and people of color than visible acts of racism (Sue, 2010). Sue et al. (2007) found that racial micro-aggressions overlap with covert racism (Williams, Yu, Jackson, & Anderson, 1997), and racism-based traumatic stress (Carter, 2007). Relative to structural racism, Torres-Harding, Andrade, and Diaz (2012) argue that the most destructive of micro-aggressions are those committed by people in power against those who are marginalized. A study by Torres, Driscoll, and Burrow (2010) illustrates that certain racial micro-aggressions such as the assumption of criminality/second class citizenship, underestimation of personal ability, and cultural/racial isolation, impacted the mental health of African American doctoral students and graduates with greater stress and depressive symptoms associated with underestimation of personal ability. Sue, Capodilupo, and Holder (2008) also found that racial micro-aggressions contributed to psychological distress among African Americans that resulted in feelings of powerlessness, invisibility, and other forms of stress.

Among women of color in academia, psychological and emotional injury and trauma are documented outcomes of encounters with racism that are consistent with their experiences (Carter et al., 2011). In a study by Starks and Whitlock (2009) at a southern university, participating women of color academics talked about their struggles with the lack of mentorship, inconsistency in work expectations, constant need to be cautious, fear of speaking out and censorship, and the frustration of being stuck—a formula for racism-based trauma. This southern university was struggling with recruitment and retention of women of color faculty and the prevalence of White privilege. Recent work by Vakalahi, Starks, and Ortiz Hendricks (2007) further confirm that experiences of women of color as social work educators have been extremely negative. Findings indicate that younger generations of women of color are reconsidering entering academia as a result of witnessing the consistently psychological and emotional traumatic experiences of their mentors and predecessors as associated with encounters with racism. This reality is compounded by the ongoing shortage of Ph.D. level women of color educators particularly from ethnic groups such as Latino/Hispanic Americans and Pacific Americans. The trend of aging and retirement among women of color currently in academia, the accompanying deterioration in physical health and mental health/well-being, and the current shortage of women of color in academia will likely occur without immediate action to examine their experiences and develop new models and innovations for prevention and intervention of racism-based trauma. Accurate assessment and wide recognition of racism-based traumatic stress injury is critical in the development of relevant prevention and intervention strategies. This is particularly important in terms of recruitment and retention of women of color in the academy (Carlton-LaNey, 2001; Carter et al., 2011; Simmons, 2005,2007).

A few excerpts from the work of Vakalahi et al. (2007) speak to the complexities of this issue among women of color.

> It is impossible to feel privileged when you do not even feel safe. I saw firsthand how prejudice and discrimination were overlooked at my institution. I had been trained to expect that the organization was responsible for the behavior of its employees. Our president proved to me that he had no commitment to diversity. As a matter of fact, he decided that the term 'diversity' was incendiary and divisive, so he changed the name. (Comer, 2007)

> Even though unintentional oppressive and offensive statements are not directly intended to harm…these statements damage a person's spirit in subtle ways that even the recipient is not always aware of the damage initially…I often felt punished for my outspokenness and my willingness to question integrity issues. (Starks, 2007)

> I was melting, too, right into a post-traumatic stress disorder-like moment and overwhelming sadness. There is something about a culture of racism that is felt deeply by people of color. It is in the air we breathe. It is not the slights—being cut off by White European American males in favor of their own voices in the classroom or one's instant invisibility when two White European American people talk, even if you are all friends. It is the attitudes…the ignorance, the unconscious racism in the classroom, the real inability to see. One cannot change a culture of racism without investing heavy spiritual power. In academia, I sometimes cannot remember what spiritual power feels like. (Lowery, 2007)

As expressed by these women of color educators, the issue of racism is deeply seeded in the culture of academic institutions that continuously produce and re-produce oppressive and damaging effects on the spirit of a woman of color. Similarly, traumatic experiences with structural racism and micro-aggression contribute to a sense of compromised safety for these women of color academics. To cope, they must reach deep inside and to their families and communities for that sustaining spiritual power.

Women of color across disciplines have a range of experiences in the academy from oppression to promotion (DiNitto et al., 2007, p. 186b). These women educators are subject to overt and covert forms of oppression on many levels that may lead to trauma and cumulative trauma. The issue of racism-based trauma is often not discussed openly and honestly, and when it is discussed, it is trivialized (Carter, 2007; Lowery, 2007). In the academy, a system that is predominantly male and White, the discussion on trauma and the impact on health and well-being, currently or historically is lacking and often dismissed. The information that does exist focuses primarily and rightfully on African American educators and their experiences with inequity, racism, and discrimination because they are numerically higher in the academy and have been intimately involved in the Civil Rights Movement (DiNitto et al., 2007). The assumption that women in stable careers, such as academics, are well functioning and that focus should be on disenfranchised populations, is also a disadvantage to generating accurate information on racism-based experiences and the traumatic impacts on health and well-being (Vakalahi et al., 2007). As posed by Starks and Cashwell (2007), the time has come to reconcile the disconnect between educators and the changing population and multicultural background of our society. Students are in need of better preparation to serve clients in an ever-changing and diverse world, and academic institutions must ensure consistency between professional values and ethics and practices. These acts reflect the need for proactive recruitment and better retention of women of color into the academy (Starks & Cashwell, 2007). While work is being done to challenge the double threat for their well being on campus, it is not pervasive across the academy (Phillips, 2011).

How Women of Color in Academia Are Coping with Trauma

The wounding effects of racism among women of color academics are unmistakable. In beginning that process of clarification and answering these ever-changing questions, a few key points are highlighted from the literature that focus specifically on creating multi-dimensional and multi-cultural conceptual models and generating

possible protective strategies. Despite the sparse literature support, there are extensive and recurring real life experiences of women of color in academia to justify a closer look at this most devastating issue of racism-based trauma. It is the reality of many people in academia, particularly women of color academics. Most devastating is that the reach of racism-based trauma spans from a woman to her family to her community and generations of incoming young women of color academics. Fast and Collin-Vezina (2010) provide additional caution about the impact of historical trauma as it interacts with modern day stressors that produce either traumatic outcomes or resilience.

As one woman of color said,

> I find myself surreally bleeding from the wounds inflicted consciously and unconsciously by my students, colleagues and so-called campus community. Every day, I walk a lonely walk down the long corridor that leads to my office, passing office after office inhabited by White colleagues who I may never really know, who cannot understand, and who would likely negate my lived experience with numerous examples of how they cannot possibly be racist. (Tuit, Hannah, Martinez, & Salazar, 2009)
>
> The topic of racism in academia is one that can easily elicit emotionally charged "war stories" from the battles that minority academics have to fight, often on a daily basis. I could easily be brought to tears when thinking about what I have had to deal with in the classroom with students, at faculty meetings with colleagues, in the corridors, and in committee meetings in various professional contexts. Racism is pervasive, deeply implanted, and painful and a violation of human dignity and rights despite the intensity with which it is denied.

Four types of coping models or strategies for coping with trauma created by racism and intersections for women of color are shared for review below:

Beginning with the work of Helms (1990) and the later analysis on Cross and Strauss (1998), development of one's racial identity could reduce or buffer the stress of racism. If racial identity is effective in changing psychological or psychophysiological responses to racism, then to obtain a high level of identity with one's race can mitigate the impact or trauma (Brondolo et al., 2009). Maybe, indeed, the individual can distinguish between injury intended for themselves and trauma resulting from racism against the racial group to which they belong. The supposition is that in doing so, the impact of the action can be rebuffed or lessoned since the target is clear that it has nothing to do with them personally. Bondolo et al. (2009) indicate that findings of the effectiveness of this coping model to be conflicting at best. Studies have generally led to more questions.

Indigenous cultures often require the collective to win over any individual or group, even to the extent that individual opinions and needs may be suppressed (Dace, 2012). The belief behind this kinship principle is that the pathway to harmony or de-stressing is through sharing a vision or experience. When an injury occurs, this [belief] connects rather than polarizes people. This serves as an example of the impact of traditional approaches to reducing trauma. One source (Villegas & Ormond, 2012) states that what affects one of us—good or bad—affects all of us, so this is a way to critique traumatic situations that can be uplifting rather than detrimental.

Many African American women, as well as other women of color, have found outlets through what is referred to as "quiet dignity and steadfast determination (Zinn & Dill, 1994). Utilizing community and family networks, women of color (Miller, L. and Gilkes, C., 1994) have provided a place for the development of tools to resist the

assaults on people of color overall. This represents a different kind of social response to social and structural devaluation. To provide an example for more clarity of the reader about how this manifests in the academy: Women of color are utilizing community service and activism as one response and way to cope with the on-going struggles and injury from trauma in the academy. Resisting the impact of acts of racism and gender oppression through addressing the needs of their racial communities enables women of color to make progress against the stereotypes imbedded in the minds of dominant groups.

Carter (2007, p.89) offers a model that shows that race-based stress injury can be addressed by increased vigilance, working to counter these phenomena through activism, relying upon faith or spiritual explanations and responses and/or commitment to showing strength in the face of it. He states that the perception of such events as negative is required for injury to occur from them. By addressing them in the various ways identified above, one is essentially transforming what could be harmful incidents into ones that motivate changes that are perceived as positive.

As identified in current research, there is a need for conceptualizing formal models of prevention and intervention, however, by ensuring social and economic justice, shared responsibility, and shared decision-making as core principles in combating racism-based trauma. In other words, new models of practice must be inclusive of strategies at the individual, family, and institutional level. Relevant to women of color academics, these models should also be reconstructed to advance feminist theoretical frameworks that benefit all women, not only White women. By virtue of being the institution in which racism-based trauma is experienced by women of color academics, academia must take leadership in developing these frameworks and models that serve as the lens through which realities are viewed.

The intersection of multi-dimensional and multicultural conceptual frameworks for prevention and intervention of racism-based trauma is imperative. Strategies must reflect intersectionality as a means of dealing with marginalization and re-conceptualization of race as a coalition building mechanism among people of color and all people (Crenshaw, 1994). The conceptualization of these models needs to promote respect and appreciation of difference and the experiences of those not of the dominant culture. As such, conceptualization of health and well-being of women of color must be holistic, collective, and inclusive of biological, psychological, social, and spiritual where it applies. In other words, because the effects and manifestations of trauma are present in many ways, multiple and varied solutions must be devised.

Affirmed in the literature, women of color academics are intimately linked to their families and communities and are expected to be role models and responsible for ushering in the next generation of young women into academia. Trauma from racism and gender oppression has significant negative implications for workforce outcomes because negative experiences of current women of color academics may serve as a disincentive for incoming generations of women of color academics.

Any protective strategies against racism-based trauma and the impact from gender identity need to be evaluated relative to evidence-based outcomes. Existing coping models should be merged with appropriate cultural and linguistic strategies from the diverse cultures of women of color academics. For instance, there needs to be both individual and collective practice strategies, such as mental health services, available to individuals, group mediation, culturally-informed psycho-education efforts, spiritual and faith-based supports, mentoring and open dialogue with women of color academics about intrinsic and extrinsic strategies to heal wounds from racism and to feel safe again. Strengthening of positive

interpersonal skills, such as effective coping mechanisms beyond suppression, passivity, confrontation or inhibition, are also urgently needed.

In alignment with a justice framework and institutional accountability, there is a need for strategies for reconciliation of injustices such as policies and procedures that protect women of color coming forward to file a complaint. Sexual harassment policies and procedures in the academy are clear; then, why not put in place policies and procedures for racial harassment? Other strategies include positive cultural communication and media campaigns about the contribution of women of color in the academy, since negative talk often promotes mistreat and misconception; and institutional policies on diversity and equity include evidence-based diversity training and targeted recruitment and retention of women of color faculty.

Where Do We Go from Here?

What matters most is that women of color are able to function within the academy at a reduced cost to their own well-being. How can we escape blaming the victims or survivors once again? The person-in-environment perspective, used as a conceptual framework, reflects the idea that human behavior is a function of both the person (individual) and the social environmental context (Germaine 1994; Bloom 2004).

The literature suggests further, a number of ways to contextualize the trauma faced in the academy by women of color:

1. The experiences described in the literature about the lived experiences of women of color in the academy describe trauma (Aguirre, Hernandez and Martinez 1994). These adverse experiences and stressful events cause wounding or harm. Trauma can be experienced on a routine basis, as a part of the everyday life of women of color in the academy (Harrison 2012; Jacob 2002).
2. Trauma is viewed as a stressor. Viewing trauma from this perspective allows for the individual, subjective experience of situations and events to be particularly highlighted. They are usually experienced as a threat to one's wellbeing, triggering a stress response, characterized by physiological responses producing fight or flight impulses and can vary in its definition from person to person (Baum 1990;Carter and Reynolds, 2011).
3. The cumulative effects of racism based trauma over time result in sustained harm to the individual according to Carter (2007). The prospect of experiencing racism based trauma on a regular and frequent basis with limited or no ability to prevent, reduce or eliminate it will result in harm to the woman.
4. The intersection of race and gender for women of color in the academy adds to the negative experiences and stressors they endure in society and in their faculty lives on campus (Henderson, et al., 2010)
5. Included in trauma for women of color is an increased risk of sexual violence as an extension of historical patterns of dominance

Future Research

Organizational remedies should be primary in the search for the most effective ways to address trauma for women of color in the academy. Numerous ways to cope with or transfer stress have been suggested. Unhealthy outcomes are continuing to take place (Spiegel, 2011, p.1). It is time for effective organizational strategies to be devised.

A point of examination for future work is in the area of performance appraisals. In the publication, "The Relationship of Racism to Appraisals and Coping in a Community Sample" (Brondolo, Thompson et al., 2005) scholars provide insight and some refined questions if not answers to this area of organizational responsibility. They also caution us that we can't out-wait

the topic. People do not "get used to" oppression. (S5-18).

Additionally, Universities can also do more to debunk the myth that we are a post-racial society, and have all campus constituents understand that embracing difference and creating a just and caring environment is more that a mere tag line in a mission statement. According to a recent report by the Commission on Race and Racism in Anthropology and the American Anthropological Association (Harrison, 2012), these measures are often addressed in ways that ignore the vestiges of structural racism and the need for systemic changes. This masks the problem and keeps individuals from truly understanding its significance and the need for action (p. 13).

In summary, examining these issues for organizational remedies will require additional work on identifying the oppressive ways that the intersectionality of race and gender are problematic in the academy. Critically, the nature of our institutions of higher education in the United States in relationship to a capitalist economy must be part of the dialogue and data collected. As we look at structural and institutional racism, understanding and shifting paradigms of dominance and subordinate identities will tough but necessary work in the change agenda that follows.

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EDITORIAL

As we start yet another school year and over 49 million k-12th grade students return to classes, as a country we are still faced with many questions regarding how to best educate all students in an effective and equitable manner. Unfortunately education for nearly half of America's students does not always equate to the same outcomes and opportunities as their counterparts. For too many reasons to list, which include, but are not limited to, everything from socio-economics, politics, race, gender, and class the quest for a quality education remains a quest rather than an experience.

And yet, our education system is perhaps the single most predictable variable in improving the overall quality of any individual's life. It is most likely only through education that a person is able to escape poverty, abuse, neglect, and oppression. No matter what your race, background, or status, education has proven itself as the most consistent equalizer of all and for all.

As society places greater demands on what we feel is necessary to educate – our children requiring new schools, better trained teachers, and higher standards—I can't help but wonder if we have forgotten the most important component of a child's educational success: parental involvement. If we take a moment and reflect on some of the most accomplished Americans who were educated in US schools, we will find they did not attend school in the newest buildings, have the highest speed Wi-Fi, or Ph.D. degreed teachers. What you will find is they had parents, or a parent, who, although they themselves may have been under-educated, believed in and stressed the value of having an education.

Research on students' educational success strongly suggests the most important factor in a child's academic success is their parent. This is something we should all place at the forefront of our back to school shopping list as we are purchasing backpacks, new clothes, and other school supplies. As a parent, make sure the first and last face your child and their teachers see each school day, is yours.

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