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The Current State of Evidence-Based Practices with Classroom Management

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Student Paper Competition Winner – Undergraduate

Ongoing Professional Development Needed to Fulfill *IDEIA* and FAPE for Students with Exceptional Learning Needs

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Abstract: *Study of educators' knowledge of special education law (IDEIA) with implications for providing professional development and training for delivering a free and appropriate public education (FAPE) for students with special learning needs.*

This study investigated educators' knowledge of special education law, the *Individuals with Disabilities Education Improvement Act (IDEIA),* related to placement and programs for students with exceptional learning needs. Qualitative data from five open-ended questions are reported. Participants made recommendations related to special education law, guidelines, teaching strategies, and major concerns of teachers who serve students in special education.

Background

P.L. 94-142, *Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA)*, enacted in 1975, provided for services to students with exceptional learning needs including placement in the least restrictive environment. *IDEA* defined special education as specially designed services and instruction to meet the unique needs of students with disabilities (Cordeiro & Cunningham, 2013). Requirements for educating students with disabilities in the least restrictive environment were specified in *IDEA* amendments of 1997:

> To the maximum extent appropriate, children with disabilities, including children in public or private institutions or other care facilities, are educated with children who are not disabled. Special classes, separate schools, or other removal of children with disabilities from the regular educational environment occurs only when the nature or severity of the disability of a child is such that education in regular classes with the use of supplementary aids and services cannot be achieved satisfactorily [(sec.612.(a)(5)] (U.S. Dept. of Education, 2004).

The 2004 reauthorization of *IDEA*, called *Individuals with Disabilities Education Improvement Act (IDEIA)*, aligned with *No child Left Behind (NCLB)* so education of students with disabilities was held to the same high standards as for other students. The *IDEIA* revision changed the way students were classified for special education, emphasized highly qualified teachers, and scientifically based instruction. Response to Intervention (RtI) was introduced to emphasize early interventions provided in general education classrooms to reduce the need to label children to address their learning and behavioral needs (Cordeiro & Cunningham, 2013; Wright & Wright, 2006).

Literature Review

Requirement of Federal Law (*IDEIA and FAPE*)

Students requiring only some modification or accommodation in their learning were given a 504 plan to support their learning environment and/or instruction methodology. An Individual Education Plan (IEP) was developed for students who were identified with a disability or exceptional learning need that required specialized instructional practices or special education (Giangreco, Cloninger, & Iverson, 1993). Giangreco et al. (1993) noted "if one knowingly did not provide needed accommodations, it could be

viewed as discrimination and the individual teacher or instructional specialist and the school system could be liable for legal action."

The school decision-making team made the decision for the appropriate educational program, instructional placement, and determined the need for related services for students with exceptional learning needs. The team developed long- and short-term objectives and specific support plans in general education settings for the free and appropriate public education (FAPE) of students with exceptional learning needs (Giangreco et al).

IDEIA required annual re-evaluation of all IEPs to monitor student progress, to ensure IEPs meet individual student's needs, and to maintain the integrity of lessons for classmates without disabilities (Giangreco et al, 1993). IEPs are signed by the school administrator, assessment specialists, teachers, parents, and in some cases the student. IEPs are legal documents and can create both legal and instructional issues (Armenta & Beckers, 2006). Cordeiro and Cunningham (2013) noted all conditions of the IEP must be provided. All teachers who provide direct instruction to the student should be involved in the planning process that creates instructional accommodations and modifications. All accommodations must be applied consistently rather than selectively to the student's instructional activities. All instructional decisions should meet the spirit and the letter of the law (Armenta & Beckers, 2006).

Each year more students with exceptional learning needs are placed in general education classrooms. The number of students with disabilities who spent 80% or more of their time in general education classes rose from 25% in 1985 to more than 50% in the 2000s (U.S. Department of Education, 2003). Inclusion placed students with exceptionalities in general classes where special education resource teachers work with general education teachers in team-teaching models (Cordeiro & Cunningham, 2013).

Zigmond (2003) reported the quality of the instructional program and the support system developed within the school to support the student with exceptional learning needs was more important than the setting itself. Villa and Thousand (2003) report administrative support and vision was the most powerful predictor of general educators' attitudes toward inclusion and the student's success. Villa and Thousand (2005) noted the administrator played a key role in successful implementation of the inclusion model and suggested five actions administrators could take to facilitate inclusive practices:

1. Build consensus for a vision of inclusive schooling;
2. Develop educators' skills and confidence to be inclusive educators through ongoing professional development;
3. Create incentives (time, training, responding to concerns) and recognition;
4. Reorganize and expand human and other teaching resources; and
5. Plan for and take action to help the community see and get excited about a new vision.

Due Process Hearings

Disputes over educational practices and legal requirements for students with exceptional learning needs and special education services involved both educators and parents. *IDEIA* provided due process hearings to formally settle disputes between parents and educators related to special education services. Meuller (2009) reviewed thousands of due process hearings conducted between 2006-2007. Costs per hearing were estimated at $50,000 each with some exceeding $100,000 when they reached federal court. School districts spent an estimated $90 million in dispute resolution for special education cases and incurred an emotional cost as well (Mueller, 2009).

Mueller and Carranza (2011) reviewed 575 due process hearings in 41 states between 2005-2006 where conflicts arose when parents and school personnel could not agree on providing FAPE to students with disabilities. Parents often sought legal action when conflict was unresolved. Mueller (2009) suggested the spirit of IDEA would be advanced if districts improved the education and welfare of students with disabilities without the distraction of conflict and litigation. Healthy relationships between parents and schools improved education of a child with disabilities. "Lost time and money accrued through litigation is devouring resources that could and should be better spent on education of children with disabilities" (p. 12).

Unresolved issues related to discipline, manifestation determination, seclusion, restraints, harassment, evaluation, RTI, and post-secondary transition resulted in due process hearings or litigation (Mueller, 2009). When school staff ensured the rights of students with disabilities were observed, educational benefits were attained, and potential liability and hearings were minimized (Katsiyannis, Losinski, & Prince, 2012).

Meuller and Carranza (2011) identified the most common disability categories represented in due process hearings as learning disabilities (26%), autism (20%), and health impairments (15%). Most common sources of dispute were placement (25%), IEPs and appropriateness of programs (24%), and assessment concerns (12%). Parents initiated 86% of due process hearings. School districts prevailed in 59% of hearings. Keeping educators current on legislation and case law, using reliable resources for that information (e.g. advocacy groups), and providing quality programs that result in substantive benefits to students with disabilities were ways to address parent concerns and resolve issues before litigation (Wagner & Katsiyannis, 2010).

Professional Development

Professional development for educators was an effective way to keep abreast of current trends and best practices in education, particularly legal issues related to instructional settings for students in general education and for students who have exceptional learning needs. Darling-Hammond, Chung Wei, Andree, Richardson, and Orphanos (2009) reported research in professional development for teachers was short-term workshops consisting of 16 contact hours or less for the school year. Most teachers had access to less than one day of professional development supporting special education students in the past three years. Darling-Hammond et al. found teachers requested training in teaching students with special needs, content areas they teach, classroom management, and using technology in the classroom. Chang (2003) stressed the importance of selecting training that was useful, meaningful, and relevant to participants. Heitin (2009) suggested effective professional development should be on-going and pertinent to what teachers were actually teaching.

Darling-Hammond et al. (2009) suggested when time was created strategically for training and planning, working relationships were developed within subject areas, grade levels, and specializations school-wide. The result included a willingness among teachers to share instructional practices and try new ways of teaching, resulting in more success in solving instructional problems.

The Study

Research Design

The research design was non-experimental using survey methodology.

Limitations

Limitations included a basic assumption that respondents taught, or had taught students with disabilities or special learning needs. Limitations were commensurate with survey research methods: data were collected at one point in time and reflected experiences and biases of respondents whose input was strictly voluntary.

Research Questions

The research questions for this study were:

1. Do practicing educators receive ongoing and current training about students with disabilities, special education services, and legal concerns?
2. What specific professional development needs do educators have to meet the needs of students with disabilities and special education services?
3. What are professional development needs of practicing educators related to legal concerns for students with disabilities and special education services?
4. What recommendations do practicing educators have for other educators to meet the needs of students with disabilities and special education services?

Instrument

The survey instrument included five open-ended questions regarding training received within the past year about special education law and guidelines, student learning characteristics, teaching strategies, and special education legal issues. Educators were asked to report what they needed to know about special

education services to be an effective teacher. They were asked to identify major concerns regarding serving students who required special education. They were also asked to make recommendations for teaching students who require special education services.

The questionnaire, distributed via district-wide e-mail, was processed through SurveyMonkey. The survey had two parts: demographic information and five open-ended questions with no limit to the responses. Face validity was provided by a panel of experts comprised of university professors and area educators.

Survey Questions

The five survey questions were:

1. List training you had within the last year regarding eligibility guidelines, learning characteristics, and teaching strategies for students who require special education services.
2. List training you had within the last year regarding special education legal issues.
3. What do you need to know about special education services to be an effective teacher?
4. List major concerns you have regarding serving students who require special education services.
5. What recommendations would you give to other teachers for a student who requires special education services?

Participants

Participants were educators in an urban school district in the southwestern United States. One thousand five hundred sixty four (1,564) educators in the district were asked to complete the survey distributed via district-wide e-mail. A response rate of approximately a 33% was received.

Table 1 shows the majority (85.1%) were female. Table 2 shows the majority (40.3%) were between 36-50 years of age; 37.1% were 51-65 years; 17.7% were 25-35 years; 1.2% were 21-24 years; and 3.1% were over age 65 (see Appendix A).

Table 3 shows ethnic groups represented. The greatest number of respondents was Caucasian (55.5%); the next largest group was African American (36.9%). Approximately 92% were Caucasian or African American. Least represented were Asian, Hispanic, Native American, mixed ethnic, and a group indicated as other (6.0%).

Table 4 shows participants' areas of employment. General educators comprised the majority (71.7%); special education teachers represented 15.7%. Remaining areas represented were teachers of English language learners (1.5%); counselors (2.4%); principals and assistant principals (6.6%); educational diagnosticians (2.0%), and a category of other (10.1%).

Table 5 shows grade level where participants were employed. Elementary teachers represented the majority (39.5%); middle school (23.8%); high school (29.3%); and preschool (5.0 %).

Table 6 shows years of teaching experience. More than half (56.1%) had more than 15 years; 21.2% had 4-8 years experience; 15.5% had 9-12 years experience; 10.9% had 13-15 years experience; and 7.1% had 0-3 years. The most likely participant was a Caucasian female, between 36-50 years, in elementary general education with over 15 years experience.

Results

Analysis and Interpretation

Themes and patterns emerged in the data from the open ended questions.

Survey Question 1.

List training you had within the last year regarding eligibility guidelines, learning characteristics, and teaching strategies for students who require special education services

Participants identified training they received within the past year about eligibility guidelines, learning characteristics, and teaching (Table 7, Appendix B). Almost one quarter (23.8%) reported no training within the past year; 11.3% reported training during on-campus and/or district meetings. Topics identified by the educators included IEPs, ARD meetings, Autism, Learning Disabilities identification, C-SCOPE curriculum, Head Start services, RtI, 504, English as Second Language/Bilingual education, Language Proficiency Assessment Committee (LPAC), state and alternate assessments. Taking a university course

was reported by 2.4%; 0.6% attended a special education law conference. Other training of a non-specific area was attended by 12.1%. Almost half (49.8%) did not respond to the question. Representative statements of training received by educators in the past year are:

"15 minutes at a faculty meeting."

"A 45 minute class."

"No official training. I communicated with the Sp.Ed. teacher to learn ways in dealing with a student's behavior."

"Monthly inclusion/ARD meetings."

"One training at beginning of the year."

Survey Question 2:

List training you had within the last year regarding special education legal issues.

Table 8 shows training related to special education legal issues received by educators in the past year. No training on special education legal concerns was reported by 25.1% of participants; 11.3% reported having attended one or more campus meetings and/or district in-service which included topics such as IEP, ARD, transitions, state and alternate testing, and Head Start disability services. Only 3.2% of participants attended a special education law conference; and 1.4% reported taking a university course. Other training of a non-specific area was attended by 8.1%. Over half (50.8%) did not respond to the question. Representative statements are:

"20 minute staff meeting"

"Faculty meetings."

"Monthly assessment meetings."

"Total of one hour at various faculty meetings"

"One hour after school on communicating with parents"

"Education Service Center Law Conference"

"Independent study"

"University courses"

Survey Question 3:

What do you need to know about special education services to be an effective teacher?

Table 9 shows responses regarding what teachers need to know about special education services to be effective. More training was listed by 13.1%; however, no specific area was identified. Implementation of accommodations, modifications, related services, and differentiated instruction was reported by 6.9%; IEP and BIP implementation strategies in an inclusion setting was reported by 6.9%; and 14.2% reported training in a non specific area. A few respondents (4.6%) listed "nothing". Over half (54.2%) did not respond to the question. Representative statements are:

"How to implement everything in a class with a vast and rising population of different needs."

"How to comment effectively during an ARD meeting to aide [sic] the committee in determining the best services for the student."

"…more education for all teachers on the subject, especially those who are serving an Autistic student for the first time."

"How to get the sp. ed. teacher to cooperate with regular ed. teachers."

"How to read/understand an IEP. Terminology associated with special education, lesson ideas, collaboration for special ed. curriculum needs."

"Workshops on current laws, and how to accommodate a student in the classroom when disruptions take place."

"…all the information up front before the student enters my class."

"When will special needs students be taken out of my class so I can be an effective teacher?"

"Exactly what is expected in the classroom and how to accommodate for the special ed. student."

"How to modify all lessons in a general ed. classroom."

"I would like to have yearly refreshers on Sp. Ed. services and IDEA."

Survey Question 4:

List major concerns you have regarding serving students who require special education services.

Table 10 shows educators' major concerns regarding serving students who require special education services. Inclusion was the greatest area of concern (14.5%); other concerns included the need for training (7.5%); the need for support (2.2%); and parental rights (2.2%). Discipline, grading, paperwork, state testing, and resources such as modified materials (5.2%) were concerns. Some educators reported no major concerns (6.7%); over half (54.2%) did not respond. Representative statements are:

> "Not enough training on how to apply modifications or accommodations."
> "Discipline issues are a concern with sp. ed. children."
> "What rights do students in general ed. classes have when a severe behavior student has been placed in the classroom?"
> "There are so many rules and regulations, I'm afraid I will leave something out. I also worry how the sp. ed. student will affect the rhythm of my class."
> "The lack of time in the general classroom to meet special needs; lack of modified materials readily available to meet IEP requirements."
> "Balancing the time needed to meet the needs of the sp. ed. student with the needs of the remainder of the class."
> "I do not believe all students with disabilities should be included in regular classroom situations."
> "That 10% of my students should not be requiring 90% of my time. It's time the regular kids be challenged, and not held back because of sp. ed. kids."
> "Applied modifications - no shopping/laundry list added to every student."
> "Not enough support."
> "All teachers need to have conversations with the parents of all sp. ed. students they teach."
> "The gray area as to what parents expect and what the IEP really requires."
> "Litigious parents."

Survey Question 5:

What recommendations would you give to other teachers for a student who requires special education services?

Table 11 shows recommendations for other teachers of students who require special education services. Recommendations included teachers follow and document IEP, BIP, modifications, and accommodations (17.0%); communicating with colleagues and parents (11.3%); seeking training, professional development and/or personal research (5.5%); following federal laws and guidelines (3.5%); and "getting to know your students and having patience with them" (3.7%). "No recommendations" was listed by 4.8% and over half (60.0%) did not respond. Representative statements are:

> "Seek help early."
> "Have a copy of ARD committee decisions handy, communicate with parents, document all modifications/accommodations used in class."
> "Document everything. Modify every assignment. Know your students' IEPs and BIPs."
> "Learn and know the rights of sp. ed. students and their individual needs. Listen to the concerns of the parents and make them feel they are a part of the decision making process."
> "Always seek advice of seasoned teachers and keep current with new findings."
> "Work with the multi-disciplinary team, they will help to accommodate you with your needs."
> "Hold your sp. ed. students to a high standard of learning because these students sometimes feel that less is expected of them so they tend to be more passive. Push them to get the best out of them."
> "Read the IEP and keep in contact with the parent. Make sure all personnel involved with the student knows the modifications."
> "Know your laws; know your students."

Discussion and Interpretation

Responses to the survey are discussed relative to the four research questions:

Research question results

Research Question 1.

Do practicing educators receive ongoing and current training about students with disabilities, special education services, and legal concerns?

Special education services. The results relative to ongoing and current training about students with disabilities and special education services are:

- 11.3% reported training in the past year described as on-campus or district meetings of 15 - 45 minutes, monthly ARD meetings, university course work, or a six-hour law conference.
- 23.8% reported "no training" during the past year on eligibility guidelines, learning characteristics, and teaching strategies for students who require special education services.
- 49.8% of participants did not respond to the question.
- 73.6% reported they received "no training" or did not respond to the question.

Results indicate only 11.3%, or one in 10 educators, in this study received training related to special education in the past year. These results support the findings of Darling-Hammond et al. (2009) of minimal training for teachers via short-term workshops, 16 hours or less of contact hours, and less than one day of professional development supporting special education students. A significant number of educators (almost 3 of 4) in this study reported they did not receive training or did not respond to the question about receiving training in the past year about special education issues. These results suggest a lack of training and skill in current teaching strategies and learning characteristics of special education students. Current knowledge of instructional practices and student learning needs is imperative to be an effective teacher of students with special needs.

Special education legal issues. Ongoing and current training reported by participants within the past year in special education legal issues follow:

- 24.0% reported receiving training in the past year in legal issues described as 20-60 minutes in faculty meetings, meetings with parents, assessment meetings, a six-hour law conference, or a university course.
- 25.1% reported "no training" in the past year regarding legal issues related to special education.
- 50.8% skipped the question about receiving training on legal issues.
- 75.9% of participants reported receiving "no training" or skipped the question.

Results indicate one quarter, or one in four educators, in this study received training specific to legal issues in the past year. A significant number, over three-fourths of participants, reported they did not receive training or skipped the question about training on special education legal issues. Results support the findings of Darling-Hammond et al. (2009) of minimal training for teachers via short-term workshops, 16 hours or less of contact hours, and less than one day of professional development supporting special education students. Current knowledge of legal issues is the best defense for effective educators to avoid mistakes resulting in hearings and litigation.

Research Question 2.

What specific professional development needs do educators have to meet the needs of students with disabilities and special education services?

Specific professional development needs to meet the needs of students with disabilities and special education services follow:

- 13.1% listed more training of a non- specific area.
- 6.9% listed a need for training to implement accommodations, modifications, differentiating instruction, and special services.

- 6.9% reported needing training on IEPs, BIPs, and teaching strategies in the inclusion setting.
- 4.6% reported "nothing" to professional development needs a teacher has to meet the needs of students with disabilities and special education services.
- 54.2% skipped the question.
- 58.8% responded with "nothing" or skipped the question.

Over one quarter (26.9%), or one in four educators, reported a need for professional development to meet the needs of students with disabilities and special education services. Specific needs include the very basic requirements of providing FAPE such as implementing the student's IEP, BIP, instructional accommodations, and modifications. Other topics were basic teaching and instructional strategies, inclusion strategies, and differentiated instruction for students with exceptional learning needs.

Results indicate a significant number (58.8%), or almost 6 of 10 participants, responded "nothing" or skipped the question regarding professional development to meet the needs of students with disabilities and special education services. This type of response may suggest a lack of knowledge about specialized training required for implementing best practices for instruction of students with disabilities and special education services, i.e. specific instructional techniques for autism, deaf education, or cognitive impairments. These results may also suggest an indifference to responding to open-ended survey questions.

Research Question 3.
What are professional development needs of practicing educators related to legal concerns for students with disabilities and special education services?

Participants reported professional development needs related to legal issues for students with disabilities and special education services below:
- all the rules and regulations,
- discipline of students with exceptional learning needs,
- participating in the ARD meetings,
- implementation of a student's IEP and BIP,
- instructional needs and requirements,
- parents rights,
- rights of teachers and students in the general education classroom,
- state testing,
- keeping up with the required paperwork.

Analysis of responses from the 40%, or 4 of 10, who provided suggestions for specific professional development related to legal concerns include the basics of *IDEIA* and FAPE: the IEP and BIP documents, concerns of classroom management and discipline of students with disabilities, teacher rights, rights of non-disabled students, and accountability/testing (Table 9).

A significant number of participants (60.9%), or 6 of 10, did not identify major concerns or skipped the question about professional development related to legal concerns for students with exceptional learning needs (Table 9). Analysis of this type of response may suggest a general lack of knowledge of specific legal concerns related to the education of students with disabilities including federal law governing placement and instructional services to ensure a free and appropriate education (FAPE). These results may also suggest an indifference to responding to open-ended survey questions.

Research Question 4.
What recommendations do practicing educators have for other educators to meet the needs of students with disabilities and special education services?

Participants had specific recommendations for other educators to meet the needs of students with disabilities and special education services below:
- follow the laws and guidelines
- follow and document the IEP and BIP
- implement the accommodations and modifications

- communicate with parents and fellow educators
- seek help early
- seek training, professional development, and do personal research

Specific recommendations from the 35% of participants, or 3 of 10, who made specific recommendations to colleagues for meeting the needs of students with disabilities and special education services indicate adhering to the detail of federal law for providing appropriate education (FAPE) (Table 11).

A significant number 65%, or 6 of 10, did not have specific recommendations to colleagues for meeting the needs of students with disabilities and special education. Analysis of this type of response may suggest the participants did not have specific suggestions, or they may not wish to share their ideas with colleagues for teaching students with disabilities and special education. These results may also suggest an indifference to responding to open-ended survey questions.

Summary and Conclusions

One thousand five hundred sixty four (1,564) educators in an urban school district in southwest United States completed a survey via district-wide e-mail about professional development needs related to legal concerns of students with disabilities and special education services. Five hundred four educators (33%) responded. Most were Caucasian females between ages 36-50, teaching elementary general education with over 15 years teaching experience. Five open-ended questions provided qualitative data identifying educators' professional development experiences related to special education law, guidelines, and teaching strategies; major concerns of teachers who serve students with special needs; and recommendations for teachers of students with disabilities special education needs.

Mueller (2009) and Katsiyannis et al (2012) note schools avoid or limit expensive, lengthy due process hearings and litigation when educators provide appropriate instruction, have a clear understanding of instructional needs, teaching strategies, and legal issues, and ensure rights of students with disabilities. Students with disabilities are then more likely to have educational benefit. Darling-Hammond et al. (2009) reported research showing minimal training and professional development for teachers of students with disabilities and special education.

These results support the Darling-Hammond et al. research. Survey results note twenty-four percent (24%) had no training within the past year in eligibility, guidelines, learning characteristics, and teaching strategies. Twenty-five percent (25.1%) reported no training within the past year in legal issues. Another 60-85% consistently responded "nothing" or skipped survey questions, thus providing no information to questions about concerns or recommendations for working with students with disabilities and special education needs. No information was available as to why a significant number of participants would respond to the survey, yet provide no useful comments. These results may also suggest an indifference to responding to open-ended survey questions.

Participants identified specific areas for professional development and training including parts of an IEP, such as accommodations, modifications, related services, and differentiated instruction. Specific needs for training include implementing instructional strategies identified in an IEP and BIP and teaching strategies in inclusive settings. Participants identified a need to know how to modify all lessons in general education; how to understand an IEP; and how to contribute to ARD meetings. Participants identified a need to know current special education law, discipline issues, and rights of parents, students, and teachers. Participants identified a need to know what was required of the classroom teacher.

Participants made recommendations for teachers of students with disabilities and special education needs including following the IEP and BIP, communicating with parents and colleagues, and seeking professional development and training. The researchers report a concern about the 60-85% who responded "nothing" or skipped questions suggesting a significant number of educators who may not know of legal issues for students with special education needs and ensuring educational benefit and FAPE.

Recommendations

Recommendations based on the responses to the survey include:

1. Provide ongoing training and professional development to practicing educators in the specifics of special education, specifically implementation of IEP, BIP, and instructional strategies for inclusion settings for students receiving special education.

2. Provide ongoing training and professional development to practicing educators at all levels of the organization regarding legal concerns especially discipline issues, student rights, parent rights, and rights of teachers and general education students.

3. Develop a structure in schools, such as Professional Learning Communities (PLC), to support inclusion teachers where campus leaders regularly schedule time for training and collaborative planning to facilitate open and on-going communication, encourage working relationships among regular and special education teachers to share best practices, encourage problem solving, and establish a sense of ownership and responsibility among teachers for the success of all students. Regular education students and students who receive special education services would benefit. Campus leaders must be actively involved to ensure fidelity, productivity, and endurance.

4. Investigate the cause of the significant number of participants who provided no response or "nothing" to the open-ended questions.

5. Replicate the study with a larger population, perhaps state-wide or nation-wide, to determine if the results of this study can be generalized to a larger population.

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Table 1
Q1. Gender of survey participants (*n* = 504)

Gender	Number	%
Male	72	14.3%
Female	**429**	**85.1%**
Skipped question	3	0.6%

Table 2
Q2. Age range of survey participants (*n* = 504)

Age	Number	%
21 - 24 years of age	6	1.2%
25 - 35 years of age	89	17.7%
36 - 50 years of age	**203**	**40.3%**
51 - 65 years of age	187	37.1%
Over 65 years of age	16	3.1%
Skipped question	3	0.6%

Table 3
Q3. Ethnicity of survey participants (*n* = 504)

Ethnicity	Number	%
Asian/Pacific Islander	2	0.4%
African American	186	36.9%
Hispanic	15	3.0%
Native American	3	0.6%
Caucasian	**280**	**55.5%**
Mixed Ethnicity	4	0.8%
Other	6	1.2%
Skipped question	8	1.6%

Table 4
Q4. Area of employment of survey participants (*n*=504)

Employment Area	Number	%
Special Education	71	15.7%
General Education	**325**	**71.7%**
English Language Learner	7	1.5%
Educational Diagnostician	9	2.0%
School Counselor	11	2.4%
Principal/Asst Principal	30	6.6%
Other	59	10.1%
Skipped question	51	10.1%

note: Some educators have multiple assignments resulting in a total greater than *n* = 504

Table 5
Q5. Grade level employed (*n*=504)

School Level	Number	%
Pre School	25	5.0%
Elementary	**199**	**39.5%**
Middle School	120	23.8%
High School	148	29.3%
Skipped question	12	2.4%

Table 6
Q6. Number of years of teaching experience (*n*=504)

Number of years	Number	%
0 - 3 years	36	7.1%
4 - 8 years	**107**	**21.2%**
9 - 12 years	78	15.5%
13- 15 years	55	10.9%
Over 15 years	228	45.2%
Skipped question	0	0.0%

Appendix B
Survey Questions

Table   7
Q1 List training you had within the last year for eligibility guidelines, learning characteristics, and teaching strategies for students who require Special Education Services. (*n*=504)

Training type	Number	%
Received no training	**120**	**23.8%**
On campus or district meetings	57	11.3%
University course work	12	2.4%
Law conference	3	0.6%
Non-themed (i.e., 1 hr. 504)	61	12.1%
Skipped question	251	49.8%

Table   8
Q2 List training you had within the last year regarding special education legal issues. (*n*=504)

Training type	Number	%
Received no training	**127**	**25.1%**
On campus meetings and/or district in-service	57	11.3%
University course work	7	1.4%
Law conferences	16	3.2%
Non-themed (i.e., "don't remember")	41	8.1%
Skipped question	256	50.8%

Table 9
Q3 What do you need to know about special education to be an effective teacher? (*n=504*)

Training type	Number	%
Implementation of accommodations, modifications, differentiating instruction, services	35	6.9%
IEP & BIP implementation strategies in inclusion	35	6.9%
More training needed (type not specified)	**66**	**13.1%**
Nothing	23	4.6%
Non-themed (i.e., anything pertaining to my students)	72	14.2%
Skipped question	273	54.2%

Table 10
Q4 List major concerns about serving students who require special education services *(n=504)*

Training type	Number	%
Inclusion issues	**73**	**14.5%**
Training needed	38	7.5%
Support staff needed	11	2.2%
Parental rights issues	11	2.2%
Other	26	5.2%
No major concerns	34	6.7%
Miscellaneous; non-themed	38	7.5%
Skipped question	273	54.2%

Table 11
Q5 Recommendations you give other teachers of students who require special education services. (*n=504)*

Training type	Number	%
Follow & document IEP, BIP, modifications and accommodations	**86**	**17.0%**
Communicate with colleagues and parents	57	11.3%
Seek training, professional development, and personal research	28	5.5%
Follow laws and guidelines	18	3.5%
Know your students and have patience	19	3.7%
No recommendations	24	4.8%
Skipped question	282	60.0%

note: Respondents could list multiple recommendations resulting in a total greater than n=504.

The 2012 American Elections in Perspective

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On the evening of November 6, 2012, President Barack Obama was reelected to a second term in office as president of the United States, making him only the second Democrat since Franklin Delano Roosevelt to win that distinction. Indeed, President Obama was elected by a majority of voters in both of his elections, making him only the first Democrat since FDR to do so. The president won his reelection by 51-47 percent of the popular vote, with over 3 million more voters (from a total of roughly 110 million votes cast in 2012) supporting him than Mitt Romney, the former Massachusetts Governor and the president's Republican opponent in 2012.

In terms of the final tallies in the electoral college, President Obama carried 332 of the 535 electoral votes in 2012, with 270 needed to win, compared to 206 going to former governor Romney. Although the president's 2012 popular and electoral vote margins shrunk compared to his 2008 numbers (53-46 percent of the popular vote and 365-173 electoral votes over Senator John McCain in 2008), the president still commanded rather substantial and comfortable margins in the 2012 contest.

The president's party also proved successful in congressional elections in 2012. The Democrats picked up eight seats in the House (going from 193 to 201), and the Republicans lost eight (going from 242 to 234). While the Democrats fell short of regaining majority in the House (218 seats are needed to hold majority in the House), the party's gains came in spite of their current structural disadvantage in House districts (i.e., districts that have been heavily redrawn in favor of the Republicans in the post-2010 redistricting cycle). On the other hand, the Democrats in the Senate added to their majority, largely due to missteps by amateur Republican candidates, moving from 51 to 53 seats. The Republicans dropped from 47 to 45. There are two independents in the Senate in the 113th Congress.

My purpose in this paper is to summarize and analyze the 2012 American national election results using key variables, with a particular focus on the presidential election. Using the same variables, I also analyze the 2012 elections in the context of national elections in the new millennium, with an eye toward examining major trends in the outcomes. The key variables examined in this study include the demographic variables (gender, race, and income), the economic variables (GDP and unemployment), and the public's perceptions of the president and the state of the economy. I also compare the outcomes in the battleground states. In the end, I look at the congressional makeup since 2000 and discuss major trends in the alterations of that makeup. I begin with some theoretical foundations and I conclude with some implications of the trends observed herein.

Theories Surrounding American Elections

There are similar theories in presidential as well as congressional elections that offer guidance regarding outcomes in those contests. The most widely discussed and used theory with reference to electoral outcomes deals with the incumbency. The idea is that an incumbent, a current officeholder, is much more likely to win an election compared to the opponent (the challenger) because the incumbent is known to the public and presumably has a favorable view in the public. As scholars of American politics know, for a variety of reasons, this is particularly true in congressional than in presidential contests, and

especially on the House side of Congress. In presidential races, the state of the economy, which includes both macro and micro-economic conditions, also has considerable impact on the outcome of the elections. Invariably, all of these variables affect the public perception of the candidates, signifying the influence of public opinion in voters' decision-making process.

With reference to presidential contests, James E. Campbell (2005, 220) captured the significance of these variables by summarizing them in the following fashion: "The three fundamentals are the public's opinion about the candidates at the outset of the campaign, the growth in the election year economy, and incumbency (both personal and the number of terms that a party has occupied the White House)." With reference to congressional contests, it is clear that incumbency matters a great deal, but other variables, such as economic conditions and public perceptions of candidates, matter as well.

Analysis (and Explanation) of 2012 (and Previous) Elections

At first blush, it would be safe to suggest that President Obama won reelection simply because he was the incumbent. After all, a dominant theory of American elections, presidential or congressional, is that, all else being equal, incumbency carries significant advantages, often propelling officeholders to victory. Historically, this theory has prevailed in practice. In the post-war American presidential elections, every incumbent president who has stood for reelection, with the rare exceptions of Jimmy Carter in 1980 and George H. W. Bush in 1992, has won. Indeed, many presidents have won their reelections relatively handily, and many have enlarged with electoral victories in their reelections for the second terms compared to their first victories. Richard Nixon, Ronald Reagan, Bill Clinton, and even George W. Bush enhanced their electoral margins during their reelection attempts.

On the congressional side, the concept of incumbency advantage holds legendary value (see, for example, summaries of this argument in studies by Jacobson and Kernell 1981, Jacobson 2009b, among others). In election after election to both the House and the Senate, incumbents win overwhelmingly, usually by around 95 percent of those seeking reelection to the House and around 85 percent of those seeking reelection to the Senate. Given these odds, it would be easy to say that President Obama and many members of Congress were reelected simply because they were incumbents.

An explanation that relies solely on incumbency, however, would be wholly inadequate. It offers only a surface explanation of the outcome of the 2012 U.S. presidential election. To offer a fuller analysis, it seems that attention must also be paid to other theories and variables regarding electoral outcomes. The biggest story of the 2012 election refers to the demographic context of the United States, its changes particularly since the 2008 election, and its impact on the 2012 outcome. Table 1 provides the results of three key demographic variables (gender, race, and income) in U.S. presidential elections since 2000.

Let's consider the impact of each separately. Regarding gender, the prevailing theory holds that men are more likely to vote Republican and women are more likely to vote Democratic. The argument goes that men tend to prefer the "hard" issues such as the economy and military, issues on which the Republican Party does better, whereas women tend to focus on the "soft" issues such as education and health care, issues to which the Democratic Party responds more positively. As can be seen, Bush in 2000 and 2004 and Romney in 2012 fared far better among male voters than their Democratic opponents. Obama, however, slightly edged over McCain among male voters in 2008. On the other hand, Gore in 2000, Kerry in 2004, and Obama did far better among female voters. In 2012, Obama carried the female vote by 55 to 44 percent.

Concerning race, the theoretical framework holds that Republican candidates tend to perform better among whites, whereas Democratic candidates tend to do well among non-whites, particularly among African-Americans. The data bear that relationship. In every presidential election since 2000, the Republican nominee has outperformed among white voters than the Democratic nominee. In these data, the closest margin was in 2008 when McCain bested Obama by 12 points; the widest margin was in 2012 when Romney bested Obama by 20 points. Among African-American voters, the Democratic nominee has far outperformed over the Republican nominee in these elections. The driving story in recent elections has been the Hispanic vote. As the fastest growing population group in the country, Hispanics have naturally attracted considerable attention for their expanding political clout and efforts by both political parties to woo them. For a variety of reasons, however, Hispanics have sided with Democrats in far

greater percentages than with Republicans. In 2000, Gore carried the Hispanic vote by 62 to 35 percent. In 2004, after significant outreach efforts by Bush and Karl Rove, his chief political strategist, Bush enhanced his vote among Hispanics to 44 percent. However, in 2008, Obama attracted 67 percent of the Hispanic vote compared to 31 percent for McCain, only to increase that total to 71 percent versus 27 percent for Romney in 2012. Asians have been strong Democratic supporters as well. Indeed, Obama has received the strongest support from Asians in recent elections, garnering 62 to 35 percent in 2008 and 73 to 26 percent in 2012.

Regarding race, Ryan Lizza (2012, 50) observed immediately after the election:

> For four decades, from Richard Nixon to Ronald Reagan through the two Bush Presidencies, the Republican Party won the White House by amassing large margins among white voters. Nixon summoned the silent majority. Reagan cemented this bloc of voters, many of whom were former Democrats. Both Bushes won the Presidency by relying on broad support from Reagan Democrats. In that time, Republicans transformed the South from solidly Democratic to solidly Republican, and they held the White House for twenty-eight out of forty years. Last Tuesday, Romney won three-fifths of the white vote, matching or exceeding what several winning Presidential candidates, including Reagan in 1980 and Bush in 1988, achieved, but it wasn't enough. The white share of the electorate, which was eighty-seven per cent in 1992, has steadily declined by about three points in every Presidential election since then. At the present rate, by 2016, whites will make up less than seventy per cent of voters. Romney's loss to Barack Obama brought an end not just to his eight-year quest for the Presidency but to the Republican Party's assumptions about the American electorate.

This analysis clearly points to the impact of shifting demographics, in this passage on the issue of race, on the outcome of American elections.

Finally, income as a demographic variable also offers a good explanation concerning differences among Republican and Democratic nominees. Generally speaking, Democratic candidates tend to do better among lower income voters, whereas Republican candidates tend to fare well among voters with higher incomes. That relationship bears out in these data. Among lower income voters (those in the range of up to $30,000 a year), Gore, Kerry, and Obama all fared exceedingly well. However, once the income reaches $75,000 or above, the Republican candidates have generally outperformed the Democratic candidates. Indeed, the issue of income (or lack of it and consequent reliance on government) touched a particular nerve in the 2012 presidential race in the context of Romney's comments regarding "47 percent" of the voters who support the president, deriding them as people who consider themselves "victims" and are "dependent on government" and entitlements.

Other than demographic variables, public perceptions of macro- and micro-economic conditions also offer good explanations of electoral outcomes. As the theory goes, during good economic times, the public tends to reward the president (or the president's party) for good fortune; conversely, the public tends to blame the president and punish him or his party for bad economic conditions. Elections, hence, become referenda on president's performance in office, especially his handling of the economy.

As Jacobson writes:

> Virtually all of the models designed to forecast presidential election results routinely incorporate measures of the state of the economy and the popular standing of the president as independent variables, and these same variables are widely if not universally thought to influence congressional election results as well. The higher the president's approval ratings and the stronger the economy, the better the president's party candidates do on election day. Unpopular presidents and economic difficulties—the two naturally tend to coincide, because a poor economy contributes to presidential unpopularity, although unpopular wars do so as well—cost the president's party votes in contests across all federal offices. In aggregate, then, voters treat both presidential and congressional elections as occasions for imposing collective responsibility on the president and his party (2009a, 3).

Thus, economic variables, and the public's perceptions of the president's handling of the economy, also play a key role in electoral outcomes.

In this study, public perceptions of economic conditions are measured by the public's view of the direction of the country (on the right track or on the wrong track), the public's views of the state of the economy (as excellent, good, not so good, or poor), and the public's perception of their personal financial situation (again as excellent, good, not so good, or poor). The hypothesis is that positive numbers would help the incumbents and negative numbers would hurt, although there are other factors that could intervene and complicate this hypothesis.

According to data presented in Table 2, concerning the direction of the country, Bush won a controversial election in 2000 even though the public felt that the country was more on the right track than wrong track (47 versus 41 percent). In 2004, however, Bush won reelection despite the fact that the public perception was that the country was more on the wrong track (51 versus 43 percent), perhaps due to the fact that he was an incumbent seeking reelection. In 2008, Obama defeated the Republican nominee handily partly given the public perception that the country was overwhelmingly on the wrong track (76 percent). In 2012, he won reelection despite the public view that the country was more on the wrong track than the right track (54 versus 39 percent), again perhaps partly attributable to his incumbency status.

Concerning the state of the economy, even though 65 percent of the public classified the economy as "good" in 2000 compared to only 16 percent as "not so good," the Democratic nominee lost, but in a controversial election. In 2004, the numbers were much closer (37 percent regarding the economy as "good" versus 41 percent as "not so good,") and Bush won reelection, presumably as the incumbent. In 2008, a majority of the public rated the state of the economy as "poor," at 59 percent, leading to President Obama's easy victory. In 2012, the numbers were more evenly spread, with 25 percent saying "good," 35 percent "not so good," and 36 percent saying "poor." Obama won reelection in this mixed picture, as the incumbent.

Finally, on personal financial situation, the story line for 2000 is essentially the same as aforementioned. In 2004, more people rated their personal situation as "good" compared to "not so good," 50 versus 29 percent, leading to Bush's reelection victory. In 2008, the picture was slightly more negative, with 40 percent rating as "not so good" and 36 percent as "good," leading to the election of Obama over McCain. In 2012, a slightly improved picture, with 42 percent saying "good" and 37 percent saying "not so good," contributed to Obama's victory in a reelection.

In addition to public perceptions, this study also provides data on actual economic indicators (primarily GDP and unemployment) and presidential approval. As the data in Table 3 show, even with a respectable GDP figure of 2.7 percent and a relatively low unemployment figure of 3.9 percent, the open seat in 2000 resulted in the election of a Republican, perhaps partially because a Democrat occupied the White House for the previous eight years. In 2004, the incumbent George Bush won in spite of a higher unemployment number (at 5.5 percent) but with a healthier GDP number (at 3.7 percent) than in 2000. It is important to note that the presidential approval just before the election in 2004 stood at a commendable 54 percent, higher than the threshold of 50 percent necessary to gain victory on election day. In 2008, both the GDP (at 0.3 percent) and the unemployment (at 6.5 percent) numbers were rather dismal, leading to the election of a Democrat in an open seat environment. In 2012, Obama won, despite a low GDP number (at 2 percent) and a relatively high unemployment number (at 7.9 percent). His approval was still at 52 percent just before the election, just above the 50 percent benchmark.

The next step in this analysis is to provide a state-by-state comparison of Republican versus Democratic votes in each presidential election since 2000. This study focuses the state-by-state analysis on those widely considered to be battleground states. The core idea behind this segment of the analysis is that American presidential elections are actually state-by-state contests rather than "national" elections, hence a focus on key states matters.

Table 4 shows the results in battleground states since 2000. One way to dissect the eighteen states shown in this table is to see the consistency with which one party or the other has carried the state. The states that have consistently voted for Republicans since 2000 are Arizona, Georgia, Missouri, and West Virginia. The states that have consistently voted for Democrats since 2000 are Michigan, Minnesota,

Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin. That leaves ten states that have shifted allegiances between the two parties since 2000. These include Colorado, Florida, Indiana, Iowa, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Mexico, North Carolina, Ohio, and Virginia.

A second way is to look at the margins of victory in these states and to see if any directional patterns can be discerned in those margins. The Republicans, for example, carried Colorado in 2000 and 2004 but the Democrats carried the state in 2008 and 2012, with the Democrats winning it by a slightly healthier margin in 2008 than in 2012, with the 2012 figure almost equal to the Bush victory in 2004. President Obama won Florida both times, albeit just barely in 2012, with Bush performing far stronger than that in 2004. The Republicans performed comfortably in Indiana in 2000, 2004, and again in 2012. Obama carried Indiana in 2008, but just barely, suggesting that Indiana is a rather safe Republican state. While the Democrats won Iowa in 2000, just barely, the Republicans won it in 2004, again just barely, the Democrats won by secure margins in 2008 and 2012 to make Iowa a rather Democratic state. And while the Republicans carried Nevada somewhat comfortably in 2000 and 2004, the Democrats carried it comfortably in 2008 and 2012, making it a more Democratic state.

Since 2000, New Hampshire has gone to the Democrats in the last three elections, with Bush winning it by a slight margin in 2000. Likewise, while New Mexico was a very close call in both 2000 and 2004 (with the Democrats taking it in 2000 and the Republicans in 2004), the last two elections have moved New Mexico decidedly in the Democratic column. The voters in North Carolina decidedly went toward Bush in 2000 and 2004, barely toward Obama in 2008, and back barely toward Romney in 2012, suggesting that voters in North Carolina would prefer to be more on the Republican side. In Ohio, Bush won both in 2000 and 2004, but Obama won in both 2008 and 2012. Finally, likewise in Virginia, the Republicans won by comfortable margins in both 2000 and 2004, whereas the Democrats took the state by narrower margins in 2008 and 2012.

Of these eighteen states, then, it appears that five states have been the most central in determining the outcome of presidential contests since 2000: Colorado, Nevada, North Carolina, Ohio, and Virginia, notwithstanding the Florida debacle in 2000. And in almost all of these cases, with the possible exception of Ohio, the major driver has been the demographic shift, particularly a growth in the number of Hispanic voters. As Nate Silver wrote, "Mr. Obama did not need Ohio to carry the Electoral College. Instead, states where there have been demographic shifts, like Colorado, gave him enough of a cushion" (2012, A20).

Finally, a look at the congressional makeup since 2000. Table 5 shows the partisan composition of the House and the Senate. After controlling the House after the first three elections of the new century, the Republicans lost majority in 2006, largely due to the anti-war sentiment (against wars in Iraq and Afghanistan) in the country. The Democrats gained majority in two subsequent elections, but lost after the 2010 election, largely due to redistricting in many state legislature controlled by Republicans. Generally speaking, the majority party enhances its numbers when its in power, given incumbency advantages and other factors, as the Republicans did with their increases from 221 to 229 to 231 (from the 107th to the 109th congresses) and as the Democrats did with their increases from 233 to 256 (from the 110th to the 111th congresses).

On the Senate side, the Republicans controlled the chamber from the turn of the century until the 2008 election, albeit the Senate was evenly split during the first two and the last two years of that stretch. (The Republicans had control of the chamber because the vice president during those years was a Republican.) The Democrats gained control after the 2008 election, and even reached a near-filibuster-proof majority (60 votes) during the first two years of that stretch. The Democrats then lost some ground but captured more seats in the 2012 election, largely due to flawed candidates in some races, such as those in Missouri and Indiana.

Conclusions and Implications of these Electoral Outcomes

It is evident from this analysis that incumbency is an important factor, and while it is a good explanation for the outcomes of American presidential and congressional elections, it is an incomplete explanation. This paper confirms that there are multiple other factors, ranging from demographics to candidate characteristics to economic conditions, which impact the results of the electoral contests. It is clear, for example, that the rise of the Hispanic vote has a significant effect on the presidential as well as

congressional races. Indeed, it may be that the demographic variables have far-reaching consequences for the results, far more than is commonly assumed or analyzed in political science literature.

Speaking to members of the Republican Party, Charlie Cook, a noted political analyst, gave a presentation:

> …about current demographic trends, demonstrating that the Party was doomed unless it started winning over Asian-Americans, Hispanics, and younger voters. He also noted that forty per cent of the electorate is moderate—and Republicans lost that constituency by fifteen points in 2012. Thanks to congressional redistricting, Republicans were able to hold on to the House of Representatives, and Cook said that the Party could probably keep it for the foreseeable future, but he warned that the prospects of winning back the Senate, and the White House, would require dramatic change (Lizza 2013, 36).

Hence, the changing demographics of the country must be taken into account and assessed in explaining the outcomes of American elections as much as incumbency or other variables.

With regard specifically to the 2012 elections, while President Obama won reelection, his victory was less impressive than in 2008, an unusual trend line since most incumbents tend to win by bigger margins in their reelection than the first time around. The president, however, was aided by shifting demographics and personal favorability by a majority of the electorate. His opponent made several mistakes, in particular his "self-deportation" statement on immigration and the "47 percent" remark on government dependence. Perhaps those at the right of his party forced Romney into these positions, but generally as a non-ideological person in an ideological time, he simply appeared to be backing off some of his previous positions, such as those on health care. In the end, despite a sluggish economy, the demographics simply did not favor the Republicans, and they lost to an embattled but formidable opponent.

Looking toward the 2014 elections, the president will not be on the ballot, although his actions and decisions leading up to the election could impact the fortunes of his party's candidates in the election. On the House side, the Republicans will likely maintain control, largely due to their gerrymandered advantages, although they might lose or gain some seats depending on the issues and politics in 2014. On the Senate side, the Democrats have more exposed seats in 2014 than the Republicans (21 to 14, respectively), and the Democrats may lose one or two seats, but that also depends on the issues and politics in 2014.

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Table 1. Demographic Results for Presidential Elections

		Gore 2000	Bush 2000	Kerry 2004	Bush 2004	Obama 2008	McCain 2008	Obama 2012	Romney 2012
Total		48	48	48	51	53	45	51	47
Gender	Men	43	54	44	55	49	48	45	52
	Women	54	44	51	48	56	43	55	44
Race	White	42	55	41	58	43	55	39	59
	Black	90	9	88	11	95	4	93	6
	Hispanic	62	35	53	44	67	31	71	27
	Asian	55	41	56	43	62	35	73	26
Income	<$15K	58	38	63	36	73	25	--	--
	$15-30K	54	42	57	42	60	37	--	--
	$30-50K	49	48	50	49	55	43	60	38
	$50-75K	46	51	43	56	48	49	--	--
	$75-100K	46	52	45	55	51	48	--	--
	>$100K	43	55	41	58	49	49	44	54

Sources: "How Groups Voted in 2000," "How Groups Voted in 2004," "How Groups Voted in 2008," "How Groups Voted in 2012," Roper Center, www.ropercenter.uconn.edu, data accessed in 2013. The categories for income data changed in 2012, hence only below $50,000 and over $100,000 are shown.

Table 2. Public Perceptions of Macro- and Micro-Economic Conditions

		2000	2004	2008	2012
Direction of Country	Right Track	47	43	11	39
	Wrong Track	41	51	76	54
	Unsure	12	6	3	6
State of Economy	Excellent	12	3	3	3
	Good	65	37	4	25
	Not so Good	16	41	34	35
	Poor	7	19	59	36
Personal Financial Situation	Excellent	6	8	6	6
	Good	61	50	36	42
	Not so Good	26	29	40	37
	Poor	7	13	18	15

Sources: "Presidential Election 2000," "Presidential Election 2004," "Presidential Election 2008," "Presidential Election 2012," Roper Center, www.ropercenter.uconn.edu, data accessed in 2013.

Table 3. Economic Indicators and Presidential Approval

	2000	2004	2008	2012
GDP	2.7%	3.7%	0.3%	2%
Unemployment	3.9%	5.5%	6.5%	7.9%
Presidential Approval	open seat	54%	open seat	52%

Sources: GDP data taken from "U.S. National GDP Accounts," RBC Economics, October 26, 2012; unemployment data taken from "Labor Force Statistics from the Current Population Survey," Bureau of Labor Statistics, November 6, 2012; presidential approval data taken from "Presidential Approval Ratings," www.gallup.com. GDP and unemployment data are for October before the election; presidential approval data are from the last Gallup poll before the election.

Table 4. State-by-State Vote: Battleground States since 2000

	Gore 2000	Bush 2000	Kerry 2004	Bush 2004	Obama 2008	McCain 2008	Obama 2012	Romney 2012
AZ	44.67	50.95[*]	44.40	54.87[*]	44.91	53.39[*]	43.95	54.06[*]
CO	42.39	50.75[*]	47.02	51.69[*]	53.66[*]	44.71	51.23[*]	46.44
FL	48.84	48.85[*]	47.09	52.10[*]	50.91[*]	48.10	50.01[*]	49.13
GA	42.98	54.67[*]	41.37	57.97[*]	46.90	52.10[*]	45.50	53.34[*]
IN	41.01	56.65[*]	39.26	59.94[*]	49.85[*]	48.82	43.74	54.33[*]
IA	48.54[*]	48.22	49.23	49.90[*]	53.93[*]	44.39	51.89[*]	46.31
MI	51.28[*]	46.14	51.23[*]	47.81	57.33[*]	40.89	54.30[*]	44.78
MN	47.91[*]	45.50	51.09[*]	47.61	54.06[*]	43.82	53.65[*]	44.96
MO	47.08	50.42[*]	46.10	53.30[*]	49.23	49.36[*]	44.26	53.88[*]
NV	45.98	49.52[*]	47.88	50.47[*]	55.15[*]	42.65	52.30[*]	45.73
NH	46.80	48.07[*]	50.24[*]	48.87	54.13[*]	44.52	51.97[*]	46.41
NM	47.91[*]	47.85	49.05	49.84[*]	56.91[*]	41.78	52.86[*]	42.98
NC	43.20	56.03[*]	43.58	56.02[*]	49.70[*]	49.38	48.29	50.46[*]
OH	46.46	49.97[*]	48.71	50.81[*]	51.38[*]	46.80	50.29[*]	48.29
PA	50.60[*]	46.43	50.92[*]	48.42	54.47[*]	44.15	52.01[*]	46.75
VA	44.44	52.47[*]	45.48	53.68[*]	52.63[*]	46.33	51.08[*]	47.35
WV	45.59	51.92[*]	43.20	56.06[*]	42.51	55.60[*]	35.49	62.35[*]
WI	47.83[*]	47.61	49.70[*]	49.32	56.22[*]	42.31	52.80[*]	46.09

Sources: "Dave Leip's Atlas of U.S. Presidential Elections," uselectionatlas.org, data accessed in 2013. Data are percentages; asterisk denotes winner.

Table 5. Congressional Makeup since 2000

Congress	Years	House Dems.	House Reps.	Others	Senate Dems.	Senate Reps.	Others
107th	2001-2003	212	221[*]	2	50	50[*]	0
108th	2003-2005	205	229[*]	1	48	51[*]	1
109th	2005-2007	202	231[*]	1	44	55[*]	1
110th	2007-2009	233[*]	198	0	49	49[*]	2
111th	2009-2011	256[*]	178	0	57[*]	41	2
112th	2011-2013	193	242[*]	0	51[*]	47	2
113th	2013-2015	201	234[*]	0	53[*]	45	2

Sources: "Composition of Congress, by Political Party, 1855-2015," www.infoplease.com, data accessed in 2013. Asterisk denotes majority party.

Urban Tennessee Teachers' Perceptions of High-Stakes Testing and Social Studies Pedagogy

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Introduction

For nearly 150 years states, schools systems and the federal government have tried to measure students' knowledge to assess achievement, intelligence or grade classification. The use of high-stakes testing has received increased interest and criticism in recent years. Research studies have attempted to identify and measure students' knowledge and academic levels (Au, 2009; Barksdale-Ladd & Thomas, 2000; Barr, et.al, 1952; Berliner & Biddle, 1995; Bishop, 1989; and Crosby, 1966) in an effort to better design curriculum and summative assessments for public school students. One of the most controversial attempts to increase student knowledge along with teacher and school accountability was the federal legislation known as the No Child Left Behind (NCLB). One goal of NCLB was to (a) ensure that all students were taught specific subject curriculum and assessed accordingly, (b) enact new teacher certification guidelines, and (c) verify that schools met and were accountable for the State's mandatory test-score requirements. As documented in the literature (Au, 2009; Heubert, 2000; O'Connor, Heafner, & Groce, 2007), the strict implementation of NCLB legislation helped create several of the issues in logistics and accountability plaguing the educational system of today. Some of these logistical and accountability problems include (a) the state's ability to maintain ongoing compliance with standards set by NCLB, (b) students failing to pass state exit examinations, (c) a phenomenon known as "teaching to the test," (d) an increase in the number of students dropping out of school, and (e) the limitations of the available curriculum taught beyond the required content.

Historically, public schools in urban areas have been restructured by state departments of education due to low test scores, according to the standards set forth by NCLB requirements, over consecutive years (Maday, 2008; Ratner, 2012). In such schools, the United States Department of Education mandates that all teachers reapply for new teaching positions within the school district. As an unintended by-product of high-stakes testing, the problem of test alterations among teachers has emerged (Braden & Schroeder, 2004). As Nichols, Glass, and Berliner (2005) stated, teachers are under pressure to ensure their students do well on standardized tests and therefore aid their students by unethical, corrupted means.

From a broad perspective, the intended outcomes of high-stakes testing appear simplistic in nature; it assumes that testing helps schools show students are learning the material (Nichols, Glass, & Berliner, 2006). As teachers are deemed effective through students' test scores and academic performance, states provide monetary justification for educational funding through test-related data. In social studies education, like other core curriculum subjects, the negative connotation associated with high-stakes testing is detrimental to both teachers and students. According to Agrey (2004), high-stakes testing in social studies does not measure students' awareness of major social studies understandings, appreciations, life applications, and higher-order thinking skills.

According to the National Council for the Social Studies (NCSS), the goal of social studies is to teach social studies powerfully and authentically, with in-depth knowledge and understanding of the subject and

its unique goals. While social studies programs are meant to prepare students to be able to identify, understand, and solve the challenges facing their diverse nation in an increasingly interdependent world, the actual instruction time spent meeting these goals has steadily decreased over the past 15 years. Teachers have to both prepare their students for content-area examinations and remove nonessential and untested social studies curriculum (Cocke, Buckley, & Scott, 2011). Unfortunately, as a result, test-score manipulation and extra time on state mandated tests have resulted in due pressures to improve overall test scores. Public school systems in Atlanta, Boston, Florida and California have confessed to manipulating their high-stakes tests (Axtman, 2005; Koebler, 2011).

In an effort to maintain or improve test scores, teachers are strongly influenced by what content appears on the test. David (2011) suggests curriculum taught strongly influenced by what content appears on the test, and current research shows a strong correlation that standardized high-stakes testing effects what is being taught within the classroom (Greene, Winters & Forester, 2003). Beginning in 2005, all students in Tennessee high schools are required to pass the Gateway examinations to complete high school and earn a regular diploma. Students complete the Gateway exams upon completion of certain courses, namely: Algebra I, Algebra II, English I, English II, United States History, and Biology. The Tennessee Board of Education and other proponents of the Gateway exams rationalize this testing through accountability for students, schools and teachers.

In 2010, the State of Tennessee was awarded the Race to the Top grant, which granted $500,000,000 to aid in the education reform needed to improve both student and teacher accountability. As high-stakes testing continues to evolve, social studies teachers in Tennessee are challenged find ways to improve test scores without removing all aspects of the curriculum while utilizing research-based pedagogical methods that are considered "best practices" within the social studies. Best practices include adding the new Common Core Standards into daily teaching activities. Therefore, the researchers designed this study to investigate the changes in social studies teaching methods and content pedagogy from teachers in three urban public schools to explore the effects of No Child Left Behind, and the release of Common Core Standards has on daily instruction and lesson planning.

Research Study

As high-stakes testing continues to evolve, social studies teachers in Tennessee must find ways to improve test scores without removing all aspects of the curriculum while using research-based "best practices" in the social studies classroom. There is a lack of current literature discussing how social studies teaching methods and pedagogy have changed due to an increase in high-stakes testing and changes in both national and state standards. This research study was designed to provide current insight into the methods used by urban social studies teachers in the United States history classroom. Teacher pedagogy, methods, and types of assessment have suggested correlations with overall student test scores and student outcomes (Buddin, 2008; Center for Public Education, 2006).

The researchers sought to examine teachers' perceived realities or perceptions of high stakes testing and teaching methods used in their classrooms. Building on previous research, the researchers interviewed urban social studies teachers to gain answers to the following questions: What are the perceptions of urban high school teachers regarding high-stakes testing? What are the perceptions of high school teachers in regards to current teaching strategies commonly used in the social studies classroom? What are the perceptions of teachers regarding what determines the correct teaching style or strategy utilized? Moreover, what are the perceptions of high school teachers regarding formative assessments and activities in correlation with high-stakes testing? In answering these questions, teachers were interviewed to gather information on the following related questions: A) How would you say high-stakes testing affects your teaching style? B) Suppose you were teaching a U.S. History class that did not include End of Course exam, what aspects of your teaching style might you change? C) What methods, strategies, and activities do you use in your classroom to teach content? D) How do you go about choosing the activities used in your classroom? E) Current research shows that students have difficulty thinking critically. What do you do in your classroom to help students learn how to think critically? By utilizing the finding, it is hoped educators and administrators can gain current information about teachers' perceptions of social studies testing expectations and pedagogy.

Methods and Sample Selection

A phenomenological research design was used in the study. Creswell (2009) noted that a phenomenological study " provides a deep understanding of a phenomenon as experienced by several individuals" (p.62). A rationale for choosing a phenomenological study over other study types based on teachers' experiences and their interpretations of these experiences (Merriam, 2002). Each high school had a similar demographic profile and is located in the same urban community. The overall student-to-teacher ratio for the district was 30:1, with an average combined student-to-teacher ratio for the three high schools at 35:1. Socioeconomically, the three schools were similar with at least 50% of the student body listed as economically disadvantaged. The schools were selected based on their United States test scores, which showed data mirroring high, average, and low test scores. Twelve participants from all three schools were selected using a nonrandom purposeful sample. According to Patton (2002), this strategy adds credibility to a sample when potential sample is too large. Nonrandom purposeful sampling was used to offer insight from United States history teachers at the secondary level. Study participants were United States history teachers with a minimum of at least one year of teaching experience.

All interviews were conducted from December to February. Teacher statement responses were probed and clarified for comprehension and personal and self-perceptions were encouraged. Interviews were designed to discover how urban social studies teachers perceived high-stakes testing and its direct or indirect effects on pedagogical instruction strategies. All interviews were tape recorded to ensure the accuracy and later transcribed. Notes were taken for each interview describing nonverbal cues and posture for each participating teacher. Lastly, focus group sessions were given for teachers to interact and also clarify interview responses. Through the use of triangulation, similarities and differences were identified and noted between participants from each of the three school settings. Special attention was given to data that seemed to challenge previous studies. Each category from the low, middle, and high achieving schools was compared to one another in order to trace the development of teachers' perceptions of high-stakes testing and pedagogical use.

Research Findings

The purpose of this study was to explore urban social studies teachers' perceptions of high-stakes testing and social studies pedagogy. With teacher and learning variables, previous research, and the research questions in mind, three dominant themes emerged. Themes determined by terms, concepts and categories the researchers interpreted the data. Themes were designed to answer both the research question and be neither static nor mutually exclusive. Themes were developed from the frequency of data and the uniqueness of participant feedback. The first theme suggested high-stakes testing enhances teachers' understanding of content knowledge and influences pedagogical strategies. The second theme indicated end of course sample questions, and primary source documents and discussions are effective in preparation for high-stakes learning. While the third theme identified high-stakes testing as a direct influence on curriculum planning and classroom activities.

The first theme identified during data analysis was, " High-stakes testing enhances teachers understanding of content knowledge and influences pedagogical strategies." Teachers found high-stakes testing increased content knowledge understanding and influenced pedagogical decisions that helped guide instruction. Ten of 12 teachers stated they taught material solely found on the End of Course United States History test due to high-stakes testing. John, a teacher in his 3rd year at the high-achieving school, best summarized the feelings of the group when he said:

> I look at what the kids need to do, and I use a backwards design. I prioritize the skills along the way. I make sure the kids are ready for the test. I have a good idea what's on the test. In my class, it is all about the United States History End of Course test and doing well on the test.

According to Darling-Hammond and Ball (1998), teacher content knowledge is one of the most important factors in determining student achievement. Over 80% of the teacher participants in this study stated teaching a course with an End of Course exam required teachers to possess a deeper understanding of the content. The responses provided by the teacher participants mimicked previous research and literature that indicated for teachers to assess students, well informed sound pedagogical decisions made

and teachers must understand the content they teach (Brookhart, 2011). Informed pedagogical decisions suggest teachers who have a deep understanding of content help students learn at a more profound level, which supports the National Council for the Social Studies (2008) notion that teaching social studies powerfully and authentically begins with a deep knowledge and understanding of the subject (Firestone, Mayrowetz, & Fairman, 1998). Pedagogical decisions helped teachers anticipate, plan and improvise instruction. Anna, an A.P. United States History teacher at the average-performing school stated:

> I'm teaching the course (U.S. History), not teaching for the test. I know what I need to teach by when. I know how much time it takes to teach a specific unit and the concepts that makeup the unit. I know which activities are best suited for each unit. On day 1, I have the course planned out for the entire school year because I know my content. I teach my students more information than what they will encounter on the End of Course test.

Teachers who display advanced pedagogical skills and show content knowledge expertise are better at creating lessons designed to build on students' previous knowledge and understanding, helping more students to higher levels of understanding (Fry, Ketteridge, & Marshall, 2008). In addition, these educators employ a range of instructional strategies and resources to match student needs, increasing student test performance.

The second theme identified during data analysis was "End of Course sample questions, primary source documents, and discussion are effective strategies used in formative and summative assessments in preparation for high-stakes learning." Teachers at each of the three participating schools agreed using End of Course practice questions or questions that closely mimicked the questioning format and content of the End of Course exam was effective in student learning. Teachers supported a strong instructional emphasis on using old published practice test items and other sample test materials from publishers. Teachers suggested the use of commercially available test generator programs and question banks to provide students with items similar to what will be on the test (Willis, 2007). Victoria, a teacher at the average-achieving school, stated she designed the assessments used in her class and "made the assessments mimic the End of Course test as much as possible." Susan, a teacher at the low-achieving school, stated she used the practice End of Course tests to "tell if my kids are going to pass or not" and "as a way of knowing if he or she is doing it right."

Studies show student gains made on state tests may occur when teacher-made assessments mimic high-stakes test formats and measure the same knowledge and skills. Teachers that use practice tests to evaluate students become more knowledgeable about how to teach the content standards and the needs of their students. Thus, the process of using practice tests improves the quality of teaching and learning (Darling-Hammond & Adamson, 2010; Koretz, Linn, Dunbar, & Shepard, 1991; Koretz & Barron, 1998).

Participating teachers at each school indicated using primary source documents to teach content. Primary source documents help promote student learning and understanding, allowing students to engage in higher order thinking processes that include analysis and evaluation. Results indicated 11 of the 12 teachers indicated using primary sources in class. Wendell, a teacher at the average-achieving school, indicated he used primary source documents "as much as possible" to help the students "gain a better understanding of the period being taught" and from those documents came "class discussions, student-centered learning and active engagement."

High-stakes testing in United States History also led to changes in what is taught in the classroom. Ten of the 12 teachers indicated making changes to their instructional practice in response to high-stakes testing and previous student outcomes. Marcus, a teacher at the high-achieving school, stated he "covered fewer materials and did not go as in depth as he once did." Victoria, a teacher from the average-achieving school, agreed and suggested she "cut stuff from the curriculum and over time has learned what she did not need to cover." Participant beliefs mirror Faxon-Mills, Hamilton, Rudnick, and Stecher (2004) notion that indicated teachers focus more attention on tested subject matter than non-tested subject matter. Such attention is beneficial when testing covers a broad range of skills and knowledge or encourages higher order thinking skills (Faxon-Mills, et. al., 2014).

The third and final theme identified was, "High-stakes testing directly affects curriculum planning and pedagogical instruction." Teachers at each school described the perceived effect high-stakes testing had on their teaching style, activities, and methods used in class. Brenda, a teacher at the average-achieving school stated:

> I have to tailor things I use and teach because I know certain things will end up on the state exam. I know WWII, and the Cold War is always topics covered on the EOC, but the Vietnam War is not covered on the EOC. I spend more time on WWII. I do teach some things with more force when I know they will end up on the test.

The International Reading Association (1999) found high-stakes testing controlled and guided instruction. A common consequence described by Koretz and Hamilton (2003) of high-stakes testing is the tendency for teachers to shift time and effort toward tested content and away from material not included in the test. Teachers at each school shared similar beliefs about focusing instruction on tested content versus non-tested content. Susan, a teacher at the low-achieving school, stated she "taught only what the students needed to know, nothing more and nothing less." Participating teachers adapted in-class instruction and activities to meet the content covered on the End of Course United States History test. Valli and Buese (2007) found teachers' instructional practices changed when educational policies, educational mandates, and testing shifts occurred.

Conclusions and Implications

Throughout the study, teachers from three high schools described various perceptions of high-stakes testing. The teachers at each school indicated using diverse methodological approaches and pedagogical approaches when teaching a U.S. History course with a state- mandated End of Course test. The three groups of teachers from each school expressed that high-stakes testing did enhance teacher content knowledge and cause them to make changes to the curriculum taught, which subsequently led to modifications in teaching strategies and instructional approaches used.

Overall, teachers at a higher performing school appeared to focus on students' learning and used the End of Course test as a way to determine student mastery. Instruction was guided within the framework of improved student understanding in U.S. History. Distinctly, teachers at both the average-achieving and low-achieving high schools appeared to focus instruction on the test, limiting student practice and the scope of the material taught. Teachers at the high-achieving high school expressed increased stress levels due to increased emphasis on school test scores. Research revealed that teachers' work has increased, intensified, and expanded in response to federal, state, and local policies aimed at raising student achievement and high-stakes testing (Valli & Burse, 2007). High-stakes testing resulted in ineffective instructional practices like rote memorization and unintended consequences like curriculum narrowing, as expressed by teachers in this study. Those unintended consequences, according to Pope and Miller (2002), directly undermine reflective, student-centered practices and negatively shape instructional practices of teachers.

Findings from this study and existing literature suggest that the high-stakes state-mandated End of Course U.S History testing program may lead to instruction that contradicts teachers' views of effective instructional and educational practices as reflected by Abrams et al., 2003). Ten of the 12 participants from each school reported the pressure to raise test scores. All were encourage emphasizing instructional practices and strategies that mirrored the content and format of the End of Course test and encouraged teachers to devote large amounts of class time to test preparation activities, resulting in a loss of content being taught. This belief, supported by data from the National Center for Research on Evaluation, Standards, and Student Testing (1999) indicating teachers' plan their curricula around state tests and limit the scope of the curriculum taught.

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The Power of Partnership:
Exploring International Humanitarian Law in Higher Education

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Introduction

As the American Democracy Project recently celebrated its tenth anniversary, we are reminded that 250 participating community colleges, four-year colleges, and universities are committed to fostering civic learning and democratic engagement among their students. Central to this initiative is the firm belief that preparing students for responsible citizenship in a well-ordered and just democratic society requires imparting an appreciation and understanding of the rule of law. This critical goal is identified by the Association of American Colleges and Universities (AAC&U) in its 2007 report, College Learning for the New Global Century. Among best practices recommended for American institutions of higher education in the twenty-first century, the report advocates a greater appreciation and use of active teaching and learning strategies. Such approaches would include, for example, reflective exercises about democratic values such as justice and respect for human dignity, with a notable prescription that "some of the most powerful learning in college occurs in activities undertaken as part of the co-curriculum, both on campus and through campus outreach to community partners" (AAC&U 2007, 37). The promise that collaboration holds for providing effective liberal education is underscored in this paper. Here, we explore opportunities for faculty to partner with a local/global humanitarian organization engaged in public education and humanitarian action to devise course-specific strategies and pedagogical tools in service of effective liberal arts college education.

In particular, we focus on teaching about the subject of international humanitarian law (IHL) at the undergraduate and graduate levels from interdisciplinary perspectives, and with the support and resources of the American Red Cross and the global Red Cross network, including the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC). At the heart of IHL are the Geneva Conventions, which reflect international consensus and universal acceptance of the laws of armed conflict. IHL invites students to better understand the origin, evolution, implementation and enforcement of a global governance system. It also allows them to compare national and international legal systems, identify the logic underlying international judicial decisions, and critically assess contemporary political events in light of international law. We view these learning objectives as consistent with the mission of the American Democracy Project and the benchmarks established by the AAC&U. After addressing the critical need to teach college and university students about the principles and relevance of IHL, we review the literature on active learning and civic education. We then examine the merits of partnering with the American Red Cross, and discuss three models that illustrate ways in which our partnership with the American Red Cross has influenced our teaching and our students.

What is International Humanitarian Law?

International humanitarian law can be defined as the rules and principles that limit the means and methods of warfare and protect those who do not or no longer take part in the hostilities. IHL has been primarily codified in the four Geneva Conventions of 1949 and their Additional Protocols of 1977 and 2005. The ICRC is both arbiter and protector of the Conventions. The Geneva Conventions have been adopted by all countries of the world, and their three supplemental Additional Protocols by many. Respect for human dignity and the underlying principles of humanity, impartiality and neutrality are at the core of IHL, which applies during armed conflict to protect the vulnerable. The terms "law of armed conflict" and "law of war" are often used interchangeably with IHL. These are military terms that include other treaties regulating the conduct of hostilities and the use of specific weapons, in addition to the Geneva Conventions.

Along with the Hague Conventions of 1899 and 1907, IHL forbids the use of weapons and tactics that cause unnecessary suffering to combatants and non-combatants alike. The basic principles of IHL are:

- Distinction: A distinction must be made between civilians and combatants and between civilian property and military objectives. Attacks must be directed only at military objectives (Protocol I 1977, Art. 48).
- Military Necessity: A measure not forbidden by international law and indispensable for securing the complete submission of the enemy as soon as possible is considered a military necessity (Dept. of the Army 1956, para 3.a. at 4).
- Proportionality: An attack on a military objective must not cause incidental loss of civilian life or damage to civilian property that is excessive in relation to the concrete or direct military advantage sought (Protocol I 1977, Art. 51).
- Unnecessary Suffering: The right to choose methods and means of weapons is not unlimited. Weapons of a nature to cause superfluous injury or unnecessary suffering are prohibited (Protocol I 1977, Art. 35).

Why Teach about International Humanitarian Law?

The primary reason for educating youth about IHL comes from the global impact of US leadership and power. With American forces engaged in conflicts around the world, it is vital that citizens understand that there are rules to warfare. IHL civic education ensures that citizens are better able to understand the decisions being made by their government and are able to hold leaders accountable for complying with IHL as well as prosecuting violations. For the purposes of this paper, "civic education" is defined as "educating for citizenship." This means ensuring that students are educated on politics and civics so as to help them become competent citizens in a democratic society (Galston 2001, 218). As Galston notes, "Competent democratic citizens need not be policy experts, but there is a level of basic knowledge below which the ability to make a full range of reasoned civic judgments is impaired" (2001, 218). According to the Nation's Report Card for Civic Assessment, 76 percent of American high school seniors tested below the "proficient" level of knowledge; this indicates that less than one quarter of American youth are prepared to participate in civic and political life in the United States (U.S. Department of Education 2010). There are four levels: below basic, basic, proficient, and advanced. In 2010, 40 percent of American high school students tested at the "below basic" knowledge level in civics education; an additional 36 percent tested at the "basic" level.

This number has changed relatively little between the 1998, 2006, and 2010. Indeed, there is considerable evidence that these levels of civic ignorance persist in both the collegiate population and the adult population. Delli Carpini and Keeter (1996, 173) indicate that there are similar percentages of knowledgeable adults. They found that only about 25 percent of American adults are civically knowledgeable (1996, 173). In 2005, the Intercollegiate Studies Institute (ISI) assessed 14,000 US college seniors' civic knowledge; the average score was about 52 percent; in 2006 and 2007, the average scores for seniors and freshmen were also below 60 percent (ISI 2006, 2007). In 2008, ISI assessed the civic knowledge of 2,508 American adults of all backgrounds: just over 70 percent failed the assessment, with an average score of less than 50 percent (ISI 2011). Within that sample, high school graduates scored an average of 44 percent while college graduates scored just 13 percent higher (ISI 2011). In

addition, Zukin (2006) finds that compared to previous generations the Millennial generation (born 1980-2000) is the least likely to follow the news and register to vote/vote regularly. It should be noted that this does not mean the generation is disconnected from society. Zukin reports that Millennials value (and participate in) community service, but are not politically engaged.

Given citizens' lack of general civic education, it is logical that they lack specific knowledge of IHL. A 2011 American Red Cross survey provided important insight into the level of knowledge about the Geneva Conventions in the United States. As shown in Figure 1, 55 percent of adults (age 18 and older) surveyed felt that they were somewhat or very familiar with the Geneva Conventions whereas only one in five youths reported being familiar with the content of the Geneva Conventions.

Figure 2 presents data on attitudes toward torture. Of the adult participants, 51 percent indicated that it was at least sometimes acceptable in their opinion to torture enemy soldiers to get important military information. Among youth participants, 59 percent felt that it was at least sometimes acceptable to torture captured enemy prisoners. What came as perhaps the biggest surprise, however, was that 41 percent of youth surveyed believed that the torture of captured American soldiers is at least sometimes acceptable. This was in spite of the fact that seven in ten youths reported having a close friend or relative who has served in the armed forces. In general, the youth surveyed were more likely than adults to find activities violating IHL acceptable. (*See Figure 2*)

When we consider youth knowledge of and attitudes about IHL in the context of the state of civic education in the United States, it is remarkable that nearly 20 percent of youth surveyed by the Red Cross were familiar with the content of the Geneva Conventions and somewhat unsurprising that they report high levels of tolerance for torture and other violations of IHL. However, IHL civic education could start to change these attitudes. Rose reports that almost 80 percent of youth respondents in the Red Cross survey indicate that they would like more information on IHL before they reach enlistment or voting age; this suggests that there are opportunities to change young people's attitudes if we educate them on IHL (2011, 204-205).

There has been little academic research on the effects of IHL education on attitudes towards war crimes; however, there is evidence to suggest that such education would have a beneficial effect. First, McFarland and Mathews (2005) report that education and increased global knowledge both lead to greater support for human rights. Second, Delli Carpini and Keeter (1996) find that civic knowledge, independent of other factors, promotes democratic values such as political tolerance. Second, Fishkin (1994) finds that educating people on the criminal justice system leads to greater support for protecting the rights of the accused. Finally, Popkin and Dimock (2000) report that civic knowledge can influence the views of citizens about political issues. This is supported by findings from the Foreign Policy Association (FPA). The FPA surveys its Great Decisions civic education participants annually; in 2012, over half indicated that their opinions on foreign policy had changed "in a fairly significant way as a result of taking part in the Great Decisions program" (Foreign Policy Association 2012, 2). This is up from 44 percent in 1992 and 36 percent in 1993 (Gastil and Dillard 199, 182). The stated goal of the Foreign Policy Association is to "encourage citizens to participate in the foreign policy process." (http://www.fpa.org/about/). From this, it is reasonable to conclude that educating youth regarding IHL could lead to a decline in tolerance of war crimes and IHL violations overall. Over time, the changing attitudes of the voting public are likely to influence American foreign policy (Holsti 2004).

The American Red Cross IHL survey referenced above provides data on American youth as well as adults; however, in this paper we focus specifically on IHL education for undergraduate students. The primary reason for this focus is that while curricular tools for IHL education exist at the secondary education level, and efforts are underway to expand the teaching of IHL at the law school level, the availability of teaching tools and resources to integrate IHL into undergraduate curricula is limited. A secondary factor that led to our undergraduate focus is that the university setting is, at least theoretically, designed to allow students to explore new ideas and question long-held assumptions—a process that some argue is vital for developing civic engagement (Latimer and Hempson 2012). Indeed, college provides a prime opportunity to guide students towards active and responsible citizenship (Colby et al. 2004), yet the current state of civic knowledge among US college students indicates that colleges and universities are

not engaging in meaningful civic education (ISI 2006, 2007, 2011). This is troubling in light of the fact that the higher the level of education, the more likely the citizen is to vote (Abramson, Aldrich and Rohde 2012).

Taken together, these factors indicate that improved IHL education at the undergraduate level is crucial if citizens are to monitor the government's compliance with IHL (Tanaka 2007), and make informed voting decisions regarding some of the most controversial issues in the current policy environment, such as drone strikes, torture and enhanced interrogation techniques, as well as treatment of enemy prisoners and detainees. If young people are to make informed political decisions on these types of issues, they need to have a sound understanding of international laws and norms. They must also develop critical thinking/problem-solving skills, the ability to consider issues from multiple perspectives, and the tools to communicate effectively with diverse audiences when confronting far-reaching and controversial political, economic and humanitarian crises. Today's undergraduate and graduate students are tomorrow's political and military leaders, policy-makers, soldiers, teachers and humanitarian workers.

Civic education, while arguably the most important reason for educating youth on IHL, is not the only reason. First, there is a pervasive belief among some elements of American society that IHL is a violation of U.S. sovereignty (Gutierrez, DeCristofaro and Woods 2012); educating them about the American origins of IHL could increase acceptance of the law. Most Americans are not aware of the role the United States played in the nineteenth-century codification of rules governing the conduct of war, through the development of the "Lieber Code" under Abraham Lincoln in 1863. Indeed, the Red Cross survey mentioned above found that only 17 percent of adults, and 18 percent of youth were aware that the foundations of IHL are American (American Red Cross 2011). Education on the origins of IHL could lead to greater acceptance of IHL among citizens.

Finally, and most simply, it is important to educate youth on IHL because we have a civic duty to do so. The dissemination of the rules of war is a responsibility of each nation signatory to the Geneva Conventions. Each of the four Conventions contains an article directing that "the High Contracting Parties undertake, in time of peace as in time of war, to disseminate the text of the present Convention as widely as possible in their respective countries, and if possible, civilian instruction, so that the principles thereof may become known to the entire population" (Articles 47, 48, 127, and 144 of Geneva Conventions I, II, III, and IV respectively). The Department of Defense's Law of War Program mandates training and education for all military men and women (U.S. Dept. of Defense 2006). In the United States, the American Red Cross, in accordance with of the Statutes of the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement (Article 3.2) and as a humanitarian auxiliary to the United States government, plays a key role in disseminating the principles of IHL to the civilian population through its International Humanitarian Law Dissemination Programs.

Partnering with the American Red Cross: Benefits and Costs

For the past several years, the American Red Cross has taken steps to engage with faculty from community colleges and four-year institutions to integrate IHL into multiple disciplines by sharing teaching resources and best practices, supporting faculty development and encouraging innovative ways to reach and engage students. Recent findings from an online survey of 2 and 4-year college/university faculty who are familiar with the Exploring Humanitarian Law curriculum confirm that additional resources desired by faculty in higher education include:

- sample case studies, reading lists, and syllabi
- access to guest speakers/topic experts, videos, and an online forum
- updates on reference materials, simulations, and faculty development workshops/webinars
  (American Red Cross EHL Online Survey, November-December 2012).

An additional review process was conducted involving a limited number of focus groups from higher education faculty which further confirmed these results further highlighting the importance of primary source documents, case studies and reading lists at this age group level (American Red Cross EHL Internal Review Focus Group Results 2013). Results from these recent studies, in addition to an assessment of outreach efforts over the past several years with 2 and 4-year faculty, will provide a strong foundation for future collaboration.

In addition, the American Red Cross plans to make teaching resources such as presentation materials, audiovisual resources, simulations and case studies available to faculty interested in future collaboration. The American Red Cross IHL education program is also beginning to collect syllabi from collaborating US faculty to share with educators interested in incorporating IHL into their courses. The IHL Education team at the American Red Cross has recently launched a new IHL blog (Humanity in the Midst of War, http://lawsofarmedconflict.com) and a Twitter feed (@RulesOfWar! www.twitter.com/rulesofwar); they will also be launching a new website in Fall 2013 (http://www.redcross.org/rulesofwar). Ultimately, the blog, website, Twitter feed and other social networking platforms will enable faculty to track current events, discuss issues, request assistance from the community of IHL educators, and share ideas. All of these resources will help to dramatically shorten the course (or module) development timeline.

The American Red Cross also collaborates closely with the ICRC on IHL policy and education initiatives, including promoting resources such as the ICRC's journal publication The International Review of the Red Cross, and teaching materials like the two-volume book "How Does Law Protect in War? Cases, Documents and Teaching Materials on Contemporary Practice in International Humanitarian Law" that gives an overview of IHL, details a number of IHL cases, and provides sample syllabi (Sassòli and Bouvier 2006; Sassòli, Bouvier and Quintin 2011).

By partnering with the American Red Cross, faculty gain access to a growing number of educational and instructional resources that will help them take the first step to integrate basic information into existing courses or to more easily develop an IHL module or stand-alone course. Often, however, interested faculty shy away from the development of a stand-alone IHL class, or even a robust IHL module, because of the time commitment involved in developing the content from scratch—particularly given that IHL is not regularly taught at most universities, undergraduate texts are lacking, and there is no generally accepted consensus on what should be taught (Day, Vandiver and Janikowski 2003).

Unlike faculty in the natural sciences, social scientists may not have well-defined "lab experiments" during which students get hands-on experience with the material (Asal and Blake 2006; Glazier 2011; Shellman and Turan 2006). Active learning methods allow hands-on learning to be brought into the social science classroom. However, the perception that there are high opportunity costs for developing such activities (e.g. time and resource investment, the loss of class time, and concerns about the perception of "playing games" with students), causes some professors to be reluctant to use active learning methods such as simulations and case studies (Asal and Blake 2006; Glazier 2011). The primary concern about the opportunity costs of active learning is that all activities must be developed from scratch—thus costing the professor significant time and effort from the outset. However, by partnering with the American Red Cross to teach IHL, professors can benefit from any existing simulations and case studies that give students the opportunity to apply what they have learned. Thus, if a professor does not want to invest time and resources into creating a new IHL simulation, there are a number of Red Cross resources that can be made available to interested faculty. The two other opportunity costs mentioned above, loss of class time and concerns about the perception of "playing games" with students, can similarly be minimized—particularly in light of the discussion of efficacy below. In short, the active learning methods promoted by the Red Cross materials are effective in helping students learn, thus class time is not lost when they are used; similarly, students' improved performance after these activities counters the perception that the faculty member is just "playing games" with the students.

One potential criticism of the partnership approach is that it could present the students with a singular view—the Red Cross view—of IHL. Given that the ICRC is officially identified in the Geneva Conventions and entrusted by the international community as the neutral, non-partisan, and independent guardian of IHL, the Red Cross view of IHL is of significant importance in any IHL class (Sandoz 1998). However, partnership with the American Red Cross does not mean that a professor is restricted to using only Red Cross resources. Many professors blend Red Cross materials with a variety of discipline-specific materials. A good example of this is presented by Daoust and Epperson in their chapter Teaching Human Rights and International Humanitarian Law, in the recently published book "Peacebuilding in Community Colleges: A Teaching Resource" (Smith 2013). Daous and Epperson used a variety of external resources in addition to adapting materials from the EHL curriculum.

Active Learning and IHL Civic Education

> "Full civic literacies cannot be garnered only by studying books;
> democratic knowledge and capabilities also are honed through hands-on,
> face-to-face, active engagement in the midst of differing perspectives
> about how to address common problems that affect the wellbeing of the
> nation and the world." (The National Task Force on Civic Learning and
> Democratic Engagement 2012, 3)

For decades, the traditional classroom lecture has been the primary method of civic education (Latimer and Hempson 2012). However, the university education literature indicates that the time of passive/lecture-only learning may be past. Researchers argue that we must move to a more active teaching style for today's learners (Tormey and Henchy 2008). Indeed, the AAC&U makes a strong case that "[t]here should be far more systematic attention paid [by universities] to fostering… opportunities for guided experiential learning" (2007, 37). Gainous and Martens (2012) contend that active learning techniques are particularly important in civic education, as these methods often model positive citizen engagement; their research indicates that diversity of instructional methods increases students' political efficacy. It should be noted that they also find evidence that might indicate that instructional diversity may have a varied and/or negative effect on learning. To demonstrate the diversity of learning methods offered by partnering with the Red Cross, the cases included in this paper feature two common methods of active civic learning: case-based learning and simulations.

Case-based learning addresses one of the many challenges of teaching about war crimes: the sheer volume of background material that must be presented if students are to understand the context in which the crimes took place (Day et al. 2003). Case studies "provide a means of detailed study of the behavior of perpetrators, victims and bystanders. They help students grasp the enormity of the crime of genocide, but also the potential for resistance and prevention" (Day et al. 3002, 124). Case-based learning is one of the oldest methods of supplemental instruction in political science education, and is a primary method of instruction in the study of law (Prince and Felder 2007; Robinson et al.1966). In this type of active learning, the instructor presents students, either individually or in groups, with case studies based on real-world events (Leemkuil, de Jong and Ootes 2000). Students are then tasked with applying what they have already learned to solving the problem posed by the case, thus fostering critical thinking and analytical skills (Healy and McCutcheon 2010). Case-based instruction has been shown to improve reasoning and knowledge retention (Fasko 2003). In addition, and arguably most important to the study of IHL, case-based learning has also been shown to improve students' understanding of ethical issues (Lundeberg et al. 2002), their ability to make objective judgments (Dinan 2002; Prince and Felder 2007), and their ability to see a variety of perspectives on an issue (Lundeberg, Levin and Harrington 1999). All of these are essential when dealing with the questions and complexities involved in IHL.

In-class simulations, defined as "ongoing representations of real situations," provide another avenue for active learning in IHL civic education (Asal 2005). Advocates argue that simulations can help clarify complex concepts (Asal 2005), teach critical thinking (Ellington, Gordon and Fowlie 1998), and increase learning (Prince 2004). For example, Stice (1987) reports that knowledge retention increases dramatically when students work together to apply what they have learned. Stice's results are also reported in Boyer et al. that find "students retain 10% of what they read, 20% of what they hear, 30% of what they see, 50% of what they see and hear, 70% of what they say, and 90% of what they do and say together" (2000, 4). Further, Gokhale (1995) reports that collaborative learning is effective in stimulating critical thinking. In more recent research, Schamber and Mahoney report that collaborative learning leads to "improvements in group critical thinking" (2006, 121) and Shellman and Turan report that their evidence indicates that "simulation enhances substantive knowledge of course material" (2006, 28). In addition, Rosenthal (1999) finds that active learning methods improve students' ability to understand complex subjects. It is this quality that makes the use of simulations particularly important in undergraduate IHL education.

As indicated above, IHL is a complex body of law. The concepts that underpin the law are often new to undergraduate students, particularly given the dearth of material on international law in international relations textbooks (Hall 2003). In particular, research has found that undergraduate students have great

difficulty grasping the workings of international law; Ross and Rothe include a particularly illustrative statement from an IHL professor:

> "[I]f we are fortunate enough that they grasp such behaviors as violations of human rights principles, humanitarian laws, or customary law, they are unable to understand the complexities behind the international political and legal arena working to prevent prosecutions and/or active policies to constrain state crime" (2007, 467).

However, Ambrosio indicates that simulations give the students "hands-on experience in the difficulties associated with interpreting and applying international law" (2006, 160). This can deepen their understanding of both the legal concepts and international processes.

In addition to students' difficulties with the intricacies of the law, many IHL classes use examples of real atrocities (e.g. My Lai, Bosnia, Cambodia, Rwanda); thus, the material can take an emotional toll on students (Day et al. 2003). Although there is little research on the efficacy of simulations in teaching emotionally difficult subjects, Conn's theory of structured play therapy applies here. In essence, Conn's theory is that patients can work through emotional difficulties during directed play sessions; in these sessions the participant engages in the scenario "as an equal who has something to contribute as well as to learn" (James 1997, 125). When this is applied to classroom simulations, the students bring their skills and knowledge to solving the problems posed in simulations ("structured play"); in turn, the simulations allow the students to work through the emotional difficulties that arise due to the nature of the course material. Thus, simulations make the material manageable without falling into the dual traps of trivializing the crimes or overwhelming the students with horrific detail (Day et al. 2003).

Discussion

As demonstrated above, the available evidence on active learning methods and civic education indicates that these approaches are excellent mechanisms for IHL dissemination. In this paper, we use three case studies to illustrate different approaches to teaching IHL. In each case study, the authors describe how they have worked with the American Red Cross to put one or more of these methods into practice in undergraduate IHL education. It is important to note that the purpose of this paper is to illustrate the benefits of partnership with this humanitarian organization.

The first of the three pedagogical tools shared by the Red Cross is Exploring Humanitarian Law (EHL), an online resource including 30 hours of news accounts, photos, letters, documentary videos, and other primary source material that can be integrated into existing courses and adapted/enhanced for use at the undergraduate level. It employs techniques such as dilemma analysis and activities including case studies, role-plays, and interactive projects to connect lessons of the past with events of today. The opening section sets the tone of exploration and raises the central questions that underlie IHL. Five modules then focus in turn on the humanitarian perspective and humanitarian action; limits in armed conflict; applying the rules of war; judicial and non-judicial options for dealing with violations; and responding to the consequences of armed conflict. In the closing exploration, students apply what they have learned by designing and taking first steps towards carrying out a project that promotes human dignity. Originally developed by the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) for young people ages 13-18, "and building on the experiences of a wide variety of countries, (EHL) is transnational in scope, cutting across political, social, religious, and cultural contexts, and can easily be adapted to diverse educational settings" (ICRC 2006). The active, participatory, dialogical methods of teaching and learning that engage the big and enduring questions involving what it means to be human reinforce the development of critical and reflective thinking and communication skills (Tawil 2001). As the ICRC (2006) notes, "[m]ore generally, EHL contributes to developing social awareness in young people and sharpens their sense of civic responsibility. EHL emphasizes the importance of protecting life and human dignity during armed conflict and, by extension, at all times. Thus, it makes a unique contribution to citizenship education at every level: local, national and global." Hands-on educator workshops and trainings are available to assist faculty in becoming familiar with the EHL curriculum and integrating material into courses.

The second pedagogical tool provides an experiential understanding of the law through a simulation activity game called Raid Cross, comprised of a series of six situations in which students alternately play the roles of prisoners, civilians, soldiers, and humanitarian workers, providing differing perspectives on the challenges faced in conflict situations and the rules that govern them. The game was developed as a result of a partnership between the Belgian and French Red Cross organizations to raise awareness of IHL in young people. It can be enacted in classrooms but is ideally suited to an outdoor course, and takes from two to five hours to complete. In its classic form, Raid Cross players begin as mistreated prisoners of war, and subsequently navigate through scenarios involving the triage of wounded soldiers; the challenge of destroying military targets without harming civilian objects; the difficulty of providing humanitarian aid in a war zone; and the dilemmas faced by military commanders trying to balance military objectives with the principles of humanity. The ideas, debates, and difficult questions that confront participants during the activity are highlighted in debriefings after each scenario and in a "trial" at the end of the game, and form the foundation of their learning.

The final teaching and learning tool, termed the IHL Action Campaign, was initially developed by the British Red Cross Society to raise awareness of IHL among young people ages 13-25. It marries the experiential learning process of Raid Cross with a peer education model that enables college/university faculty and Red Cross facilitators to leverage their influence by training exceptional undergraduate students to teach and mentor a team of their peers about the principles of IHL. It employs numerous team-building and active learning techniques such as the "walking debate" in which students physically position themselves in different locations within a room according to their beliefs about a particular topic and move about the room as opinions change during the course of the debate. A detailed training manual and guidelines for the team leaders, frequent contact with faculty and Red Cross advisors, and a rigorous monitoring and evaluation program provide oversight as students learn not only the principles of IHL but how to translate their knowledge into action to raise awareness of the law in others.

Case Study 1: Using EHL Modules in Undergraduate Education

A tremendous practical benefit of the EHL curriculum in teaching undergraduates is the modular and thematic structure of its IHL tutorials and resource guides. Educators without time or interest in utilizing the full curriculum can pick and choose among a full array of specialized materials to adapt for their particular courses. If even the mini-version of EHL in five 45-minute sequential segments is too unwieldy, an instructor might still find a place in existing lesson plans to insert a relevant session, video or exercise. After all, dedicating an entire course to teaching IHL is rarely possible except perhaps in an international law (IL) or special topics course. Another consideration is that while both theoretical grounding and principles of application are generally regarded as essential to demonstrate the relevance of IHL to contemporary global affairs, there are endless approaches to teaching the subject. This section illustrates the flexibility of EHL by briefly noting how some of those resources were adapted for an IL course taught in Spring 2013 at Illinois State University.

International Law has been a staple political science course for juniors and seniors at ISU since the early 1970s. The course is broadly described in the catalogue, leaving considerable room for faculty to tailor content and pedagogy to reflect their expertise, interests, and program needs. For instance, a previous IL instructor primarily lectured about maritime law from a doctrinal approach—a far cry from how the course is currently taught. One of the authors of this paper has been teaching the course for the past eight years at ISU. She shifted its focus to international humanitarian law after observing a growing interest among undergraduate students about human rights issues, armed conflict and global politics. Participation in several American Red Cross EHL/IHL educator workshops and the American Red Cross' annual four-day Exploring Humanitarian Law Summer Institute served to familiarize her with many of the resources offered by the organization, and provided the foundation for a continuing partnership with members of the ARC.

International law is generally offered once per year by the Politics and Government department at ISU, an academic department that houses several hundred declared political science majors and minors. Students outside of the discipline are permitted to enroll in the course after completing a prerequisite in international relations. Enrollment in the upper-division course is traditionally capped at 25; there were 24

students who completed the course in Spring, most of whom were seniors. Goals were for students to become familiar with the development of key concepts, language, and functions of international law; to critically assess the role of international humanitarian law in context of current international and non-international armed conflict; and to communicate the application of IHL as it particularly relates to refugees today. Active learning was the hallmark of the course.

A seminar format was adopted for the first half of the semester to discuss both the mechanical and normative implications of IL and IHL. For this portion of the course, assigned readings included an IL survey textbook, journal articles, statutes and treaties such as the Geneva Conventions and their Additional Protocols, legal case decisions, and Crimes of War: What the Public Should Know (Gutman, Rieff and Dworkin 2007). Students also read Henry Dunant's A Memory of Solferino (ICRC 1986) and the ICRC's Study on Customary Humanitarian Law: A Contribution to the Understanding and Respect for the Rule of Law in Armed Conflict (Henckaerts 2006). Students were able to download many of those assigned readings directly from websites maintained by the American Red Cross. They prepared for class discussion by writing summaries of reading assignments, composing their own discussion questions, and keeping a journal with their reflections about the readings and related current events. Class discussion was further invigorated with short videos produced by the Red Cross and available on its website, such as Voices from War that provide a human face to the conduct and consequences of armed conflict. Students drew upon their readings and reflections to debate policy decisions and moral dilemmas that individuals and governments make as bystanders or participants. Also incorporated into teaching materials were Key Ideas, Guiding Questions, and Extension Activities drawn from the online EHL modules. For instance, Module 3 "The Law in Action" addresses violations of IHL. After reading selections from the Crimes of War, students responded to questions posed in the EHL module such as, Which rules are most often violated and why? What dilemmas do combatants face? Who is responsible for respecting IHL? They then worked in pairs to complete one of the module's exercises by diagramming the chain of consequences that a particular violation described in Crimes of War created. Incorporating EHL subject content and teaching strategies in such ways helped to ensure lively and informed dialogue throughout this part of the course.

The latter half of the semester was organized as a workshop to study a specific topic within international humanitarian law more closely. The transition to focusing on refugees and displaced persons was made by engaging in an EHL extension activity from Module 5A about needs that arise from the devastation of war. Teams of four students worked during one 50-minute class session to create and compare plans for their own (hypothetical) evacuation from the community in order to gain appreciation for the plight of people fleeing their homes in the face of imminent danger. The following class period was devoted to reviewing the 2007 Handbook for Emergencies produced by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and EHL Module 5B resources for planning a camp. The same student teams presented oral summaries of assigned portions of those materials and discussed likely challenges of implementing a best practices model. During the next class session, the teams designed a refugee camp on poster board to accommodate their group's hypothetical evacuation crisis that would meet most, if not all, of international standards and ensure that the human dignity of victims would be preserved. This three-prong transitional activity served to set the stage for a subsequent major group project. Teams chose one of the several hundred refugee camps in the world about which to research and produce a written report.

In addition to the narrative portion, the report included maps and other visuals such as statistical tables, charts, and illustrations directly relevant to the team's selected camp. Reports were not to address refugees or camps in a general way, but to refer specifically to the selected settlement. Among other things, components of the report included the background/historical context of the issue(s) generating displacement; physical description and administration of the camp, demographics of the refugees, assessment of the merits and shortcomings of the camp, and its prospects for the future. Most importantly, however, the group report focused on applicable international laws and norms, and provided a coherent synthesis and analysis of IHL as applied in that case. Each team also submitted a poster proposal based on their refugee research to the annual campus-wide ISU research symposium held in Spring 2013. All six

team proposals were accepted for participation; students wrote the content and designed the layout of their posters while the instructor obtained a small grant to cover professional printing and lamination costs of the group posters. Some students were not able to attend the symposium due to schedule conflicts, but at least two from each group were present to explain their projects to interested attendees. Not only did the symposium provide presentation experience for these students but it also served to showcase lessons of IHL to the public.

In short, refocusing the international law course to emphasize IHL built upon instructor and student interest, established an academically challenging environment, and complemented existing human rights and international relations courses offered by the department. At the same time, it opened the door to experimenting with much of the existing EHL toolkit.

Case Study 2: Using Raid Cross in Undergraduate Education

In the Fall 2012, another of the authors used the Red Cross' Raid Cross simulation materials to illustrate the principles of IHL in an upper-level political science course at Valparaiso University titled, Impunity No More? The Intersection of International Humanitarian Law and International Criminal Justice. The Raid Cross activities were primarily used to help students understand what war crimes are, the ease with which they are committed, and the need for prosecution of such crimes. The instructor selected these activities because (a) they fit the nature of the course, and (b) they require a minimum of start-up "costs" to use. In addition, as noted above, the material for an IHL class can be emotionally and technically difficult; therefore, the instructor decided to incorporate the Raid Cross simulations to lighten the material and provide alternative learning methods. It is important to be aware that, depending on the personal experiences of students, simulations can seem very realistic in some circumstances. It is important to be aware of the background of your students ahead of time in order to identify anyone whose family or community may have had a traumatic experience with refugee, hostage or conflict situations. The course started with a two week introduction to the principles of IHL, just war, and human rights. After this, the class began the Raid Cross exercises. Each Tuesday for seven weeks, the class completed one Raid Cross exercise, a debriefing, and discussion of the day's IHL topic. The exercises were completed in the order suggested by the Red Cross, starting with the prisoner of war (PoW) camp.

In the PoW camp exercise, the students experience a PoW camp from the perspective of a prisoner, guard/camp commander, ICRC delegate, or United Nations (UN) Military observer. The UN military observer role was added to the exercise by the instructor. Instructors can be as creative as they would like in these scenarios; in this case, the instructor downloaded sound effects and war footage to play during the simulation. Also, the instructor also added the role of captured military chaplain to give another layer of complexity to the simulation (under the Geneva Conventions, chaplains cannot be treated as PoWs). The goal is to help students understand the rights of PoWs, their importance in IHL, and the role of international bodies in the protection of these rights. Following the PoW exercise, students completed the "caring for the wounded" Raid Cross exercise; the purpose of this exercise is to have the students properly evacuate the wounded of both armies from a battlefield, regardless of military affiliation. Next, the students performed the "artillery and legitimate targets exercise." The goal of this exercise is to teach the students about proportional response and the difference between civilian objects and military targets or objectives. The fourth exercise combined two Raid Cross activities, "sniper and civilians," and "humanitarian assistance." In this exercise, small groups of students must make their way through an obstacle course strewn with land mines to retrieve humanitarian aid; they must then make a return trip through the obstacle course with the aid. This must be accomplished without being "shot" by a sniper and without losing their aid to a corrupt checkpoint guard. The goal is to help the students understand the distinction between combatants and civilians, as well as to introduce humanitarian response into the "war." The last war activity was the "military headquarters" post; the goal is to evaluate the students' understanding of IHL. In this exercise, students played the role of battlefield commanders; they were presented with battlefield scenarios by their soldiers and had to come up with the appropriate response based on the tenets of IHL.

In most of the exercises, despite having discussed IHL at length, the students committed a number of IHL violations; these were particularly evident in the PoW camp and artillery exercises. In the PoW

camp, violations included hiding prisoners from the ICRC delegates, confiscating prisoners' Red Cross family messages, an extra-judicial execution, torture, and the use of prisoners as hostages/human shields in the face of an advancing enemy battalion. In the artillery exercise, violations included retaliatory bombings, non-proportional responses, and the use of weapons of mass destruction. By the end of the full series of exercises, the students wanted each other to be held accountable for the violations; the exercises gave them insight into why there is such a pressing need for the prosecution of war crimes.

Following the completion of the war exercises, a ceasefire was held during which the students evaluated the results of each exercise to determine which perpetrators would be put on trial. After considerable discussion, they decided to charge the PoW camp guards and commander with several violations of IHL. Next, they concluded that the instructor had orchestrated the snipers and humanitarian aid exercise and charged her with multiple war crimes. They then agreed to put all members of both artillery units on trial for war crimes and crimes against humanity. Finally, they determined that no actionable violations had been committed during the evacuation of wounded or the military command post. The Raid Cross materials include speeches for the prosecution, defense, and judges; the students modified these as they saw fit, and conducted a war crimes tribunal wherein all of the perpetrators were convicted. In the debriefing, the students reported that while they knew this was an unrealistic outcome, the convictions gave them a sense of satisfaction—no one "got away" with war crimes in this war. The tribunal led us into the phase of the class during which we studied various state-level and international mechanisms for prosecution of war crimes. During this unit, students referred back to the Raid Cross tribunal; for example, they discussed how the "evidence" they had for their tribunal could be rare in real-world cases and that while their cases were fairly black-and-white, real cases are often less clear.

For the final weeks of the course, the instructor used short lectures, video clips, and Red Cross EHL exercises to introduce new topics, then turned the class over to the day's discussion leaders. The course concluded with the International Tribunal to Prosecute Acts of Terrorism (ITPAT) simulation. The ITPAT simulation was created by Santa Clara University Professor of Law Beth Van Schaack, now Deputy to U.S. Ambassador-At-Large for War Crimes Issues in the U.S. State Department's Office of Global Criminal Justice. In the case at hand, students were tasked with acting on behalf of their assigned countries to negotiate an international treaty on prosecuting terrorism. This required them to consider new perspectives on IHL and the evolution of international law; it also helped them to see the complex political considerations representatives face during these types of international negotiations.

In sum, the Raid Cross simulations were a critical component of this course. They allowed the students to explore IHL in a way that would have been difficult using only traditional lecture-based teaching methods. Indeed, in the student evaluations of the course, half of the respondents reported that the Raid Cross activities contributed most to their learning in the class. Some of the comments included "I felt as though [the activities] were an engaging and effective way for the class to learn," and "[The activities] were a new fun innovative [sic] way of learning and applying the material." Although the students' learning outcomes for the class were not measured during this project, one very telling outcome of the class is that six of the 15 students continue to be engaged with IHL activities; the students attribute this to their participation in the IHL class. Five students participated in the American Red Cross IHL Action Campaign/peer education program detailed in Case 3 below, one of these also is pursuing an internship with the American Red Cross IHL education team, and one is focusing on IHL in law school.

Case Study 3: Using the IHL Action Campaign in Undergraduate Education

During the 2012-2013 academic year, thirteen "IHL Action Campaigns" were designed and implemented by teams of young people in California, New York, Ohio and Pennsylvania as part of an American Red Cross initiative to raise awareness of IHL. This project uses a peer education model in which young people from colleges, universities, or high schools lead teams of peers as they learn about IHL and apply their learning in campaigns to raise awareness of IHL among others.

The training for team leaders around the country took place over three days. On Day 1 team leaders were trained on the basics of IHL through the Raid Cross simulation activity. Day 2 focused on campaigning skills to help the team leaders support their team in selecting an IHL topic, target audience, key messages, and the type of educational tool to use for their campaign (drama program, video, flash

mob, film night, etc.). Day 3 provided the team leaders with the opportunity to "teach back" Raid Cross to a group of student volunteers. The training uses interactive and experiential exercises to elicit and impart information about the subject matter while simultaneously demonstrating a set of facilitation methods that can be used by the team leaders to train others. The program models for students the training they will subsequently provide for their teams. The training takes 18-24 hours in total. It is led by representatives of the American Red Cross IHL Dissemination Team over a three-day weekend.

To highlight one campaign example, in the Spring of 2013, a team of twelve students at Segerstrom High School in Santa Ana, CA, under the supervision of two undergraduate team leaders from the University of California at Irvine, began a new IHL Action Campaign. They started by surveying fellow high school students on their knowledge of pop culture (e.g. "Do you know all the Twilight movies?") versus their understanding of issues related to IHL (e.g. "How many child soldiers have died in the past decade?"). Results favored pop culture by a margin of almost two to one (90 percent versus 47 percent). The team of students used their survey results to develop an IHL Action Campaign to raise their classmates' awareness of IHL and illegal use of child soldiers in armed conflict. They plastered the high school with posters, conducted Raid Cross role-playing simulations during class time, and made an educational video that was shown to the entire student body. A follow-up survey of Segerstrom high-schoolers indicated the campaign almost closed the gap in knowledge—90 percent for pop culture versus 83 percent for IHL. Even after taking account of limitations in the survey method the results and interviews with students and faculty at the high school clearly demonstrated the positive impact of the campaign. Additionally, from the video about their campaign produced by the Segerstrom students and available on YouTube, it is clear that the team members greatly enjoyed teaching and learning with their fellow students.

Given their previous experience in introducing IHL to undergraduate students and using Raid Cross, two of the authors of this paper agreed to pilot and jointly implement an IHL Action Campaign involving undergraduate team leaders at Bradley University and Valparaiso University, creating a partnership with university faculty staff members. They enlisted the involvement of two faculty members at Bradley to serve as liaisons and advisors in the implementation of the program. Partnering directly with faculty for the implementation of the IHL Action Campaign provides all the stakeholders with multiple advantages.

First, the program may give team leaders the opportunity to gain academic credits while volunteering for the largest humanitarian organization in the world. For example, the faculty members at both Valparaiso and Bradley are exploring opportunities to provide service-learning course credit to undergraduates involved in the campaign. They believe that it is important to incorporate opportunities for service-learning into the IHL Action Campaign program, because over the past two decades service learning has become one of the most wide-spread methods of civic education (Galston 2001). This is a form of learning that generally appeals to college-aged students, given the Millennial generation's predisposition towards community service (Zukin 2006). In general, service-learning has been shown to have a number of pedagogical benefits; these include improving students' understanding and recall of course material, as well as development of "a sense of social responsibility, a sense of personal efficacy, citizenship skills, and community engagement skills" (Krain and Nurse 2004, 194). Also, service-learning has been shown to increase cross-cultural understanding and reduce stereotyping (Eyler et al. 2001). Additionally, Krain and Nurse (2004) find that service-learning is useful in teaching human rights, as it allows students to better see the connections between theory and application. Both faculties are also exploring other academic possibilities, such as encouraging students to complete research proposals, senior theses, and even paper presentations about the campaign.

Second, the partnership between the Red Cross and faculty provides the latter with an engaging tool to offer their students as part of their global education. For example, at Valparaiso University, many of the team leaders are majoring in International Relations or International Service. The program offers these students an opportunity to become involved with the Red Cross, and helps them to see how the global work of the Red Cross is connected to the work done by local Red Cross chapters. At Bradley University, the team leaders are involved in either the Institute for International Studies or the Pre-Law Center—or both. The partnership provides them with the opportunity to deepen their understanding from both

international and legal perspectives. Third, the partnership provides the Red Cross chapter with support for the selection of team leaders, potential program sustainability and connections with local communities.

The IHL Action Campaign initiative thus combines active, experiential teaching and learning with a peer-to-peer education model. It then invites students to translate their learning into action and provides them with the campaigning skills needed to do the job. Finally, it builds in a monitoring and evaluation process to help them measure the impact of their action. This sort of activity, when conducted as a part of what the AAC&U report referenced previously calls the co-curriculum, through campus outreach to community partners, represents some of the most powerful learning in college (AAC&U 2013, 37).

Conclusion

Implications for working with community partners to teach principles of international humanitarian law to undergraduates are also found in the AAC&U report. The report calls attention to the issue that while "most democracies are founded on a distinct web of values: human dignity, equality, justice, responsibility, and freedom …" most students never study such issues in any formal way and many "do not think civic engagement is even a goal for their college studies" (2007, 22). The AAC&U report also notes that "for all human beings, the arts and humanities invite exploration of the big and enduring questions about what it means to be human....taking time for reflection on one's own values...consider not just how to pursue a course of action, but the value and integrity of alternative courses of action" (2007, 22-23).

Thus in keeping with recommendations from the AAC&U report, we find that the potential for producing informed and responsible global citizens is enhanced by expanding our learning communities. Our paper aims to reinforce the significance of educating undergraduate students about such fundamental issues as human dignity and justice in the context of global conflict and as defined in international humanitarian law, and to introduce a relatively unique collaborative approach to doing so in the classroom and in extracurricular programs. The power of teamwork, social networking and collaboration is well-documented in business, government and educational circles. Individuals and organizations working toward common goals can be empowered by the synergy created from knowledge and resource sharing, for example. The three applications discussed here illustrate in part the active learning and civic instruction component of educational resources shared by the American Red Cross. They are by no means rigid models, but instead suggest the flexible and interdisciplinary manner with which educators can integrate some or all of those tools to enhance a greater appreciation and understanding of IHL among their students, and consequently enrich the liberal arts experience itself. While we have developed measures to assess IHL learning outcomes for our students in some cases, the task remains to assess the degree to which our partnership with this humanitarian organization has influenced our teaching and our students over time. In the meanwhile, however, we have found that the potential to engage and innovate—to shape politics and effect societal change— is enhanced by informal partnerships such as that cultivated between college educators and the American Red Cross.

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Tables and Figures

Figure 1: Adult and Youth Familiarity with the Geneva Conventions
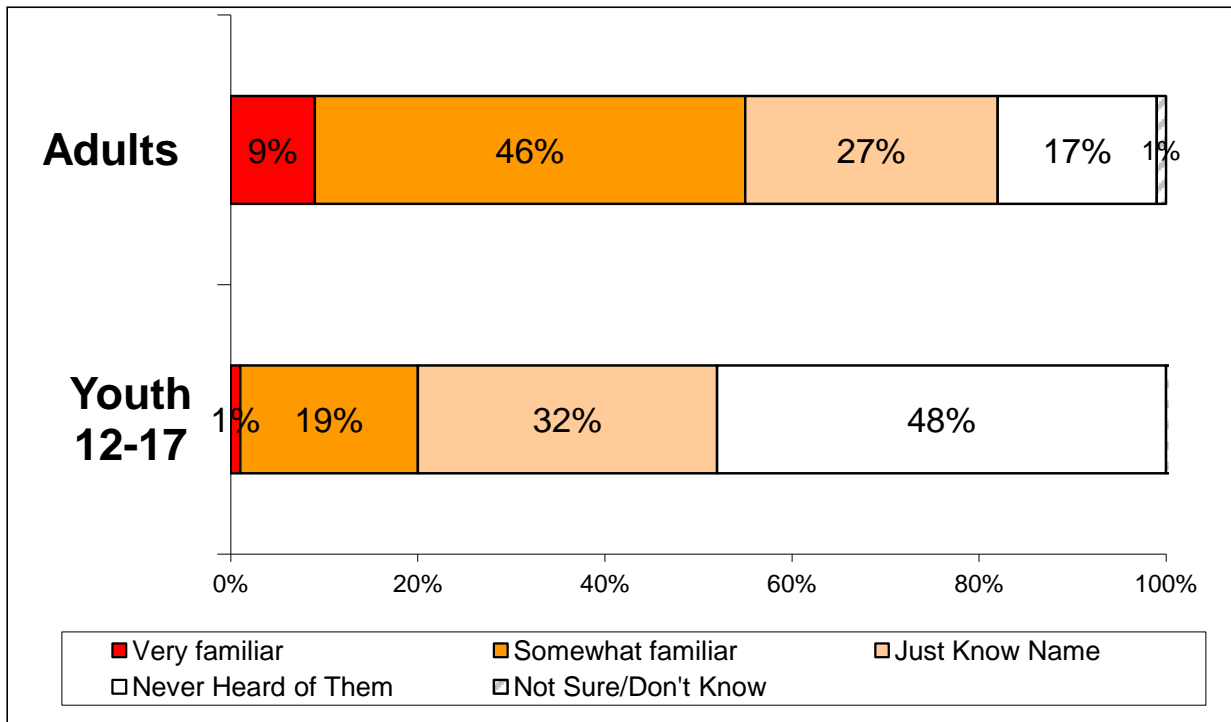
Figure 2: Attitudes toward Torture

Adult Acceptance of Torture of Enemy Soldiers

- Acceptable at least sometimes — 51%
- Never Acceptable — 45%
- Not sure/DK — 4%

Youth Acceptance of US Torture of Enemy Soldiers

- Acceptable at least sometimes — 59%
- Never Acceptable — 40%
- Not sure/DK — 1%

Adult Acceptance of Enemy Torture of American Soldiers

- Acceptable at least sometimes — 30%
- Never Acceptable — 68%
- Not sure/DK — 2%

Youth Acceptance of Enemy Torture of American Soldiers

- Acceptable at least sometimes — 41%
- Never Acceptable — 59%
- Not sure/DK — 0%

Bibliotherapy in the Classroom

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Abstract

Bibliotherapy is a teaching tool that can help students with disabilities learn socially appropriate behaviors. It can be used in many settings, however this paper will discuss its use in the classroom. Bibliotherapy uses literature to help students cope or understand particular behaviors, and to change those which are inappropriate. The purpose of this paper is to show the reader the history of bibliotherapy, its benefits, and present a case study where it was implemented in a classroom study.

According to the Merriam Webster dictionary, (http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/bibliotherapy?) bibliotherapy is a form of supportive psychotherapy in which carefully selected reading materials are subject in solving personal problems or for other therapeutic purposes (Merriam Webster). Although the history of bibliotherapy goes as far back as the ancient Greeks, bibliography in America goes back at least to the early part of the nineteenth century. Benjamin Rush was one of the first Americans to recommend the use of bibliotherapy; and John Minson Galt, II, was the first American to write an article on the subject (Rush & Galt, 1965). Because reading was considered one of the best therapeutic measures in treating patients with mental health issues, by the middle of the nineteenth century, every major mental hospital had a patients' library. The concept of bibliotherapy has changed over time, but since 1966, the Association of Hospital and Institution Libraries, then a division of the American Library association, issued a statement in its nomenclature.

> Bibliotherapy: The use of selected reading materials as therapeutic adjuvant in medicine and psychiatry; also guidance in the solution of personal problems through directed reading. *(AHIL Quarterly, Summer 1966, p.18)*

While bibliotherapy cannot feed a hungry child, it can contribute to the fulfillment of many of the needs identified by Maslow (Cornett & Cornett, 1980). Today it is commonly used as a way to normalize an individual's world by offering a chance to relate his or her own personal issues, such as anxiety, depression, or behavior to a book. Literature that is used in bibliotherapy touches on a particular subject that is relevant. Some purposes of the text indicate it can be used to draw a person out on a particular subject that he or she may be hesitant to discuss. Other times, bibliotherapy can be used to target particular behaviors and responses in certain situations.

According to Cornett (1980), when children use bibliotherapy, they can come to at least an understanding the role their physiological needs play in life and can partially satisfy their upper level needs. Today more and more children are entering classrooms with all sorts of needs ranging from intellectual, physical, emotional, to behavioral. Cornett found in 1980 that the bibliotherapeutic process can change attitudes, values, emotions and can result in cognitive changes in the areas of intellectual reasoning, and thinking. Teachers today need to be aware of the types of tools that are available to help students with behavioral and emotional needs. Bibliotherapy is the type of tool that even general education teachers can use within their classrooms. Students relate themselves to literature, letting them see themselves in a book and helping them understand or see in a different light what they are doing. Students can learn to understand consequences of certain behaviors and appropriate ways of solving

problems. In turn it can help a teacher overcome certain difficulties in the classroom. Some students may have a hard time discussing certain issues or expressing emotions, and bibliotherapy may be helpful. Although behavioral management practices such as the use of rewards, consequences, rules or routines may work to help students manage their behavior, bibliotherapy is another tool a teacher can use to help them understand and resolve issues.

In the past, students who had any sort of disability would most likely be put into a restricted environment, especially those students with emotional or behavioral disorders. These students were often placed in restricted environments to minimize the impact their behaviors had on others. As time progressed, teachers who did have students in their classrooms with troublesome behaviors attempted to correct behavior through behavioral approaches. The student who was causing the disruption may not have understood the behavior, or how to change it. The use of bibliotherapy is now being used by healthcare workers, social workers, teachers and psychologists. Over time, this tool was implemented in classrooms, hospitals, and other therapeutic settings.

Both clinical and developmental bibliotherapy are used. (Pehrsson & McMillen, 2010). Clinical bibliotherapy is implemented by trained helping professionals dealing with significant emotional or behavioral problems (Pehrrson & McMillen, 2010). Teachers and other lay helpers use developmental bibliotherapy to facilitate normal development and self actualization with an essentially healthy population. Bibliotherapy can help students with problem solving, perspective, and self-awareness. General education teachers, special education teachers as well as parents utilize bibliotherapy. Some students may need help coping with death, homelessness, name-calling, mockery, physical disabilities, emotional disabilities, and bullying. Bibliotherapy is that one tool in which there is a plethora of materials that can relate to a wide variety of issues.

Bibliotherapy can drastically change students' academic performance, as long as teachers are familiar with it and know how to use it properly. When using bibliotherapy, teachers must gather proper materials. Book length, pictures used, reading level and suitability to the subject matter need to be taken into consideration (Pehrsson & McMillen, 2010). When teachers use the materials, they must make sure that the character or situation present in the literary work parallels that of the student. Teachers must also be able to share their insights with the story, encouraging the student to do the same. Students must be able to make connections throughout the story and by the end of the story they should be able to share their insights. Bibliotherapy can teach the students right from wrong, and let them see the perspective others have regarding behaviors. When teachers are able to implement bibliotherapy correctly, it can benefit students both cognitively and emotionally.

Case Study Using Bibliography

After spending a few days in a second grade classroom in a public school in Omaha, Nebraska just quickly observing the students, a student named Charlie was observed to behave a bit differently from his classmates. Some of the littlest things would upset him, such as not having the breakfast choice he wanted or doing seatwork he did not want to do. There were some days in which he would be yelling, crying, or even hitting others. There were times this student was cooperative but there were other times he had a hard time coping.   Data   was   taken   for   five   days,   and   is   documented   below:

The teacher had rules and routines set in place and the students were to follow them. Although Charlie knew the routines and rules, he often failed to follow them. Consequences for not following rules were: being told to get back to work, being told to go back to his seat, raise his hand and when all else failed sending him to the behavior room. The problem with the consequences was that they did not have a lasting effect. The existing management system was not effective for Charlie. Thus the system was changed. The rules were reviewed with Charlie daily and if he broke rules after being warned, he would go   to   the   literacy   center   to   work   on   bibliotherapy.   The   rules   were   as   follows:

1. Raise your hand.
2. Stay in your seat.
3. Share your table supplies.
4. Help your neighbor.
5. Do not touch others.

6. Work quietly.

The last part of the program involved using a sticker chart. Charlie was told that the stickers would be used to keep track of his behavior. If he was breaking a classroom rule, he would receive a check mark. Goals for the first week included receiving less than five checks a day for breaking a rule. The second week four checks, and it would continue to decrease. The goal was to make it through the week with less expected checkmarks for rule violations. Any day he was able to make it through without any checks, there would be a reward for him.

Changing a student's behavior takes time and effort. The consistency of the teacher is important. If the teacher has a para-professional in the classroom this can be extremely beneficial. After a few weeks, Charlie was able to observe his performance from the day before and talk about how he could make it better. Bibliotherapy was implemented to help Charlie understand how to manage himself more effectively. Over time, new behaviors such as raising his hand quietly and making eye contact were noted. He was staying in his seat, rather than getting out or pushing it in with anger and force. He also was more open, telling the teacher how he felt about something rather than acting out by yelling, throwing something, or crying. He also was encouraging tablemates to get ready or pack up. Rather than grabbing from others, Charlie was helping them. His behavior improved.

Sample Bibliotherapy Lesson

Charlie displayed various types of behaviors. The first book used with him was *When Sophie Gets Angry, Really, Really Angry* by Molly Bang. This book was used after an incident in which Charlie was extremely angry. He displayed behaviors that were disruptive within the classroom. He had been crying uncontrollably, throwing his belongings, and yelling. *Mouse was Mad* by Urban Tucker was also read.

Since Charlie was academically low in reading, the book was read together with the teacher. He was asked what was happening. Afterwards he was asked questions in a way in which he could relate the story to his own life. For example, "Have you ever gotten really,, really, angry?" or "What makes you really, really angry?" Charlie continued to have bibliotherapy. He eventually met in a small group rather than individually.

By having the opportunity to implement these books into Charlie's daily reading routine, he was able to see how his behaviors were disruptive and not appropriate for a second grader. By understanding Charlie, appropriate books for the appropriate time were utilized. These books also played a role in the behavior change system appropriately implemented for Charlie. Charlie had an understanding of why he needed to behave tin certain ways. Charlie's behavior was evaluated after 5 weeks of bibliotherapy. Results are listed below:

Although Charlie was still having some inappropriate behaviors, the frequency of his inappropriate behaviors declined.

Conclusion

More and more children are placed in today's classroom with diverse needs ranging from physical, emotional, intellectual, and behavioral. The data collected from the case study indicated that when bibliotherapy was implemented with Charlie, his inappropriate behaviors decreased. Bibliotherapy can be used as part of an overall classroom management system and can be an effective way to assist students in understanding and responding appropriately to challenges they face.

Data Taken

Day1

Frequency	Behavior
Crying/Shouting	5 times
Off Task Behavior	4 times
Non compliant Behavior	8+ times

<table>
<tr><td colspan="2" align="center">Day2</td><td></td><td colspan="2" align="center">Day 3</td></tr>
<tr><td align="center">Behavior</td><td align="center">Frequency</td><td></td><td align="center">Behavior</td><td align="center">Frequency</td></tr>
</table>

Crying/Shouting	2 times		Crying/Shouting	3 times
Off Task Behavior	3 times		Off Task Behavior	4 times
Non-compliant	5 times		Non-compliant Behavior	5 times

<table>
<tr><td colspan="2" align="center">Day 4</td><td></td><td colspan="2" align="center">Day 5</td></tr>
<tr><td align="center">Behavior</td><td align="center">Frequency</td><td></td><td align="center">Behavior</td><td align="center">Frequency</td></tr>
</table>

Crying/Shouting	2 times		Crying/Shouting	2 times
Off Task Behavior	3 times		Off Task Behavior	4 times
Non-compliant Behavior	2 times		Non-compliant Behavior	5 times

Post Bibliotherapy Data

<table>
<tr><td colspan="2" align="center">Day 1</td><td></td><td colspan="2" align="center">Day 2</td></tr>
<tr><td align="center">Behavior</td><td align="center">Frequency</td><td></td><td align="center">Behavior</td><td align="center">Frequency</td></tr>
</table>

Crying/Shouting	2 times		Crying/Shouting	1 times
Off Task Behavior	2 times		Off Task Behavior	4 times
Non-compliant Behavior	1time		Non-compliant Behavior	2times

<table>
<tr><td colspan="2" align="center">Day 3</td><td></td><td colspan="2" align="center">Day 4</td></tr>
<tr><td align="center">Behavior</td><td align="center">Frequency</td><td></td><td align="center">Behavior</td><td align="center">Frequency</td></tr>
</table>

Crying/Shouting	1 time		Crying/Shouting	1 time
Off Task Behavior	3 times		Off Task Behavior	4 times
Non-compliant Behavior	0 times		Non-compliant Behavior	3 times

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Librarians on the Loose: High Tech and High Touch Research Assistance from Embedded Librarians

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Abstract

The concept of embedded librarians, where within a course or program, librarians serve as a point of contact for providing research assistance, has been around for about a decade. However, most of the emphasis has been in on-line courses and the development of on-line resources. Fort Hays State University prides itself on a "High Tech, High Touch" approach to higher education. Simply put, High Tech involves the use of the latest technology while High Touch means an emphasis on the human connection. The Fort Hays State University library has taken the High Touch theme to a new level by embedding librarians in on-campus social science courses. This paper, describes an alternative embedded model, examines factors associated with the model's success and finally identifies some of the requirements to sustain the model.

Introduction

Technology has transformed modern life. Due to the ubiquitous presence of cell phones, payphones have all but disappeared. The Internet has monumentally impacted our lives as entire industries have either been eliminated or forced to significantly change as a result of people's ability to access information.   Examples are abundant as airline bookings, formerly a major segment of travel agents business have largely been replaced by online flight reservations, meaning that travel agencies have either gone out of business or been transformed into tour booking agencies (Grossman, 2007); on-line shopping is growing exponentially (U.S. Department of Commerce, 2014); and email and on-line billing/payments have substantially reduced the amount of "snail mail" thus significantly impacting the United States Postal Service (Nixon, 2014).

Review of Literature

Arguably, the greatest impact of the internet has been in the "information" sector. The way that individuals access information has clearly been transformed, as the development of e-books has so changed the nature of book purchases that major book chains such as Borders have gone out of business (Sanburn, 2011), and some newspapers and magazines have either ceased publication or shifted to an entirely on-line presence (Gillin, 2014). These developments have created a view in the minds of many that libraries, as storehouses of knowledge, are obsolete. Such a view is reflected in a recent Bizarro cartoon in which a student, in a library, says to a librarian, "My history teacher assigned us to go somewhere historical" (Piraro, 2014). The attitude seems to be "with the Internet why would anyone go to the library?" (Dougherty, 2010; Lankes, 2014). The position was aptly summarized by Susan English (2005), law librarian for the United States Court of Appeals for the Third Circuit:

> Like many librarians these days, I am grappling with the problem of how to dispel the notion that libraries are antiquated or obsolete. Conventional wisdom has it that everything is available on the Internet. The perception is that no one uses the physical libraries, and by extension, the services of the library staff (p. 1).

As would be expected, the perception of libraries as relics of a bygone era has been directly addressed by those in the library community. Michael Gorman (2005), in his President's Message to the American

Library Association, wrote of "the indispensability of school libraries (and school librarians)." Wilke and Dafoe (2011), at the British Columbia Library convention, argue that libraries are relevant; they just need to let the public know what they have to offer. In a similar vein, Pulitzer Prize-winning author Julia Keller (2008) argues that nostalgia about libraries in the "good old days" is actually creating misperceptions about what today's modern library has to offer. The perception of obsolesce has also been directly confronted by academics, such as Yvonne Siu-Runyan (2011), President of the National Council of Teachers of English, who declared "Libraries are not antiquated and are vital for communities and schools! An informed citizenry is the foundation of a democratic society" (p. 28).

Thus, librarians and library supporters are faced with battling the perception that libraries are obsolete, as everything one needs is available on the Internet. While the Internet is a tremendous potential source of information, the sheer volume of material available presents challenges. Famed movie critic Roger Ebert (1998) accurately summarized those challenges when he wrote "doing research on the Web is like using a library assembled piecemeal by pack rats and vandalized nightly" (p. 66). While the Internet contains vast data files, the challenge is being able to find, make sense, organize, and evaluate those vast data files in order to obtain the accurate and credible information one desires. Simply having access to resources is not enough, if one does not know how to use those resources, then they have little practical utility. In order to know how to use resources, people need information literacy skills.

The goal of librarians, as articulated by the American Library Association (ALA), is for individuals to have both information literacy skills and information technology skills. The ALA (1989) defines information literacy skills as "a set of abilities requiring individuals to recognize when information is needed and have the ability to locate, evaluate, and use effectively the needed information" (p. 1). In order to locate the information one seeks, ALA recognizes the need to possess information technology skills, which "enable an individual to use computers, software applications, databases, and other technologies to achieve a wide variety of academic, work-related, and personal goals" (p. 3).

In order to meet the changing needs of their various patron populations, libraries have evolved. One method of responding to changing patron needs has been the increasing use of embedded librarians (Kvenild & Calkins, 2011). Embedded librarians are described as "directly engaged in providing specialized services to limited client groups within their organizations" (Shumaker & Talley, 2010, p. 28). In the academic realm, within a course or program, embedded librarians serve as a point of contact for providing research assistance (Kvenild & Calkins). In attempting to distinguish categories of librarians, Shumaker and Talley found that neither location, funding patterns, or supervision constituted a significant difference between embedded and non-embedded librarians. They state that providing specialized services is the single criterion of embedded library services.

Embedded librarians have been around for about a decade, as 2004, was a pivotal year for program development. That was the year when versions of embedded librarians were independently developed in at least the following colleges and universities: Community College of Vermont, University of Wyoming, Middle Tennessee State and Framingham State (Schroeder (2011). Schroeder speculates that each program was unaware of what the others were doing, rather developing a program out of a common realization of the need to do something to provide greater assistance to their on-line patrons. Schroeder says that the term "embedded librarian" was suggested to her by watching accounts of "embedded journalists" during news coverage of the Iraq war. She felt that the program she was piloting at the Community College of Vermont where she and another librarian were placing themselves within on-line courses by providing assistance with research assignments had enough similarities with embedded journalists that use of the name was appropriate, as they were placing themselves where they were part of "the action."

Both the early models of embedded librarians and continuing practice have been focused on the development of on-line resources and on-line courses. There are at least two common elements found in most embedded librarian on-line programs: (1) inclusion of a Discussion Thread of "Ask a Librarian," where students can post research related questions which are responded to by a librarian; and (2) use of direct library related instruction via the use of recorded lectures by a librarian. The two most common

topics are Internet searching and evaluation, and documentation styles (e.g. the American Psychological Association (APA) and the Modern Language Association (MLA) styles).

Practicality provides a ready justification for use of embedded librarians in on-line classes as librarians cannot offer face-to-face library instruction in on-line classes, and being embedded provides a convenient basis for contact. Typically, a librarian will be embedded in 1 to 10 on-line courses, while some are embedded in as many as 30 courses (Schroeder (2011). However, there is a tradeoff in that the more use that is made of a librarian's services the fewer classes that librarian is able to cover. Overall, in their review of embedded librarian programs, Shumaker and Talley (2010) claim that the use of embedded librarians is "healthy and widespread" (p. 28) in on-line classes.

The same practicality which provides for the use of embedded librarians in on-line classes provides a challenge for development of such a program in face-to-face classes. Being embedded in a face-to-face class offers the obvious advantage of the librarian being able to develop a working relationship with students. However, there is the very real concern of librarians becoming overextended as there are practical limits on how many classes a librarian is able to attend.

Purpose

Shumaker and Talley (2010) claim "interest in the embedded services model is increasing, but there has been little systematic study of it. Not much is known about the factors that are associated with the model's success and the requirements to initiate and sustain it" (p 27). Therefore, the purpose of this paper is to first describe an alternative embedded model, next examine factors associated with the model's success and finally discuss the critical requirement needed to sustain the model.

Alternative Model

Fort Hays State University (FHSU) prides itself on a "High Tech, High Touch" approach to higher education: High Tech refers to the use of the latest technology, while High Touch refers to an emphasis on the human connection. The FHSU library has taken the High Touch theme to a new level by embedding librarians in selected on- campus social science courses. Currently, there are two Forsyth Library librarians participating in a pilot program providing this service. Following discussions of the concept of embedding librarians within on-campus classes during department meetings or consulting sessions, the librarians were approached by teaching faculty from two departments. As a result, one librarian is embedded within the English department and one within the Communication Studies department. These two disciplines had natural connections as the librarians are liaisons to those departments and had developed close ties with the teaching faculty in those departments. One of the librarians is also working with an on-line graduate level research methods class in Interdisciplinary Studies. That librarian also provides specialized assistance to the graduate research methods classes in the departments of Athletic Training, Communication Disorders, and Health & Human Performance. All of these classes, while not part of the social sciences per se, use and teach social science research methodology and use social science databases (i.e. Communication and Mass Media Index, PsychInfo, Sports Psychology).

In order to deal with the concern of becoming overextended by being embedded in on-campus classes and to provide maximum flexibility to the program, one librarian developed an embedded service option scale. Providing choices allows the librarians to offer the level of embeddedness that works best for the professor in a particular class, while at the same time is sensitive to the time commitments being made by the librarians. An explanation of each of the levels of services offered for on-campus classes follows:

Level 1   The librarian will:
- Develop a discipline/course/assignment specific library research guide
- Supply library links within Blackboard for research assignments
- Collaborate with the professor in developing research assignments
- Become the personal contact librarian for the students in the class

Level 2   The librarian will:
- Participate in all areas within level 1
- Participate in discussion board research related topic within Blackboard

- Attend 1-2 classes to teach about the resources the library has, tailored to the course. An additional third class could be scheduled for research time

Level 3   The librarian will:
- Participate in all areas within levels 1 and 2
- Attend 3-4 classes
- Teach one class about the resources the library has tailored to the course and a second one on critical thinking and evaluating skills
- Schedule department / class office hours
- Meet one on one with students either in library or departmental office hours

Level 4   The librarian will:
- Participate in all areas within levels 1-3
- Attend 5-10 classes becoming fully embedded in the class
- Participate in class discussion, team teaching of research skills, and grading library research related assignments.

All levels include individual research consultations and help for students and faculty via e-mail, phone, or by appointment.

Within the English department, each semester the librarian has been embedded in five Composition I and II classes. She is embedded at level 1 in four classes (one per semester) and at a level 3 in 1 Composition I (or II depending on the semester). The level 3 English class professor is comparing the grades and quality of research submitted by one of her Composition I (or II depending on the semester) classes as compared to her other Composition I class which is at level 1. While English is typically considered as being in the "humanities," students do have assignments which are social science focused. As an example, one embedded teaching assignment deals with researching and evaluating a product. Students use critical evaluation skills by applying them to a product they are interested in. Sample topics have ranged from a particular brand of toothpaste or coffee, to an entire clothing line (a particular designer). In order to complete the assignment, students must trace the history of the product and gather product reviews so that they can write a critical essay evaluating the product. Thus students are exposed to qualitative social science research methodology.

Within the Communication Studies department, one librarian is embedded at level one in 4 upper division classes each semester. They are Organizational Communication, Communication and Culture, Feature Writing, and Nonverbal Communication (fall) or Small Group Communication (spring). She is embedded within two graduate research methods classes at level 4. The fall graduate research methods class is a survey of research methods, while the spring class involves the completion of an entire quantitative research project. Attending all classes which are directly relevant to library research means that in the fall she attends class at least once a week and in the spring at least once every other week. Each semester, she attends additional classes if there are student presentations or guest speakers. In the fall, where students are learning the research process by completing a limited research project, the librarian works closely with the students by focusing on research skills. She has individual research consultations with all of the students in the class at least once. Since there is a large contingent of international students, there may be several additional consultations with small groups of students. In the spring where the research project is expanded into a complete study, the librarian will assist students by assisting them with a thorough search of the literature in order to obtain additional sources and by reviewing citations.

Within the on-line interdisciplinary research methods class, the librarian reviews assignments with the professor providing advice as to what resources are available, and assists the students with their research assignments by providing such services as identifying key words, assisting in locating resources, and refining research strategies. In addition the librarian will supply videos and tutorials dealing with research skills, along with providing a course specific library research guide. She works with the students within research related discussion sessions and is their chief contact relating to research skills.

Student / Faculty Feedback

A key element of any successful program lies in obtaining meaningful feedback. Therefore, collecting and analyzing program level data is commonly used in the social sciences, including educational settings (e.g. Bentley, Richardson, Duan, Philpott, Ong, & Owen, 2013; and Travers, & Evans, 2011), human services (e.g. Wasserman, 2010), medical education (e.g. Fierro, & Christie, 2011), and health programs (e.g. Chen, Reid, Parker, & Pillemer, 2013; and Savage, Cornett, & Goodwin, 2012). Feedback provides both formative data, so that adjustments can be made to improve the program, and also a measure of the success of the program.

Libraries also collect substantial amounts of program level data to evaluate their services (Uppal, 2012). Among the numerous categories where libraries commonly collect data, the following are but a few illustrative examples: number of reference questions asked, number of books checked out, what on-line journals are accessed and in what subject area, what materials are requested via interlibrary loan, number and subject area of books and periodicals used in the library, and numbers of people in the library. This and similar data provides guidance as to where the library should funnel its resources, i.e. in what materials to purchase, which journals warrant subscriptions, and staffing needs.

Beyond gathering masses of quantitative data about services provided, libraries also collect qualitative data about their services. Most, if not all, libraries have suggestion boxes where patrons can leave their written comments. Additionally, most libraries also provide a place to leave comments on their website.

Below is a representative sample of some of the comments regarding the embedded librarian program. Comments are from students as well as some of the faculty who are involved in the program.

- "Thank you so much for your help. I will admit that I have not had much on-line research experience or what I learned was over 15 years ago. Thanks so much for the help. I think I get it now!"   ~ anonymous on-line student
- "That helps a lot! Thank you for the timely response!! The possible keywords will help tremendously!"   ~ anonymous on-line student
- "This is great, because I was never really sure what databases included subject matter in my area."   ~ anonymous on-campus student
- "Powerful library tool,…inspired to take their research to higher levels of inquiry."
                              ~ English professor
- "This is so very helpful! … will benefit greatly from the wonderful resources…"
                              ~ Communication Studies professor
- "Gets students involved and motivated, since you are in class they can see that you are there to help … creates an information culture."
                              ~ Communication Studies professor

Thus, overall, as both students and faculty have reported, the embedded librarian program is working well

Future Directions

Since the pilot program has been successful, there is interest in maintaining the embedded librarian program. The critical element to sustaining and growing the program for the future lies in being able to deal with the time commitment issue. In order to insure the future of the program, actions have been taken at both the state and university level. At the state level, the goal is to develop on-line resources that will be available to all of the state universities and community colleges in Kansas. At the university level, the goal is to develop measures to insure that the on-campus program is sustainable.

The Kansas Board of Regents, the governing body for the 6 state universities and the 19 community colleges in the state, has called for the creation of a "New Literacies Alliance." The goal of this program is to produce an information literacy MOOC (massive open on-line class) for use by all of the Regent's universities and community colleges. The MOOC will be produced via the collaborative efforts of librarians from all 6 state universities and instructional design personnel. The MOOC is envisioned to contain on-line modules which provide a series of lessons on learning library research skills that apply across all disciplines. The goal is to provide a means for students to learn to evaluate resources for a specific assignment. Potential units include: locating the best resources to use, evidence based

evaluation, and the CRAAP test (currency, relevance, authority, accuracy and purpose). This multi-disciplinary program will be designed so that any department could assign students to complete the entire program or particular segments as a supplement to their class. Students will also be able to self-select segments they feel that they need. The initial program will be geared for undergraduate students. While multi-disciplinary in scope, the program will focus on disciplines which emphasize research skills, e. g. history, psychology, sociology, and communication. The overall goal of the program is to insure that all students have access to the same resources whether they are on-campus or on-line.

While the MOOC is designed primarily as a research aid to on-line students, it will provide generic research assistance to students whether they are on-line or on-campus. It is anticipated that both on-line and on-campus students will make use of this program. On-campus students who utilize the research guide(s) can gain a basic understanding of the research process, thus freeing up librarians for any needed specialized assistance which is unique to a particular course or assignment.

In terms of the on-campus program, since class attendance places an extra time commitment on the part of the librarians, to sustain and expand the program, the challenge of time commitments must be met head on. Quite simply, expanding the number of courses which include an embedded librarian means that each librarian has less time for course attendance. Given the experience of the pilot program thus far, the challenge for the librarians is to attend class enough so as to make a connection with the students so that students feel that the librarian is indeed a part of the "research team" but not necessarily attending every class.

In order to expand the program, the next step in the process is to involve more librarians to be embedded in classes and to determine how to achieve the appropriate balance between establishing a student connection and class attendance. To that end, two recently hired librarians have been recruited to be embedded and the librarians are working with course faculty to determine how many class sessions the librarians should attend. Currently, the librarians are attending the first week of class in order to become a familiar face to the students, then are attending the classes which cover the overview of the research process and those class sessions which are devoted to discussing developing a review of literature. The course professors are also making a concerted effort to remind their classes that the librarian is available and anxious to help them. As a result of reducing class attendance, each of the librarians has been able to add two additional embedded courses, and should be able to add more courses as the demand for this service increases.

Summary

While some individuals view libraries as being obsolete, the embedded librarian model is providing additional evidence of the continued utility of libraries. This paper has described an alternative High Tech, High Touch embedded librarian on-campus model, described factors associated with the model's operation and success and discussed the sustainability of the program. The embedded librarian model has demonstrated that in spite of, or perhaps because of the Internet, libraries are here to stay.

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"Patriotism Is Not Enough":
Nurse Edith Cavell, World War I Hero

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Introduction

That I may be fit to love, courageous to suffer, and steady to persevere
Thomas à Kempis (2003) p. 83.

Every hundred years or so, a heroic woman challenges the conscience of the world. The price for her courage, all to often, is death. George Bernard Shaw, the Irish playwright and author, compared two valorous women, Joan of Arc and Edith Cavell, in the introduction to his play *St. Joan*. He noted that an English court convicted St. Joan of heresy for wearing men's clothing and sentenced her to death by burning at the stake. A German court convicted Cavell of treason, under penalty of death by firing squad. Shaw argued, "Edith was an arch-heretic: in the middle of the war she declared before the world that 'Patriotism was not enough'" (*St. Joan*, 1924).

Tommy, Fritz, or Poilu: Nurse Edith Cavell did not distinguish between her brothers in Christ. She nursed the sick, aided fugitives, and willingly accepted the danger in which she placed herself. She was a martyr and hero who faced death according to a *New York Times* article "bright and brave to the end" (1915, p. 1, c. 5). The British government used the execution of "this poor English girl" to foment hatred against the Germans, bolster recruiting, and convince the people of the United States that the "Huns" were the true enemy (Protheroe, 1916, p. 31).

Cavell's execution contrasted divergent value systems. Ernest Protheroe (1916), an English author best known for his contributions to children's literature, described it as the difference between "barbarism and civilization" (p. 113). More accurately, Cavell's death was the inevitable result of the actions of a woman, conditioned by the virtues of discipline, rectitude, and self-sacrifice, in conflict with a Prussian General's notion of duty, respect, and honor.

This paper argues that patriots and pacifists ignored Cavell's true motivation in order to advance their respective causes. She acted out of love of God and service to humanity. She saved the lives of British, French, Belgian, and German soldiers out of charity. Her actions flowed from deep religious convictions taught by her father, an Anglican priest, informed by the Bible, and refined by her favorite devotional, *The Imitation of Christ* by Thomas à Kempis (1380-1467).

Early Life

Learn to obey, you who are but dust.
Thomas à Kempis (2003) p. 59.

Louisa Cavell gave birth to a daughter, Edith, on the 4th of December, 1865, in the front room of an 18th century farm house in the quintessentially English village of Swardeston. Her birth certificate lists her mother's name as Louisa and her father's name as Fredrick (1865, EC 2, IWM). Diana Souhami (2010), a modern biographer of Cavell, observed that the Reverend Fredrick Cavell served as an Anglican vicar, presiding "over a peaceful life of tradition and observance, defined by the Christian calendar, the commands of the Bible, and his own orthodox authority" (p. 10). As a child, Cavell played in the lush countryside, developed a talent for watercolors, and played a wicked game of lawn tennis. Edith's father

tutored his three daughters and one son at home. When she was fifteen he hired a live-in governess. The following year, her father caught Cavell smoking in his study. The vicar did not consider such behavior acceptable in his household and sent her off to Miss Gibson's School for Young Ladies in Peterborough (Walker, 2003, p. 138).

During her teenage years, Cavell fell in love with her second cousin, Eddy Cavell. Jack Batten (2007), a Canadian journalist, described Eddy Cavell as a "pleasant looking, red headed man" (p. 41). However, Eddy Cavell suffered from a nervous condition. He decided, to Edith's disappointment, not to marry because of the danger of passing the condition on to any children. If she did not marry, the only two professions available were nursing and governess. Cavell learned French and gained enough of an education in finishing school to find a position teaching the children of a family in Essex.

In 1888, she received a small legacy that she used to travel to Germany. She visited a free hospital run by Dr. Wofenberg and was so impressed that she contributed financially to it. Two years later she took a position as a governess with the Francois family in Brussels, Belgium. She wrote Eddy Cavell that the move was temporary and that "Someday somehow I am going to do something useful for people" (as cited in Souhami, 2010, p. 33). She returned to Swardeston six years later to nurse her father who was dying of pneumonia. This experience, as well as, the example of her two sisters convinced Cavell that nursing was her true profession.

Cavell commenced nurses training at the Royal London Hospital on 3 September 1896. She was thirty years old. The hospital trained women according to the methods outlined by Florence Nightingale in her work *Notes on Nursing,* based on her experiences during the Crimean War. Nightingale's book founded the modern profession of nursing. She believed that nurses should save lives, not just comfort the dying. She advocated cleanliness, fresh air, and the notion that the patient came first.

During the Victorian age, the task of caring for the sick and dying fell to low paid servants and members of religious orders. Nuns did their best with limited resources and education, but were primarily concerned with saving the souls of their patients. The pioneering work of Florence Nightingale provided a scientific basis for the nursing profession (Arthur, 2011, p. 56).

Nurses that followed her teachings retained some of the customs of their religious predecessors. They lived a communal life during their training and while they worked in a hospital. They called each other sister. Instead of habits, they wore distinctive uniforms. A matron or directress, rather than a mother superior, headed each community. If they married, they had to leave the profession. The emphasis in *The Imitation of Christ* on temperance, restraint, and awareness of others, reinforced the life style that Cavell accepted as a probationer at the Royal London Hospital.

Eva Luckes, the matron in charge of the Nursing program, was a rigid taskmaster who believed firmly in the four D's of nursing: discipline, devotion, dedication, and duty (Arthur, 2011, p. 16). Luckes noted on Cavell's final evaluation that Cavell's "intentions were excellent, and she was conscientious without being quite reliable as a nurse" (as cited in Batten, 2007, p. 30). During her time as a student Cavell cared for a patient, who was recovering from a spine operation without anesthesia. She painted a spray of apple blossoms on the endpaper of his Bible and added a quote from à Kempis (Souhami, 2010, p. 64). "If thou hold thy peace and suffer then shalt thou see without doubt the Lord" (à Kempis, 2003, p. 30).

Cavell became a private nurse after completing her training. She volunteered to help during a typhoid epidemic in the town of Maidstone. The grateful people gave her a medal inscribed, "With gratitude for loving services, 1897" (Arthur, 2011, p. 68). In 1899 Cavell accepted a position as night Supervisor at St. Pancreas infirmary, a hospital for the indigent. She gained experience as a nurse and as an administrator in various other institutions.

She corresponded with Nurse Luckes seeking counsel, recommendations, and nurses to staff the hospitals in which she worked. Luckes, despite her harsh evaluation and stern demeanor, always helped her former student. Souhami (2010) noted that Luckes' terse and disciplined deportment was for Cavell "the practical manifestation of the love prescribed in à Kempis's writings" (p. 59).

Character

He is truly great who has great charity.
Thomas à Kempis (2003) p. 8.

Thomas à Kempis belonged to a spiritual community in the Netherlands called the Brethren of the Common life. It consisted of priests, brothers, and laypersons. The priests took vows of chastity and obedience. All the members of the community dedicated themselves to living simple lives of poverty, hard work, and charitable activities. They nursed the sick, wrote inspirational literature, copied sacred scripture, and taught students. Their lives centered on the church, books, and the library. Their schools featured high standards. Noted among their alumni were such luminaries as Erasmus and Martin Luther. Thomas à Kempis issued *Imitation of Christ* anonymously in 1418. It served as a guide for everyday life in a communal setting; the Brethren's equivalent of St. Benedict's rules.

James Edward Geoffrey De Montmorency (1906), a lawyer and scholar at the University of London, in his work *Thomas à Kempis* argued that the *Imitation of Christ* written in the 15th century was relevant to the early 20th century. He thought that change and decay typified both periods of time (p. 1). He believed that as a result of these conditions, both periods experienced a wave of mysticism (p. IX).

The 21st century has also experienced a resurgence of mysticism. Montmorency's lyrical description of the message of à Kempis, "The New Mysticism too is come, the Religion of the Inner Soul that fain would shuffle off the mortal coil of corrupt and unholy formalism," is relevant today (p. 1). Many in the post-modern era find security in an age of anxiety by subordinating their egos and ceding personal power to all-encompassing religious groups. These true believers make *The Imitation of Christ* the second most widely read devotional after the Bible.

À Kempis taught the Brethren to live as "strangers and pilgrims" in anticipation of a heavenly reward (2003, p. 104). He warned his readers that they would suffer adversities and trouble during their lives. He insisted that the key to sucessful community life lay in the virtues of patience, silence, and submission to God's will. He warned of the pernicious consequences of gossip and idle talk, a theme repeated by Cavell in her last message to her nurses (1915, October 10, EC 6, IWM).

This quote from à Kempis, explains why Cavell readily admitted her guilt to her German inquisitors, "If you are guilty consider how you would quickly and gladly amend" (2003, p. 93). As she awaited death by firing squad she prayed that God would, "Grant me happy passage out of this world" (Walker, 2003, p. 110). Protheroe (1916) summed up her character nicely, "She placed duty before either friendship or personal comfort" (p. 10).

The Oxford University Press published a special edition of the *Imitation of Christ* (1920) that contained the markings and underlining made by Cavell in her personal copy of the book. Anglican Bishop Herbert Ryle, Dean of Westminster Cathedral, wrote in the forward, "Reader, let us once more turn to the pages of the *Imitation*, and ponder the sweet secret of a holy humble life, spent in the Saviour's service" (p. xviii).

Matron of Nursing School

Do not open your heart to everyman,
but discuss your affairs with one who is wise and who fears God.
Thomas à Kempis (2003) p. 6.

Dr. Antoine Depage, Belgium's leading surgeon, believed strongly that the health of the people he served depended on the introduction of professional nursing in his country. Depage faced opposition from Cardinal Désiré-Joseph Mercier, Archbishop of Malines, who believed that the Sisters of Mercy were best suited to provide nursing care in a Catholic country. Depage formed a committee and set about establishing a nurses training institution. He purchased four adjoining brownstones in Ixelles, a suburb of Brussels, a short distance from his medical practice. He asked for an English trained nurse who spoke French to serve as matron. Dr. Depage offered Cavell the job based on her experience, ability to speak French, and the recommendation of the Belgian family she served previously as governess (Batten, 2007, p. 35).

Cavell accepted and arrived in Brussels in the middle of September 1907. Her organizational and teaching skills were immediately evident. She assigned the houses to different uses: quarters for the nursing students, wards and private rooms for patients, an operating theater, lecture rooms, as well as, her office and private quarters. The first students arrived at the L'école Belge pour les Infirmiéres Diplomées, The Clinic for Nurses' Training, in October 1907.

Other women followed. By 1912, sixty nurses from all over Europe attended the school. That same year, Cavell hired Nurse Elizabeth Wilkins, from the Royal Seamen's hospital in Cardiff, as nursing supervisor. Wilkins became her trusted friend and ally. Cavell's school achieved a measure of acclaim. Dr. Depage observed, "the Belgian school of nursing has been an entire success" in a speech at an international nursing congress (as cited in Batten, 2007, p. 36). The school gained status and access to influential donors after Belgium's Queen Elizabeth stayed at the school for care for a broken arm. By 1913, Cavell's training school produced qualified nurses for three hospitals, 24 communal schools, and 13 kindergartens. In addition, she started a nursing magazine for European nurses (Batten, 2007, 36).

Activities During WWI

He was willing to suffer and be despised; do you dare to complain of anything?

Thomas à Kempis (2003) p. 29.

A nineteen-year-old named Gavrilo Princep assassinated Archduke Franz Ferdinand, heir apparent to the Austro-Hungarian Empire, on 28 June 1914. German troops invaded neutral Belgium on 4 August 1914 as part of the Schlieffen plan to capture Paris in forty-two days. Cavell was on holiday in Norwich visiting her mother when war broke out. She received a telegram from Nurse Wilkins informing her that the Red Cross had taken over the nursing school and that it was imperative she come back to Brussels. "Driven by her sense of duty," Protheroe (1916) colloquially recalled, "she returned, "hotfoot" to Belgium (p. 16). Cavell noted, "At a time like this I am more needed than ever" (as cited in Norton-Taylor, 2005, p. 3).

Cavell reported in a letter to the *Nursing Mirror,* "that the Belgians, worn out and weary, were unable to hold back the oncoming host" (as cited in Protheroe, 1916, p. 21). The German army occupied Belgium after the Battle of Mons on 23 August 1914. This engagement led to the collapse of the French army, an event that left many Allied soldiers isolated behind the lines. The Germans warned that they would shoot all those who did not surrender.

Nurse Jacqueline van Til (1922), one of Cavell's nurses, noted that the Germans posted placards on the walls of Brussels that stated, "Any male or female who hides an English or French soldier in his house, or on his premises, shall be severely punished" (p. 79). Two wounded British soldiers, Colonel Dudley Boger and Sergeant Fred Meachin found their way to Cavell's clinic and begged for shelter.

Members of the underground asked Cavell to hide other soldiers and help them escape to the Netherlands. The number of fugitives increased through the fall and winter of 1914. Cavell wrote to her mother and her cousin, Eddy Cavell, on 11 March 1915, asking for money and news of soldiers "who are relations of some the girls here" (EC 2, IWM). If these letters had fallen into the hands of the Germans, they could have incriminated her.

Nurse Jacqueline van Til (1922) remembered that the nurses kept up the "good humor" of their "guests" with piano and songs (p. 94). She mentioned that Nurse Cavell was shocked at a few instances of mild flirtation between the soldiers and the kitchen help. Van Til related that Cavell allowed the soldiers to walk out of doors "for a little fresh air" and that the escapees often visited a nearby café for a glass or more of wine (p. 91). One night six or seven soldiers drank too much and made their way back to the clinic singing, "It's a long way to Tipperary" at the top of their lungs (Batten, 2007, p. 81). Cavell presided over her weekly tea with her nurses and at Christmas time hosted a children's party and traditional holiday meal of roast beef and plum pudding (Batten. 2007, 36).

Despite Cavell's efforts to maintain a sense of normality at her nursing school, these were worrisome times. She harbored English and French soldiers who weren't fully aware of the dangers of their predicament; while treating wounded German soldiers in the same ramshackle group of interconnected buildings. She recruited guides and safe houses to smuggle soldiers out of Belgium. At times, she personally led soldiers to rendezvous points.

Philippe Baucq, an architect and member of the underground, warned Cavell that the Germans were closing in. Cavell tried to cut down on the number and the time the escapees spent in her clinic, but they kept coming. Cavell received a visit from a member of the German political police on 14 June 1915. He searched the premises, found nothing, and warned her against harboring soldiers. Cavell stopped for a while, but could not resist the pleas of fugitive soldiers (Batten, 2007, p. 83).

The net grew even tighter. The German police established a station across the street from the clinic. They placed undercover operatives to observe the comings and goings at the clinic. They sent spies posing as escaped soldiers to her door. They arrested Cavell and thirty-four other members of the underground on 31 July 1915.

Arrest, Trial, and Execution

He who loves God with all his heart does not fear death
Thomas à Kempis (2003) p. 24.

The German military police took nurse Edith Cavell into custody in the afternoon of 5 August 1915. After a fortnight at German headquarters, they transported her to cell #23 at St. Giles prison, a Gothic fortress designed as a panopticon. Questioning in German, with French interpretation, began immediately. Cavell insisted that she had nothing to hide. The Germans asked her swear on a Bible to tell the truth, an oath she took seriously.

Cavell's interrogators told her that they had all the information they needed to convict her and that if she confessed they would go easy on her friends. Souhami (2010) reported that at one point her interrogators accused her of receiving 5000 francs from the underground to defray the costs of smuggling soldiers out of Belgium. She corrected them, stating, "No, not 5,000, 1500" (p. 245). Cavell made a full confession after 73 hours of interrogation without counsel.

British diplomats agonized over her situation, but felt that any protest might do more harm than good. Richard Norton-Taylor (2005), a reporter for the *Guardian,* claimed that they clung naively to the belief that "Germany would not execute a woman who was regarded as a heroine" (p. 1). They relied on the good offices of American diplomats, Brand Whitlock and Hugh Gibson, to advocate for Cavell. A thorough report presented to both houses of parliament in 1915, praised the work of the American Legation for rendering all the assistance they properly could. The American legation concurred with this assessment. They insisted that they had neglected no step "that could have had any effect" (1915, Report to Parliament BL)

The Germans held Cavell in solitary confinement. She enjoyed the solitude, "I thank God for this ten week's quiet before the end. Life has always been hurried and full of difficulty" (as cited in Protheroe, 1916, p. 64). "She passed the hours in her cell embroidering, reading, and worrying. Her most treasured book, *The Imitation of Christ,* brought her relief" (Batten 2007, p. 103).

Prison authorities allowed her to write a two-page letter or postcard once a week. On 6 August 1915 she wrote about the welfare of nurses and her dogs. "Is Jackie sad? Tell him I will be back soon" (EC 3, IWM). On 14 September 1915 she wrote to her nurses, "It is not enough to be a good nurse only, but you should also be Christian women" (van Till, 1922, 126). On 4 October 1915, she wrote a letter asking Sister Wilkins to send her "My blue coat and skirt, white muslin blouse, thick grey reindeer gloves, and grey fur stole" (EC 3, IWM). Nurse Wilkins visited her on two occasions. She brought news of the Clinique and the clothes that Cavell wore during her trial and execution. Cavell did not wear her nurse's uniform again.

The Tribunal of the Imperial War Council of Germany tried Cavell and 35 others accused of aiding English, French, and Belgian soldiers to escape. They held the secret trial at the Belgium State Senate from the 6 to 8 October. Hugh Gibson (1918) recalled, "she spoke without trembling and with a clear mind" (p. 12, c. 2). He noted that "Miss Cavell's conduct before the court was marked with the greatest frankness and courage (1918, p. 12 c. 4).

The military prosecutor asked Cavell why she helped soldiers escape to England. She replied, "If I had not done so, they would have been shot" (as cited in Protheroe, 1916, p. 49). The prosecutor remarked to the court that recruiting soldiers for the enemy put the lives of German soldiers at risk. He asked Cavell how many soldiers she had helped. She answered "about 200." He asked if they were all English. She replied "English, French, and Belgians". Lastly, the prosecutor asked if Cavell knew that the punishment for her crime was death. She answered, "yes." (as cited in Arthur, 2011, p. 303). Author Roland Ryder (1975) quoted Cavell as saying; "My preoccupation was not to aid the enemy but to help the men who applied to me to reach the frontier" (p. 199).

Cavell's court appointed lawyer sat behind her, but had no communication with her. He argued that Cavell helped those she considered in danger and that she never sought to harm Germany. He reminded the Court that she had nursed German soldiers. He asked the court to spare her life and commute her sentence to detention for the duration of the war. The German Military Court rendered a guilty verdict at 5 PM on 11 October 1915. The Court ordered Cavell executed at dawn the following morning.

American diplomat, Hugh Gibson, asked the German political section about Cavell's welfare. They told him that they knew nothing. In an article entitled "Cavell Execution." The *Boston Evening Transcript,* labeled this, "the lying strategy of Teuton officials" (1915, October 22, p. 4, c. 2). Nurses Elizabeth Wilkins and Beatrice Smith learned of the death sentence from a Belgian lawyer affiliated with the underground. They brought this information to Brand Whitlock, the American minister. He wrote a letter to General Baron Moriz von Bissing, the German military governor, asking him to "save this unhappy woman from death" (as cited by Protheroe, 1916, p. 58). The Governor replied that after due deliberation he decided to allow the court to carry out its sentence.

German authorities allowed the Reverend Stirling Gahan, an Anglican minister to visit Cavell the night before her death. He wrote, "To my astonishment and relief I found my friend perfectly calm and resigned" and quoted her as saying "I have no fear nor shrinking; I have seen death so often that it is not strange or fearful to me" (as cited by Horne, 1923). Gahan heard her last confession and gave her Holy Communion. She asked him to tell her mother that she had no regrets. She wrote a final letter to her Nurses, urging them to continue the good work they had begun, admonishing them to mistrust evil speaking, and asking them to forgive any grievance they might hold against her (van Til, 1922, 138).

The German military authorities transported Cavell, Baucq, and three other Belgian nationals to the National shooting range in Schaerbeek at 2 A.M., the morning of October 12, 1915. Two of her nurses waiting outside the prison watched her leave. Pastor Paul Le Seur, the German Lutheran prison chaplain, attended her during her last moments. He wrote that the officer commanding the two eight-man firing squads reassured his men that Cavell was not a mother and encouraged them not to hesitate to shoot a woman who had committed such heinous crimes. A soldier walked her to the execution post, bound her to it, and bandaged her eyes. "Later he told Le Seur her eyes were filled with tears" (Souhami, 2010, p. 357). An Officer gave the order. The shots rang out from six paces away. Cavell received mortal wounds in the head and chest and fell to the ground. A doctor pronounced her dead. Belgian women buried her just outside the prison in a grave marked by a simple wooden cross.

The Cavell Story as Propaganda

Behold how far you are from true charity and humility, which does not know how to be angry with anyone, or to be indignant save only with self.
Thomas à Kempis (2003) p. 31.

Cavell would not have approved of what happened next. The press used her death as a means of demonizing the Germans. James Beck (1915), a US lawyer termed her execution "one of exceptional brutality and stupidity" (p. 11). Ernest Protheroe (1916) quoted the Bishop of London as stating, that the murder of Miss Cavell "will run the sinking of the *Lusitania* close in the civilized world as the greatest crime in history" (p. 115).

An article dated 22 October 1915 entitled "Cavell Execution" in the *Boston Transcript* reported that a crowd gathered in Trafalgar Square upon hearing the news of Cavell's death. One speaker asked, "Who will avenge the murder of this splendid English woman" (p. 4, c. 2). He urged young men to join the British Army and punish the perpetrators of this crime. Recruiters used a portrait of Cavell to encourage able-bodied men to enlist in the armed forces.

Newspapers on both sides of the Atlantic embellished Cavell's story to sell newspapers and influence the public. Martin Stuart of the Providence Rhode Island *Evening Standard* (1915, October 22, p. 1, c. 4) incorrectly reported that Cavell died wearing her nursing uniform with a small Union Jack on her bosom, that she refused a blindfold, and that the firing squad wept after the execution. In actuality, Cavell wore civilian clothes and accepted a blindfold. A *New York Times* (US) story, "Miss Cavell Shot by German Officer," incorrectly claimed that after she fainted a German Officer "drew a large service revolver from

his belt, took steady aim from his knee and shot the woman through the head (1915, October 17, p. 2, c. 7).

The British Government made it clear that their Foreign Ministry and the United States Legation in Brussels did everything they could to help Cavell. An article entitled, "The Execution of Miss Cavell," appeared in *The Guardian* (UK) which emphasized that the American Legation "spared no effort" to secure a fair trial for her and, after the guilty verdict, asked the Germans to commute her sentence. The article asserted that the Germans gave Cavell a fair trial and there was "no doubt that she was guilty of the offense charged against her." The British impugned that the Germans carried out her execution swiftly simply because she was English (1915, October 22, p. 1).

The public in the United States viewed Cavell's death with repugnance, but filtered their horror through their own preoccupations. Rutin Dunbar, a reporter for the *New York Times,* asked a panel of professionals for their opinion. A judge observed, "It will be decades" before the Germans effaced "the shame of having slain this noble woman" (Dunbar, 1915, October 31, p. 5, c. 1). A suffragette characterized the reaction of men to Cavell's death as "pure hysteria" (Dunbar, 1915, October 31, 5, c. 2). She argued that the only argument against Cavell's execution was, "War is not women's expression" (Dunbar, 1915, October 31, p. 5. c. 1).

The Making of a Hero

Do not fear the judgment of men
Thomas à Kempis p. 84.

The people of the United Kingdom needed a hero in 1915, one of the most difficult times in the history of the country. A poem entitled "Edith Cavell" in the *Dover Express* (1915, October 24, p. 6, c. 3) asserted that she would live forever in the hearts of the English people. Herbert Asquith, the Prime Minister, observed, "She has taught the bravest man among us a supreme lesson in courage" ("Death of Edith Cavell," 1915, p. 11). A series of public events enshrined Cavell in British public memory.

On 23 October 1915 at noon, the government held funeral services for Cavell at St. Paul's Cathedral. Two thousand nurses gathered under the dome of Wren's English Baroque masterpiece, dressed in their distinctive uniforms. The Bishop of London read the burial service from *The Book of Common Prayer* (1662). The congregation sang *Abide with me* and three verses of *God Save the King* (1915, Program, IWM, File EC9).

The British government disinterred Cavell's body, transported it on the *HMS Destroyer* to Dover, and moved the casket by rail to Victoria Station on 14 May 1919. A horse drawn carriage carried the catafalque to Westminster Cathedral. The *Nottingham Post* in an article "London's Tribute to the Martyred Nurse," described the impressive service (1919, p. 2). The *Milwaukee Journal* noted that "vast throngs" of people, especially nurses and women war workers, "paid homage to this brave woman" (1919, p. 23, c. 5). In the afternoon, a train took the casket for final burial at Norwich Cathedral near Swardeston, her birthplace.

On 17 March 1920, Queen Mother Alexandria dedicated a monument to Cavell in St. Martin's place, north of Trafalgar Square. The sculptor of the statue, Sir George Frampton, handed the Queen a rope. When she pulled it, the Belgian tri-color and the British Union Jack that shrouded the monument, fell a way (1920 Program, EC 9, IWM). After the ceremony, a British general remarked to Lady Asquith "the Germans will blush when they see this," to which she replied, "Won't the British?" (Edwards, 2003). One attendee described the memorial, a blocky jumble of marble and granite, as "unpleasing as it is curious" (as cited in The Victorian Web).

Controversy concerning the monument continued. A Women's Rights organization asked the British government to add Cavell's comment "I realize that patriotism is not enough, I must have no hatred or bitterness towards anyone." to the memorial in 1923. The daily press reacted with hostility to this suggestion. They accused the women's group of being pacifists and pro-German. A year later, the new Labour government authorized the inclusion of Cavell's famous words on the pedestal of her statue. Souhami (2010) pronounced the monument a "muddle" because Cavell's quote was at odds with the patriotic inscription, "For God, King, and Country." She observed that the "apex" of the statue "did not know what its plinth was saying" (p. 365).

Plays dramatized Cavell's story. In an article, "The Cavell Case," The *Reading Eagle* (1919, p. 10, c. 2) of Reading, Pennsylvania urged readers to attend a play about Cavell, so they could better understand the price Germany ought to pay at the Paris Peace Conference. A 1934 letter to a Miss Wainwright criticized a play in London, *Edith Cavell*, by Robert Forester because the cast failed to address nurses as "Nurse" and the head nurse as "Directress." (EC8, IWM).

Anna Neagle gave an epic performance in the film *Nurse Edith Cavell* (1939) directed by Hebert Wilcox. Jimmy Fidler, a Florida film critic warned, "Such pictures should be left for some future generation less involved emotionally than you and I are today (1939, October 11,p. 14, c. 3). Two D. C. Comics, *Wonder Women of History* (1943) and *Treasure Chest* (1946) featured Edith Cavell during World War II. Today, Brian Kavanaugh (2007) and Sally O'Kelly (2011) both have produced videos on the Internet that feature views of Cavell's memorial in London, as well as, original photos of her. The play, *Twelve Ten Fifteen, The Life and death of a British Martyr is* currently soliciting venues in the UK.

Conclusion

The Anglican Church commemorates Cavell on 11 October, the day of her death. The inscription on her monument in London references her piety and patriotism. However, George Bernard Shaw wrote of a different woman. He saw Cavell as a rebel and a heretic. She defied her father. She aspired to make a greater contribution than as a governess. She started a sucessful professional nursing school in a country that clung to old ways of providing health care. She harbored and aided over 200 Allied soldiers to escape to a neutral country. When the Germans caught her, she admitted it.

Cavell's last words confronted the chauvinistic patriotism prevalent in England during World War I. She insisted that patriotism was not enough. She believed that "I must have no hatred or bitterness toward anyone" (Reverend Gahan, EC 5, IWM). She lived her life and entrusted her soul, not to the passions of the day, but to her own personal religious conviction. She underlined the following passage in her copy of the *Imitation of Christ* (1920) the day before she died, "There is none to help me, none to deliver and save me, but Thou O Lord God my Savior" (Edith Cavell Edition, p. 200).

In 1915, well before unrestricted submarine warfare by the Germans, American sentiment was overwhelmingly isolationist. Cavell's story undoubtedly influenced public opinion in the United States. The British Government found her story a useful recruiting tool. They held up her courage as an example to the English people.

Most Americans are not familiar with Cavell, but the people of the British Commonwealth remember her fondly. Her story is a staple in the education of primary students. They commemorate her life in statues, hospitals, schools, street names, and even a mountain in Canada. The people of the UK are currently embroiled in a debate over whether the Treasury should depict Cavell or the war minister, Lord Herbert Kitchener on a 2£ coin memorializing the 100th anniversary of World War I. Hopefully, the Cavell backers will win out. People living in the post-modern age, where cynicism and relativity prevail, need her message of standing up for what one truly believes.

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File EC 5 - Official and semi-official correspondence concerning the arrest, execution and burial of Edith Cavell, August 1915 – October 1915.
File EC 6 - Further correspondence, November 1915 – August 1918.
File EC 7 - Official and other correspondence relating to the exhumation and reburial of Edith Cavell's remains January 1919 – October 1920.
File EC 8 - Miscellaneous documents relating to Cavell, May 1896 – December 1921.
File EC 9 – Printed items [mainly Orders of Service] concerning the memorial and funeral services for Edith Cavell in London and Norwich 1915 and 1919.

Negative Campaigning:
What Is It, Why Do They Do It, and What Difference Does It Make?

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Introduction

This paper addresses negative campaigning: What is it? Why do candidates do it? What difference does it make?

During the 2004 presidential campaign, the Swift Boat Veterans for Truth sponsored an ad entitled, "Any Questions?" The ad suggested that John Kerry exaggerated his war injuries to qualify for medals and continued to exaggerate his war record for votes. The same year, an ad entitled "Windsurfing" used humor, classical music, and footage from an ill-conceived photo opportunity to make the point that Kerry was a "flip flopper" who followed political winds and changed positions frequently. In 1988, the "Tank Ride" ad used unfortunate footage of Michael Dukakis riding in a tank, smiling, and wearing an oversized helmet. Claims in the narration and scrolling text were misleading, but the visual images conveyed the impression that Dukakis was weak on defense. Also in 1988, George H.W. Bush ran an ad entitled "Revolving Door" and the National Security PAC ran one called, "Willie Horton." Convicted rapist Willie Horton committed additional crimes while out of prison on a furlough program when Dukakis was Governor of Massachusetts. The clear implication was that Dukakis was "soft" on crime. But the ad neglected to mention that 40 other states and the federal government had similar furlough programs in place at the time. 1964 featured the famous "Daisy Girl" ad which, in a sense, started the modern age of negative advertising.

How do you feel when you see ads like these? Are they *fair*? Are they *legitimat*e? Perhaps more important, are they *effective*? Many people complain about mudslinging and negative advertising in political campaigns. But more than 70% of all presidential ads in 2012 were classified as "negative." Why are so many negative ads aired? Political consultants, campaign advisors, and candidates believe that negative advertising *works*! If such advertising did not work, it would not be used so heavily. People remember the messages conveyed by such ads.

But what do political scientists think about negative campaigning? A substantial body of scholarly literature on the topic has developed over the last 20 years examining the many facets and layers of negative campaigning.

Reviewing the Literature

Stephen Ansolabahere *et al.* published a seminal article in 1994. Their work posed the question, "Does Attack Advertising Demobilize the Electorate?" Their answer was a resounding "yes"! They used an experimental design in which advertising tone was manipulated. They found that exposure to negative ads dropped intentions to vote by 5%. Negative campaigns produced demobilizing effects and a reduced sense of political efficacy. Voters who watched negative ads became more cynical about the responsiveness of public officials and the electoral processes (Ansolabehere 1994).

Two years later, William G. Mayer provided an intriguing defense of negative campaigning (Mayer 1996). Mayer compared the 1960 presidential debates to the 1984, 1988, and 1992 debates. He observed that the 1960 debates seemed more civil, lacking the nastiness, evasions, and scripted one-liners of more recent debates. He cited critics who say that campaigns have become worse since 1960. For example, former Senator Howard Baker noted that smear attacks, most directly, victimize the target of the attack. But they do additional damage by undermining the integrity and credibility of the political system itself.

While acknowledging Baker's point, Mayer questioned easy assumptions that negative campaigning is always bad. Maybe the problem is one of semantics. "Positive" campaigning dwells on a candidate's own strengths, merits, plans, and policy proposals. "Negative" campaigning attacks or criticizes an opponent. It emphasizes the opposing candidate's weaknesses, faults, and mistakes. But what is wrong, Mayer asked, with talking about an opponent's flaws, weaknesses, and shortcomings, about problems they have not faced, about unrealistic promises they have made, and about issues they would prefer not to talk about? If a candidate's message is that it is "time for a change," it is first necessary to explain what is wrong with the status quo. Negative campaigning provides voters with valuable comparative information. The problem occurs when some ads are irrelevant, harsh, mean-spirited, or nasty. Some ads mislead, take actions out of context, or imply connections between events that may be completely unrelated. As such, Mayer cautioned, when we criticize negative campaigning, it is important to be clear.

In 1996, Joseph E. Harrington, Jr. and Gregory D. Hess investigated how candidates allocate resources between positive campaigning (which influences voters' perceptions of the candidate's own record) and negative campaigning (which influences voter's perceptions of the opponent's record) (Harrington and Hess 1996). They predicted that the candidates who are perceived as having less attractive personal attributes run relatively more negative campaigns and candidates who are viewed as stronger in terms of personal attributes run more positive campaigns. They estimated that roughly half of all political advertising entails negative statements about one's opponents. They concluded that negative campaigning can be very effective. But they found that there can be a "backlash" effect too. Conveying negative messages about your opponent says something potentially negative about you too. As such, negative campaigning is a high-risk/high-reward strategy.

Two years later, Steven E. Finkel and John G. Geer evaluated and disputed the claim that attack advertising demobilizes voters (Finkel and Geer, 1998).They found that such advertising depresses turnout among *some* voters. But it stimulates others by increasing their store of political *information* about candidates, increasing the degree to which they *care* about the election's outcome, and increasing their *ties* to their favored candidates. Further, the demobilizing effects of negative ads are weakest among individuals who are most highly attentive to the media and the campaign.

Several studies of direct interest were published the following year. Kim Fridkin Kahn and Patrick J. Kenney provided additional refinement (Kahn and Kenney 1999). They found that most people can distinguish between useful negative information and harsh mudslinging. Legitimate criticisms increase the likelihood of voting. Unsubstantiated, shrill attacks do the opposite. But the effect of such negativity is muted by virtue of the fact that it has the greatest impact on those who are already less interested in and knowledgeable about politics and who are less likely to vote to begin with.

Martin P. Wattenberg and Craig Leonard Brians provided additional scrutiny (Wattenberg and Brians 1999). They disputed Ansolabehere's finding that negative advertising drives voters away from the polls. Wattenberg and Brians' survey data yielded no evidence of a turnout disadvantage for those who recollected negative presidential campaign advertising. In short, the demobilization dangers of negative campaigning appear to have been exaggerated.

Richard R. Lau *et al.* challenged some conventional wisdom about negative campaigns (Lau 1999). First is the widely held belief that "nobody likes them but they work." Second is the oft-expressed concern about the detrimental effects of such negativism on the political system itself. The study found that the data do *not* support either contention. Negative ads do not appear to be more effective than positive ads. Furthermore, they do not appear to damage the political system.

In 2001, Richard R. Lau and Gerald M. Pomper again asked whether negative campaigning demobilizes the electorate (Lau and Pomper 2001).They found that such campaigning has a *curvilinea*r effect on turnout. Most negativism actually stimulates turnout. Only at extremely high levels of negativity does it suppress turnout. Second, it makes no difference whether the criticisms are person-based or policy-based. Third, partisans are *stimulated* by negative campaigning while Independents are *discouraged* or *demobilized* by it.

Similarly, Ken Goldstein and Paul Freedman also disputed the demobilizing effects of negative campaigning (Goldstein and Freedman 2002). Such campaigning, they found, is just as likely to *engage*

potential voters as to demobilize them. Unambiguous evidence shows that exposure to negative campaign ads can actually *stimulate* voter turnout.

Shortly thereafter, Lee Sigelman and Martin Kugler posed the question, "Why Is Research on the Effects of Negative Campaigning So Inconclusive?" (Siggelman and Kugler 2003). It seems so obvious to many observers that negative campaigning works and that it has a corrosive effect on political processes. Yet this "truth" is far from obvious when it is subjected to systematic scrutiny. Why? The authors found that "negative campaigning" as described in scholarly literature differs from "negative campaigning" as perceived by ordinary citizens. The "disconnect" between conventional wisdom and scholarly literature is attributable in part to this lack of definitional clarity. Researchers should not rely solely on their own content evaluations of ads but must examine how citizens perceive the tone of campaigns.

James D. King and Jason B. McConnell provided an even more nuanced account (King and McConnell 2003). It is axiomatic that voters generally express distaste for negative ads and politicians generally think that such ads work. But is there a "boomerang effect" that leads to a backlash against the sponsoring candidate? A strong attack, if perceived by the audience as untruthful or unjustified may create more negative feelings towards the sponsor and can generate sympathy for the target. King and McConnell found an apparent gender gap at work here. Women are more responsive than men to negative attack messages, but they are more likely to blame the *sponsor* rather than the target of the attack. Going negative can be effective for a time. But repeated exposure risks a backlash, especially from women. There is a "parabolic effect" of repeated exposure to negative advertising that is gender specific. Among women, the sponsor *initially* benefits from an enhanced image but suffers a decline in image after repeated exposure.

In 2006, Deborah Jordan Brooks found that Ansolabehere's initial conclusions regarding the demobilizing effects of negative campaigning were premature (Brooks 2006). Citizens appear to be more resilient towards the onslaught of negative campaigning than they were initially thought to be.

The following year, Peter L. Francia and Paul S. Herrnson examined the situation from the perspective of political consultants (Francia and Herrnson 2007). Conventional wisdom holds that political consultants encourage candidates to go negative and win at any cost. Some do, but others do not. Some campaign professionals draw ethical distinctions between different forms of negative campaigning.

In 2009, Richard R. Lau and Ivy Brown Rovner again asked the central question, "Does negative campaigning really work?" (Lau and Rovner 2009). They concluded that there is little scientific evidence that attacking one's opponent is a particularly effective campaign technique. There is also little evidence that negative campaigning damages our system of government.

Two years later, Yanna Krupnikov focused on the effects of timing and found that timing matters (Krupnikov 2011). Negativity can only demobilize when two factors are met: (1) a person is exposed to negative ads *after* selecting a preferred candidate and (2) the negativity is about this preferred candidate. Such voters can be convinced that their selection is no better than the alternative candidate whom they already know they do not like. Previous literature suggested that candidates should target the undecided voters because those who have already decided won't change their minds. Krupnikov, however, found that even decided voters *can* be influenced: they can be derailed, demobilized, and persuaded to stay home by negative ads.

In sum, research has been somewhat inconclusive, providing mixed evidence about the effects of negative advertising.

History

Negative advertising is not new. The practice is as old as elections themselves. Thomas Jefferson, Andrew Jackson, and others were targets of attacks that would make contemporary claims seem tame by comparison.

Consider this one: The candidate is a white male accused of keeping a black mistress and fathering several children by her. The opposition has attacked him as a fanatic, a revolutionary, a personal coward, and a "howling atheist." They predicted that if this man were elected, God's vengeance would be visited upon the country which would see "dwellings in flames . . . , female chastity violated, and children

writhing on the pike." I'm describing the first contested presidential election of 1796. Who was the target of these charges? It was Thomas Jefferson (Johnson 1993).

In 1828, Andrew Jackson opposed the incumbent, John Quincy Adams. Adams represented the old seaboard colonial elite. Jackson was a rough-hewn son of the frontier, slayer of British soldiers and scalper of Indians. Adams' supporters portrayed Jackson as a bloody-handed frontier ruffian, a dueler, brawler, gambler, hard-drinker, and adulterer. The trouble for Adams was that when his supporters depicted Jackson as a rough, tough Indian killer, horse racer, and so on, they were describing the kind of man that many voters in the South and West admired greatly! The image turned out to be a *positive*, not a negative. If you wanted the vote of the common man, you had to give them Jackson types whenever available – frontier military heroes (Johnson, 30-31).

Fear, even more than smear, has always been the greatest resource of the negative campaigner (Johnson, 33). Political ads using fear as a vehicle are almost always memorable. The best known scare tactic spot is probably the aforementioned "Daisy Girl" ad run during the 1964 Johnson-Goldwater contest. By design, the ad aired only once: on NBC's *Monday Night at the Movies* of September 7. It set the media buzzing for days, often being rebroadcast without charge on newscasts as a legitimate news item. The script never mentioned Sen. Barry Goldwater directly, but the implication was so strong, the imagery was so emotionally charged, and the point was indelibly made: Goldwater was portrayed as an irresponsible, trigger-happy nuclear cowboy. The "mad bomber" image remained with him for the duration of the campaign.

To re-cap: negative campaigning is roundly condemned by the public. Negative campaigning is not new. Many candidates and consultants think that negative campaigning works.

Distinguishing "Legitimate" from "Illegitimate" Negative Campaigning

Joseph Napolitan, campaign manager for Hubert Humphrey, argued that there is a line that can be drawn between legitimate attacks on an opponent's record and insidious attacks skillfully designed to appeal to the voters' worst instincts in a highly emotional manner (Napolitan 1989). Some negative charges are fair and appropriate. These are based on factual, documentable evidence and address what a candidate has said and done in his public career.

The Legitimate Negative Ad.

- *The candidate's public record:* A candidate's statements, votes, positions, and promises he has not kept are suitable subjects for criticism.
- *Embarrassing statements or votes:* Candidates have said and done things, important or trivial, that they wish voters didn't know about. If they are on the record, they can be used.
- *Campaign promises impossible to fulfill:* Unrealistic promises to expand programs while cutting taxes are subject to legitimate criticism.
- *Refusal to take a position:* If a candidate ducks, dodges, hedges, or flip-flops on controversial issues, he is fair game for criticism.
- *Refusal to make a financial disclosure statement or reveal the source of campaign funds:* Many candidates have stumbled here.
- *Callous indifference to real problems:* Such attacks work best when the candidate can be labeled a hypocrite for talking one game while playing another (e.g., calling for a improved educational performance while cutting school funding).
- *Positions on controversial issues:* Whenever a candidate takes a position on a controversial issue, some voters will disagree. Criticisms are legitimate.
- *Catching an opponent in an outright lie:* If your fact checkers catch your opponent in a lie, it is legitimate to attach his credibility.
- *Acceptance of funds from organizations which can benefit from the actions of his office:* These attacks work best if the candidate used his office to help contributors.
- *Membership in restricted clubs:* If a candidate belongs to clubs that don't admit women or minorities, criticism is legitimate.

- *Also legitimate opportunities for criticism:* refusal to debate; criminal record; dishonorable discharge from the military; lack of qualifications for office sought; lack of relevant knowledge; inconsistencies; residency ("carpet bagging"). The bottom line about negative advertising is that it should be honest, and it should be fair (Napolitan, 18-19).

Consider the following examples from 2012. Republican Senate candidate Todd Akin said that "legitimate rape" can't get women pregnant. U.S. Rep. Paul Broun called evolution a lie from the "pit of hell." Arkansas State Rep. Jon Hubbard wrote a book called *Letters to the Editor: Confessions of a Frustrated Conservative* in which he asserted that slavery "may have actually been a blessing in disguise" for black people because after it was over, they were "rewarded with citizenship in the greatest nation ever established upon the face of the earth." John Sununu, former N.H. governor and a leading surrogate for Mitt Romney, said that President Obama should "learn how to be an American," called the President "lazy," and said that Colin Powell's endorsement of Obama could be explained partly by the two men's shared race. Indiana's Republican Senate candidate Richard Mourdock said in a debate that when a woman becomes pregnant from being raped, "that … is something that God intended to happen." He said this one day after he began running a TV ad featuring Romney's endorsement of Mourdock for the U.S. Senate. When candidates say things like this, it is *legitimat*e for an opponent to criticize them and hold them accountable for what they or those close to them have said.

But what about "insidious" negative advertising? Napolitan described such ads as harmful but enticing, deceitful, treacherous, and seductive. When most of us think of objectionable, negative campaigning and mudslinging, this is what we have in mind.

Insidious Negative Imagery.

- *Insidious ads are seldom on a substantive issue*: The subject is peripheral to the campaign. Ads contain an element of truth that is magnified and blown out of proportion. Charges are sometimes implied rather than stated.
- *Insidious attacks often use symbolism in patriotic and moralistic terms:* Recall Bush's charges against Dukakis in 1988 concerning Dukakis' opposition to a Massachusetts bill that would have required teachers to lead the Pledge of Allegiance in class. Dukakis opposed on constitutional grounds but Bush called into question his patriotism, taking an incident and blowing it out of proportion, magnifying its importance and significance.
- *They make it appear the subject of the attack has control over a situation when he does not:* Dukakis did not control the reciting of the Pledge of Allegiance in Massachusetts schools.
- *They use guilt-by-association and loaded-terms techniques:* They capitalize on words or phrases that have negative connotations among some groups: "ultra-liberal," "card-carrying member of ACLU," "right-wing extremists," etc.
- *Facts are distorted in insidious spots:* If the spot works, it will stay on the air even if refuted. If facts are not refuted, the spot will run forever.
- *Insidious ads capitalize on the theory, where there's smoke, there's fire:* Many voters are ready to believe the worst.
- *Invidious attacks are seldom made directly by the candidate himself:* More often, the charges are made by some third party, perhaps without the campaign's consent. Responsibility for vicious attacks can be denied by the candidate and his advisers.
- *Direct mail at the very end of a campaign can have a powerful impact:* Misleading messages designed to hit at the last minute can be influential (Napolitan, 20).

Some examples from the 2012 presidential campaign follow. Obama's team failed to disavow a negative ad produced by Priorities USA Action in which a steelworker, Joe Soptic, attributed his wife's death by cancer to a decision by Romney's investment firm, Bain Capital, to close his plant, ending his health insurance. The implication was misleading. Soptic had lost his job years before his wife became ill (Rutenberg 2012). Another Obama ad earned a "pants on fire" (POF) rating by the nonpartisan web site, Politifact. The ad accused Romney of backing "a bill that outlaws all abortion, even in cases of rape and incest." There was no such bill and Romney had stated that abortion *should*

be allowed in cases of rape, incest, or to save the woman's life (Jackson *et al.* 2012). The Romney campaign earned its own POF distinction for running an ad that falsely claimed that Obama planned to do away with work requirements for welfare recipients (Rutenberg). Romney also falsely stated in a TV ad that Gregory Friedman, an inspector general for the Department of Energy found that stimulus contracts "were steered to friends and family" (Jackson). Romney surrogate, John Sununu, had another dubious contribution to this list. Referring to the July 2012 launch of a Russian Soyuz spaceship that carried U.S. astronaut Sunita Williams to the International Space Station, he stated that President Obama "outsourced a major portion of the U.S. space program to the Russians." Sununu overlooked the fact that it was President Bush who announced a "new vision" for NASA in 2004 that included ending the Space Shuttle program without having a replacement vehicle for at least four years (Jackson).

Here are two more ads that attracted attention. First, an Obama ad played a recording of comments that Romney made at a fundraiser: "There are 47% of the people who will vote for the President no matter what . . . who are dependent upon the government, who believe that the government has a responsibility to care for them, that they are entitled to health care, to food, to housing . . . and they will vote for this president no matter what. And so my job is not to worry about those people. I'll never convince them that they should take responsibility" (Brazile 2012). Are these remarks unfairly taken out of context or are they reflective of Romney's beliefs? It is left to the voters to decide. The second example is a Romney ad: It began with energy, music, and in-color photos of Barack Obama with Ellen DeGeneres, with Jimmy Fallon, Obama wearing sunglasses, smiling, laughing, and having a beer. But the text read as follows: "Four years ago, America elected the biggest celebrity in the world. America got one cool President . . . But after four years of having a celebrity president (switch to black and white photos of depressed-looking college students) … 1 in 4 recent college graduates are jobless or underemployed. 85% are moving back in with their parents. Student loan debt exceeds one trillion dollars. After four years of a celebrity President, is your life any better?" Here the ad ended. Was this ad fair? Was it effective? Did the conclusion (college students are in dire straits) follow from the premise (because Obama likes to laugh with Jimmy Fallon)? Once again, voters decide.

What should a candidate do when confronted with negative campaigning? Napolitan had some advice.

<u>Defending against Attacks.</u>

- *Reaction must be strong and immediate:* Counterattack immediately. Hold the opponent personally responsible for the attacks. Use credible surrogates to respond for the candidate. For example, during the 1992 campaign, President Bush questioned Governor Clinton's patriotism. During a debate, Clinton responded by telling Bush that his own father, Prescott Bush, had stood up to Joe McCarthy and would be ashamed to see such tactics used by his son. Another example: during a 1996 debate, Senator Dole raised questions about President Clinton's character. Clinton responded that no negative attack ever created a job or educated a child.

- *Always conduct negative research on your own candidate as well as your opponent:* Anticipate. Prepare answers in advance. Do not deny the truth. Do not lie about yourself. Know what skeletons are hanging in your own closet in case your opponent finds them.

- *Try to take a known negative and turn it into an asset:* If your candidate lacks experience, present him as an outsider with fresh ideas; if your candidate is not telegenic, have him make self-deprecating jokes (e.g., Ross Perot saying "I'm all ears"); if your candidate lacks scholarly credentials and intellectual depth, stress his common sense, level-headedness, and decisiveness.

- *Be combative:* Never let insidious attacks go unchallenged. Commenting on the negativity of the 1988 campaign, Howard Kurtz of the *Washington Post* advised that an attacked candidate should not "do a Dukakis," passively ignoring an opponent's allegations (Napolitan, 20-21).

Conclusions

In 1651, Thomas Hobbes described life in the state of nature as solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short." The 2012 campaign was nasty, brutal, and long! (Jackson) The language of combat dominates our national campaigns with talk of war rooms, battleground states, and attack ads (Greene 2014). PAC money is abundant and unregulated, as long as advertising is not coordinated with the candidate's campaign leading to what Peggy Noonan has called, "the Golden Age of Mudslinging" (Greene). Pragmatists observe that a candidate cannot accomplish anything worthy if he does not get elected in the first place. Do the ends justify the means? What harm is done? The harm is that it is difficult for a candidate to shift from "eye gouging and groin kicking," to rinse off the mud, and govern as a statesman after Election Day. Voters may become increasingly disillusioned with campaigns and their trivial and often unfair attacks. A candidate who uses any means necessary to win may indeed become president, but then he has to lead a nation that has turned "darkly cynical about the entire process" (Greene).

In 1776, John Adams expressed fears that the Continental Congress' decisions would be dictated "by noise, not sense; by meanness, not greatness; by ignorance, not learning; by contracted hearts, not large souls." Continuing, he wrote, "There must be decency and respect and veneration for persons of authority of every rank or we are undone. In popular government, this is our only way" (Greene).

During their town hall debate on October 16, 2012, Governor Romney admonished the President of the United States, saying to Obama, "Wait your turn, I'm talking!" Later, Romney walked over to the President, stood inches away, and said patronizingly, "Let *me* give *you* some advice about pensions." Was this the "decency, respect, and veneration" that Adams valued?

John Cook and Stephan Lewandowsky explain that debunking myths can be difficult (Cook and Lewandowsky 2012). When people acquire information that turns out to be false, it is difficult to remove the influence of the misinformation. Attempts to debunk the misinformation can inadvertently reinforce it. Repeating the "myth" can strengthen it in people's minds, making matters worse. Avoiding this "backfire effect" requires care. First, the refutation must emphasize core facts rather than the myth itself. Do not repeat the myth in your headline. Second, precede any mention of the myth with an explicit warning that the following statement is false. Finally, be sure to provide an alternative, simple explanation. Less is more. Three arguments are better than 12.

There is an old saying that "mud sticks." Going negative is not new. It appears to be here to stay. We have it because, mixed evidence from political scientists notwithstanding, candidates and their advisors *think* it works.

Appendix: Links to Some Relevant Web Sites

The Living Room Candidate http://livingroomcandidate.movingimage.us
The Living Room Candidate contains more than 300 commercials, from every presidential election since 1952, when Madison Avenue advertising executive Rosser Reeves convinced Dwight Eisenhower that short ads played during such popular TV programs as *I Love Lucy* would reach more voters than any other form of advertising. This innovation had a permanent effect on the way presidential campaigns are run.

Wall Street Journal Campaign Ads http://projects.wsj.com/campaign-ads-2012/#sortby=avg1&video=A3F69E1D-9F6B-40AD-B2ED-F556EE3942CF
This site rated and ranked 2012 ads by most negative and most effective.

FactCheck.org http://www.factcheck.org
This project of the Annenberg Public Policy Center is designed to hold public officials and candidates accountable for their statements.

PolitiFact.com http://www.politifact.com/
This site, dedicated to "sorting out the truth in politics," is a nonpartisan, Pulitzer Prize winning service of the *Tampa Bay Times*

Project Vote Smart http://www.vote-smart.org
At a unique research center located high in the Montana Rockies and far from the partisan influences of Washington, the staff, interns, and volunteers work to strengthen the most essential component of democracy – access to information. Project Vote Smart is a non-partisan, nonprofit educational organization funded exclusively through individual contributions and philanthropic foundations.

Match Candidates with Vote Help http://www.votehelp.org

Vote Help was a nonpartisan 2012 presidential candidate calculator quiz that compared the respondent's views to those of Obama v. Romney, helping voters decide which candidate to support.

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Information, Appropriation, Value and Questions

Noel Packard

This is a cursory application of Marxian theory and historical comparative method to a specific element of both the machine and information ages, namely information appropriation used for profile building. The usefulness of Marxian theory to help explain the role of informational memory appropriation in the advent of the information age is tested here. Marxian theories about appropriation, value, surplus value, historical dialectical materialism, and comparative historical analysis frame a brief analysis of three different forms of informational-memory appropriation, in three different historical contexts, and to explain, in a Marxian theoretical analysis and historical comparative way, how informational-memory appropriation plays a role in the shift from the Machine, to the Information Age. The three historical informational-memory appropriation contexts compared are: 1) appropriation of information about Germans and Americans in the WWII era from survey and punch card information collected from witting citizens; 2) spy-appropriated information about unwitting and un-consenting citizens in post-WWII and Cold War-era United States; and 3) appropriated electronic memory collected by tele-communications companies in conjunction with government agencies in post-9/11 United States. The term "informational-memory" is used here to differentiate the concept of "bio-based" memory from the more alienated title, "data."

During WWII, both Germans and Americans were mandated to complete population surveys. The information from the surveys was processed in state of the art IBM punch card tabulating machines (Austrian 1982; Black 2001; Van Den Ende 1994). Citizens who filled out surveys provided information wittingly (meaning knowingly and with consent). In Germany, this survey data was collected by the Third Reich and helped to identify so-called inferiors. Therefore, German tabulated census data may have been instrumental for plunder and genocide (Kistermann 1997; Lubeke & Milton 1994). Meanwhile, in the United States, census and survey information was also processed by IBM for the newly formed Social Security Agency (Black 2001) as part of New Deal legislation, bringing huge government contracts to IBM and helping U.S. citizens transcend the Great Depression.

After WWII and throughout the Cold War era, another kind of information appropriation became a lucrative industry, namely spying. With the growth of the military and Pentagon, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), and the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) more and more agents were put to work work hunting for Communists and the industry of collecting information on unwitting targets grew (Bamford 2009; Gentry 1991; Rosenfeld 2012; Shorrock 2008). Meanwhile, medical experimentation programs in search of ways to produce Manchurian Candidates sometimes succeeded in destroying or alternating memories inside the minds of human subjects (Weinstein 1990; Ross 2000). In the 1960s, secret files and wire-tapping became national scandals, after events like, Watergate and after whistle blowers, for example, Daniel Ellsberg, went public with "The Pentagon Papers." (Blum 1972; Goodman 2014 (b)) Investigations about government secret operations produced among other findings- the *Final Reports of the 1976 Senate Select Committee To Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities*, led by Chairman Frank Church, which revealed spying and medical experimentation on often unwitting, un-consenting citizens in the U.S. and other countries.

Researchers who wanted to investigate abuses exposed by the Church Committee utilized the 1966 Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) (as amended in 1974 and 1976) (Flaherty 1979; 256) to request classified documents from government agencies. While government agencies are regulated by the 1974 Privacy Act, and related legislation to provide some privacy protections to individuals, corporations however are less encumbered by government oriented privacy regulations, which is partly why the

government has sought partnerships with corporations to further domestic spying operations (Boghosian 58-60) thereby fostering the surveillance state relationship developing today. Researchers use FOIA documents to uncover government and corporate abuses and to inform the U.S. public about government appropriated information, used to discredit citizens (Boghosian 2013; 58-59, 145, 256, 279; Rosenfeld 2012). In turn, FOIA documents are used to discredit and expose government covert operations (Haslam 2014: 362; Goodman 2015). When abuses are made public, government spy-appropriated intelligence is sometimes discredited, which can destabilize the government program and may cause a loss, or change in value of the appropriated information and/or funding. In the Cold War era, spy-appropriated information was taken from unwitting and un-consenting targets (Rosenfeld 2012) and in secret medical experimentation programs some people suffered loss and/or impairment of their own biological/mental memories because of shock treatments and drugs (Weinstein 1990; Ross 2000). When some covert programs were investigated they became more of a liability and an embarrassment than an asset to the government; in this way, FOIA increased the cost of keeping secrets, because the value of covert-appropriated information from unwitting, un-consenting victims can be costly in lawsuits, discovery, liability, and loss of credibility to government agencies - as research (often made possible, at least in part, by FOIA documents) regarding, for example, the assassination of John F. and Bobby Kennedy, Martin Luther King, or countless secret C.I.A. and U.S. military operations, like COINTELPRO and MKULTRA (Boghosian 2013:76-79; Greenwald 2014: 182-185) over the decades, demonstrates. In the 1970s during the Carter presidency, concerns about privacy of peoples' data was the subject of the Privacy Protection Study Commission, 1975, these concerns about privacy were often tied to concerns about medical experimentation (Flaherty 1979: 330-331) on un-witting or un-consenting humans used as subjects for secret government programs, that ranged from mind-control experimentation to development of bio-logical warfare; later Investigations into these programs and exposure of them was often possible, in part, by FOIA documents (Ross 2000; Haslam 2014: 351, 362-364).

By the time the Cold War had passed, and the Berlin Wall had fallen, the military, the government, IBM, and many contractors, think tanks, universities, and computer and telecommunications companies had together developed the worldwide web, the personal computer (PC), electronic mail, the Internet and electronic data storage facilities. The new electronic Information Age infrastructure was developed and funded by the military and built upon the foundation of the earlier tabulating machine, telephone, and telegraph infrastructure. Before the events of "9/11" happened, the push toward electronic data processing of almost all social relations and aspects of life (from banking to communications to commercial activity) was well under way (Gleick, 2011). Government interests began merging with private interests regarding electronic banking and tracking, wire transfers, National Security Agency monitoring and aggressive pursuit of software companies, such as Inslaw, which developed PROMIS, an innovative software with a "clean room technique" and "reverse engineering approach" (Thomas and Keith 1996; 4-8, 121-131, 165-173). PROMIS was a prototype, for the kind of software the NSA would incorporate into monitoring U.S. citizens while banking the appropriated informational-memory in the newly constructed Utah Data Center (UDC) (Bamford 2012). Since 9/11, military funding of Internet communication systems development has expanded to include government contracts with tele-communications service providers for government monitoring of communication networks and now, for cyber security (partly in response to U.S. spying on other countries such as Germany and Mexico) and ultimately cyber warfare (Greenwald, 2014; Harris 2014; O'Harrow 2005; Parenti 2003; Risen 2006, 2014; Shorrock 2008; Stratford (a) and Stratford (b) 1998; Stratford (a) and Stratford (b) 2001; Stratford 2002).

After 9/11, information appropriation methods broadened. Post-9/11 legislation brought a cascade of new laws that curbed and reversed citizens' privacy rights and gave broad powers to government to monitor electronic communications and Meta data under the pretense of searching for terrorists (Boghosian 2013; Greenwald, 2014; Harris, 2010, 2014;Packard 2013; Risen 2006, 2014; Scahill 2013). Among the legislation is the PATRIOT Act (Boghosian 2013: 58–97; Bazan and Elsea 2006) and Citizens United, which makes corporations legal citizens, who own the telecommunication infrastructure (paid for

originally with public monies) and transmit peoples' communications, and stores their data, for mining or plunder by others. Now, collecting information from anyone and everyone is legal according to the PATRIOT Act because the country is in a state of perpetual war, so national security interests usurp civil liberties and constitutional rights. Before 9/11, human spies gathered information about suspected communists who were unwitting and un-consenting; today, electronic data banks and programmed computers collect all kinds of information about U.S. and other citizens (Goodman 2012, 2013e; Packard 1999, 2012, 2013). With the advent of whistleblowers like Julian Assange, Bradley (now Chelsea), Manning, Edward Snowden, and Glenn Greenwald making public, or "outing," the National Security Agency's electronic spy programs, U.S. citizens are no longer able to claim unwitting status to government spy operations, and without resisting the spy operations, people are caught in a double bind of appearing to consent to surveillance abuse. Thus, the government and corporate citizens avoid the liability and oversight of FOIA-related civilian protections, while gathering even more information about the population, without having to use surveys, except perhaps as a tool that will confirm previously, and secretly, gathered electronic information after the fact. When citizens become informed or witting that corporate citizens are watching them and keeping records about the patterns of their Meta-data, then the legal clock is already counting down the time for a statute of limitations. If legal challenges to mass monitoring are unsuccessful at curbing mass surveillance and protecting privacy before a statute of limitations runs out, than mass surveillance and a surveillance state becomes the norm, both legally and socially. Presently, it appears that a statute of limitations is contingent upon a state of national emergency, or a state of "war on terrorism," during which citizens' constitutional rights are suspended or in limbo, due to national security regarding terrorist threats (justified by 9/11 and the PATRIOT Act) and due to political leadership concerns regarding the potential of being prosecuted for war crimes, or crimes against humanity (such as torture or perhaps drone targeted killings) (Bazan and Elsea 2006; Kall 2013). In other words, as long as the U.S. is at war, the government and corporate citizens have legal justification to spy on the population, in order to hunt for terrorists and to avoid having charges of war crimes brought against them in times of peace; in this way surveillance is tied to war, to protection of leadership and to oppression of witting citizens; in short a "surveillance state" is dependent on appropriated and banked informational memory.

The three different historical contexts for information appropriation discussed here, demonstrate a global sociopolitical change from punch card technology, to human-collected, secret, paper file technology, to electronically collected, hidden, compact, expandable, hack-able, and easy to delete, copy, and transfer, informational memory, from one supercomputer to another, to a PC, to a drone and to vast networks of corporate citizens (Bamford 2012; Boghosian 2013; Goodman and Gonzalez 2012; Goodman 2013a, 2013b; Greenwald 2014; O'Harrow 2005; Packard 2012; Mitchell and Gosztola 2013).

Marxian comparative historical analysis and the concept of primitive accumulation of (in this case) informational memory seems applicable for explaining how a new form of capitalism based in information appropriation, storage, and circulation has emerged from the Machine Age; however, Marx's surplus labor theory of value applies both similarly and differently in the Machine and Information Ages. It posits that human labor is the source of wealth and that wage labor that workers work is always in excess of their economic subsistence because the worker does unpaid labor that provides profit for the capitalist (who in turn valorizes the surplus labor) (Marx 1867/1973: 297-306). In survey information appropriated in WWII Germany, some surplus value of the collected survey information was realized in the form of plundered property including intellectual property, and forced labor (Black 2001; Cocks 1985; Lubeke and Milton 1994). In the Cold War era, value and surplus value of spy-appropriated or military intelligence was realized in a growing bureaucratic industry of secret intelligence gathering, which saw surplus value in the form of ongoing government funding in return for intelligence profiles of viable targets. Dialectically, "secret intelligence" losses value, or at least its' value is changed after it is made public by whistleblowers (Greenwald 2014; Mitchell and Gosztola 2013). For example, Daniel Ellsberg's, "Pentagon Papers" leaked information, helped to end the Vietnam War and some lucrative military-corporate contracts. Whereas U.S. citizens of the 1970s and 1980s wanted information about secret operations (paid for with their tax dollars), the government, military, and corporations were

already developing an electronic infrastructure that could be used to uncover the details of every citizen's personal life via electronic communications and transactions, the Internet, and electronically banked memory. The backlash to FOIA, civilian oversight, and whistleblowers was the development of an electronic Internet that is fun and user friendly but also has reverse engineered "back-door" capabilities to gather information about users, thus making the industry of spying an automated, real-time international activity, now enhanced with immunity from retroactive lawsuits (Greenwald 2014; Risen, 2014: Risen and Lichtblau 2009; Thomas and Keith 1996), paid for by us (who are being spied on); paid first in money, for our telecommunications services, and second, with personal information, which is shared with corporate citizens (telecommunication corporations) for mining and storage, as the communication is in transit to the intended receiver (who receives the informational memory, after the third-party corporate citizen collects it en route) (Packard 2012).

In the 1990's whistleblowers who exposed abuses of covert experimentation programs that altered or destroyed people's own bio- or internal memory also experienced backlash that manifested in spectacular so-called repressed memory court cases and the establishment of an organization called the False memory Syndrome Foundation, which pioneered using the new Internet to forge on-line support group activity for abuse survivors that counteracted the person-to-person or face-to-face support groups that had grown out of the feminist consciousness-raising groups of the 1970s. The advent of the Internet drastically usurped the mission and the method of these person-to-person support groups, as people opted to communicate through electronic media with others regarding intimate aspects of their lives – depositing their intimate informational information first in electronic data banks before, it is received by the intended recipient. In this way sharing narrative memory about traumatic and other emotionally charged events was changed from a shared social activity of remembering human experiences in the company of other humans into an activity where remembering a past emotional experience is a solitary experience in which a human shares an emotional informational memory experience first with an object which turns the informational memory into alienated memory or data, as it records the informational memory, than sorts, monitors and stores the data, before delivering it to the intended human recipient (with theft of the information in transit, to another party, also a possibility) (Packard 1991, 2000, 2008). The human who responds in turn, reverses the process thereby "snowballing" the informational memory-to-data process, which in turn creates an ever growing hoard of alienated informational memory, or data, that represents potential surplus or bonus information to the corporate citizen who owns the data, or alienated informational memory, which in turn, dialectically represents a reduction of the in-human emotional experience which has been transferred to the object (Packard 2012, 2013); this process might be similar to a futuristic mode of production Marx termed a "*perpetuum mobile*" (Marx 1867/1976: 227)

Surplus value that comes from appropriated informational memory by electronic apparatus built and designed by and for military purposes isn't all from wage labor, but also from opportunities for gain from the destabilization of others (Faulkner 2012; Goodman, 2014 (a) 2013 (c) (d) (e); Greenwald 2014; Hartung 2011; Landau 2011; Mitchell and Gosztola 2013; Packard 2013; Risen 2014: 230-273; Rosenfeld 2012) whose electronic memory accounts are ruptured with debts, crisis, unemployment, emergencies, Occupy movements and other liabilities that strip the individual, bit by bit, of wealth and possessions and potentially ownership of his/her own body, if forced labor occurs. Here, Marx's prediction that the whole capitalist enterprise "emerges from the process of production as something essentially different from the way it entered into it" (1867/1976: 1065) seems plausible, as now profit is to be made off the cannibalization and destruction of the prior epoch's wealth, the infrastructure of the Machine Age, in order to form the material basis for a newly shaped social process and superstructure.

To elaborate, consider the following: In the Appendix to *Capital,* Volume I, edited by Ernest Mandel (1976) there appeared for the first time in English, Marx's, "Results of the Immediate Process of Production," which, according to Mandel's introduction, "was originally planned Part Seven of Volume 1 of *Capital*…first published in 1933" (1867/1976: 943). This unfinished chapter of *Capital* considers how on one hand, labor always returns to the production process with only labor power to sell (all the while diminishing itself, but at the same time reproducing and expanding the numbers of workers through increased population). Meanwhile, on the other hand, capitalist relations within the production

process also reproduce themselves, but emerge from the production process as something different from the way they entered into the process. Marx argues that "Capital perfects its domination" of labor, but in doing so the entire contradictory form of capitalism is cast into dissolution, and a new social process and new social formation emerges. Marx writes,

> Thus a complete economic revolution is brought about. On the one hand it creates the real conditions for the domination of labor by capital, perfecting the process and providing it with the appropriate framework. On the other hand, by evolving conditions of production and communication and productive forces of labor antagonistic to the workers involved in them, this revolution creates real premises of a new mode of production, one that abolishes the contradictory form of capitalism. It thereby creates the material basis of a newly shaped social process and hence of a new social formation. (1867/1976: 1065)

Marx goes on to explain that other political economists underestimate how capitalist production relations are changed in this dialectic production process. Within each capitalist production epoch, he argues, there are the qualities for its own demise, along with the seeds for the next new form of social economic relations, which will emerge from the earlier epoch and transform it, and not in some "creative destructive" way, but in Marx's grounded, historical-materialistic observation, transform it by brutal and intended destruction and annihilation, (Marx 1867/1976: 877-926) which imposes a revolutionary, new, kind of social productive relationship upon society. Marx even hints, at what may manifest in such a transformation, something he calls a condition of *perpetuum mobile,* which entails hording, unceasing turnover of money (Marx 1867/1976:227) and machinery that either reproduces itself (like workers do) and/or lasts forever (Marx 1939/1973: 766). Returning to the Appendix, Mandel inserts the following note: "The text of the manuscript breaks off at this point. What follows now are isolated fragments, which were evidently meant to be revised and incorporated in the present version." (Marx, 1867/1976: 1065) How unfortunate that the text breaks off at the discussion about how, at the pinnacle of capital's domination of labor, the social relationships of capitalists change to create a new social relationship.

The question that arises, given the context and topic of appropriated information in a Machine Age and now in an Information Age, is "Are we on the cusp of a new social relationship of capitalist production?" In other words - the electronic age has freed workers from jobs, from homes, from constitutional rights, and from their wealth, (Faulkner 2012; Goodman 2014 (a); Kochhar, Rakesh and Richard Fry 2014; Weise 2014) but in leaving them with nothing to lose but their freedom of speech in electronic cyberspace, the capitalists have now appropriated those social communications also. Why? Perhaps as a way to regain control over these former and now underutilized workers? Marx's prediction that social relations are changed in the production process is applicable to the epoch shift from Machine Age to Information Age. As underemployed people have more time to communicate with one another through the corporate citizens' monitoring devices in cyberspace, the capitalist owners of that medium try to appropriate the communications to build electronic user profiles of their customers. Hence, the social production relationship has changed to one of informational memory appropriation by capitalists over and against "liberated" workers expressing themselves "freely" into and across electronic monitoring infrastructures, owned by capitalist corporate citizens. Has electronic information processing revolutionized social production relationships to the point where labor is liberated from its relations with the Machine Age? And if so, does this pose a threat to the capitalist class because it no longer has the employer relationship to labor that it had in the Machine Age? Or, if enough information about individuals, or commodity memory, were collected from people, could electronic profiles supersede live human beings because corporations who are legally persons own the electronic profiles? In other words, has the Information Age turned social productive relations upside down by developing machines that can produce humans based on electronic memory profiles, rather than humans producing machines? And with that question, this paper also, "breaks off at this point."

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The Current State Of Evidence-Based Practices
With Classroom Management

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Education has been calling for evidence-based practices to help validate it as a bona fide profession (Gable, Tonelson, Sheth, Wilson, & Park, 2012). Lack of evidence-based practices presents an unusual irony in education since the literature has been addressing this research-to-practice gap for years. In particular, evidence based practices in classroom management and discipline have been nearly absent. Skinner noted as far back as 1968 (Skinner, 1968) that most teachers simply incorporate personal experiences into classroom practices rather than embracing science-based methods.

Classroom management and effective student discipline are critically important skills for teachers in today's teaching environments (Baker, 2005). Over the past 30 years, classroom management has been the most frequently teacher-requested topic for professional training (Baker, 2005; Lewis, 1999; Maag, 2001). And, because of recent changes in IDEA that advocate for inclusion of special education students, classroom management is even a higher priority for teacher expertise (Maag & Katsiyannis, 1999; Meadows & Melloy, 2006). Current inclusion practices stipulate that students with disabilities be served in regular classroom settings to the fullest possible extent. This group of students includes those with behavioral problems and other exceptionalities that can present discipline challenges for the teacher. Thus, the need for classroom management expertise has increased like never before.

Despite the rising need for effective management practices, well-intentioned teachers continue to employ ineffective classroom management strategies (Gable et al., 2012; Maag, 2001; Stormont, Reinke, & Herman, 2011; Vargas, 2013). In fact, when scrutinizing the types of strategies often implemented, most can be characterized as unsystematic, reactive classroom management methods (Barbetta, Norona, & Bicard, 2005; Maag, 2001; Ross, 2008). In other words, rarely is there a well-planned and systematic approach for increasing desirable classroom behaviors. Instead, the typical classroom management strategy consists of repeated teacher reactions to inappropriate behaviors. Often times in these cases, the teacher's response to inappropriate behavior is punitive, which results in temporary or negligible behavioral changes (Freiberg, 1999; Vargas, 2013). The behavior of teachers with respect to ineffective management practices suggests that it is very difficult to extricate themselves from the 'old school' discipline strategies (Frieberg, 1999; Maag, 2001).

Weak classroom management practices typically are reactive rather than proactive, focus on punishment, and offer students no opportunities to learn and practice desirable behaviors. In other words, teachers tend to pay attention to inappropriate behaviors on a chronic basis without 'teaching' desirable behaviors. This is the exact opposite practice that should be employed. How then are students expected to develop and refine expected classroom behaviors? For example, when misbehavior occurs, the ineffective teacher may reprimand the student (i.e. deliver an attempt at a mild verbal punisher). Mild and moderate punishers tend to act as reinforcers and increase undesirable behaviors rather than extinguish them (Alberto & Troutman, 2013; Freiberg, 1999; Ross, 2008; Vargas, 2013). Punishment is a weak motivator, offers little incentive to improve or correct behavior, and does not present a model of how to change behavior (Maag, 2001; Ross, 2008; Skinner, 1974). Punishment strategies for classroom management also promote undesirable side effects among students. These side effects include loss of

respect for the teacher, increased retaliation against the teacher, loss of self-esteem, and possible psychiatric symptoms like anxiety and depression (Freiberg, 1999). Ironically, punishment-based methods for classroom management can actually increase the problems most teachers are attempting to avoid or reduce in the educational setting. Thus, the ineffective teacher focuses attention on the inappropriate behavior from the student and neglects praising desirable behaviors when they occur. And, most teachers employ a smorgasbord of strategies that are not unified or bundled into a coherent and persistent program like BOSS (behavioral opportunities for social skills) (Ross, 2008).

Let's illustrate an effective learning paradigm with academic content. When addition math facts are introduced in school as a content area for mastery, the requisite components of the skill are demonstrated for a lengthy period of time. In other words, the teacher first demonstrates to the students how to add two single digits together and arrive at a sum. The students then are given weeks to practice this new skill. The teacher provides feedback about the progress and accuracy of the work. More practice takes place as needed until content mastery develops (Mercer, Mercer, & Pullen, 2013).

When one considers conduct and discipline, rarely are the same principles of learning applied. Teachers must apply the instructional model for teaching social skills and compliant behavior. Based on this model, desired behaviors are modeled, students are given opportunities for practice, and teacher feedback about progress (and frequency) of desired behaviors is provided. However, most teachers' approaches toward teaching compliant behavior are completely inconsistent with these basic learning theory tenets.

Demonstration of social skills and social-skill training often are cited as important ingredients in classroom management (Luiselli, Putnam, Handler, & Feinberg, 2005; Wentzel, 2003). However, social-skill training only has been loosely applied in the schools (Wentzel, 2003). For the most part, school guidance counselors occasionally discuss components of social skills during infrequent classroom appearances. This clearly does not constitute social skills training. It is recognized that high frequencies of pro-social student behaviors like cooperation, courtesy, and compliant behavior are directly related to effective classroom management (Freiberg, 1999; Ross, 2008). However, outside of rudimentary recommendations, teachers do not typically employ a systematic, integrative classroom management plan. This type of integrative program includes the following components:

1) utilizes basic learning principles to model and reinforce social skills training in a
step-by-step process,
2) focuses the teacher's energy on proactive methods,
3) places emphasis on positive reinforcement and avoids punishment
4) provides a language template for teachers in order to effectively respond [or not
respond] to students who require redirection (Ross, 2008).

Let's review a common scenario to illustrate ineffective discipline practices. A child (Billy), while at school, misbehaves while waiting in line in the hallway. Billy begins to push the student in front of him. The teacher approaches Billy after recognizing the problem, and begins to scold Billy. The interaction might go something like this: "Billy, why are you behaving so poorly in line? You should know better than this. I better not catch you doing something like this again." Again, the scenario portrayed by the teacher is reactive and imbued with attempts at punishment.

Parents often demonstrate similar ineffective discipline practices. For example, the child (Celeste) is asked to get ready for bed by brushing her teeth, putting on her pajamas, and getting into bed. When the parent arrives to check on Celeste (expecting her to be in bed), the parent finds that Celeste has continued to play in her room. She never complied with any of the bedtime requests. The interaction might go something like this: "Celeste, I thought I asked you to get ready for bed? We don't play with toys at bedtime, don't you know that? I don't want to tell you again about getting ready for bed, do you understand?"

Both of these scenarios illustrate ineffective reactive practices for disciplining children. In each case, there are target behaviors that the adults would like the children to *learn* (i.e. continue to demonstrate over time without prompting). But instead, the adults react only to the inappropriate behaviors as they occur. In the first scenario at school, the teacher would like Billy to *learn* that whenever children are in

line they should not push one another. In the second scenario, the parent wants Celeste to *learn* that there are expected behaviors at bedtime, and that those behaviors do not include playing with toys. However, the methods utilized in both examples are inconsistent with effective practices.

In both of the presented scenarios, attempts to obtain desirable behaviors are not governed by the science of motivation and learning. Oddly, adults typically expect that children automatically identify expected behaviors after they have been scolded for their misbehavior. This, of course, is an absurd yet typical premise on the part of the adult. Further, most children are too young in order to generate this cognitive permutation in their heads: to identify a positive target behavior after being punished for the competing inappropriate behavior (Piaget, 1970). To put this in other terms; the child does not have enough insight to fully process behavioral expectations on their own. Children simply are not developmentally ready to think in this manner. Finally, the typical punishment scenario for disciplining a child provides no opportunities for modeling expected behaviors, there is no practice or rehearsal of expected behavior, and the feedback is punitive and not associated with the target behavior. It is no wonder why so many children have problems with misconduct. Children essentially are not taught in a developmentally appropriate manner how to demonstrate expected behaviors.

Applications of these poor management practices are poignantly illustrated in the context of instruction with academic content. Let's again present the same academic example of teaching single digit addition math facts, but using the ineffective paradigm of reactive, punishment-based disciplinary practices. This instructional scenario might proceed like this: "Boys and girls, every now and then I will ask you to perform some addition problems. I will not show you how to do the problems and you will not have a chance to practice doing them. However, you better not make mistakes when we take tests and quizzes in math." Obviously, this scenario illustrates poor instructional practices, and most educators would not teach in this manner. But teachers use this same paradigm for discipline and believe that it is a perfectly valid approach (Maag, 2001).

Attributes of an effective classroom management program

Positive reinforcement strategies clearly are more effective and enduring in their results with classroom management versus punishment-based strategies (Alberto & Troutman, 2013; Partin, Robertson, Maggin, Oliver, & Wehby, 2010; Ross, 2008; Sigler & Aamidor, 2005; Skinner, 1974, 1968, 1953; Vargas, 2013). Teaching desirable behaviors and social skills through proactive modeling and frequent reinforcement are also essential components of effective management methods. Let's revisit the previous scenario with Billy pushing in line, but utilizing a proactive, positive, and social-skills training approach: "Boys and girls, this morning, let's talk about how to behave while waiting in line. We should be courteous to one another by keeping our hands to ourselves. Watch how I do it" (illustrated by the teacher or role-played with students). Several hours later, the teacher asks: "Boys and girls, who can show me how we should behave while standing in line? Thank you Billy for showing excellent line behavior!" In this version of the scenario, the expected appropriate behaviors are practiced for everyone to observe. To further build on the reinforcement process of expected line behaviors, the teacher might later say: "Boys and girls, I saw wonderful line behavior after lunch. Can someone tell me why I was so proud of your line behavior?" Appropriate line behavior should continue to be discussed at least once a day for several weeks; and more often if a problem occurs. Once mastered, the learning can begin a fading process by discussing line behavior once or twice per week. Thus, expected behaviors or social skills are demonstrated, students are given the opportunity to practice the expected behavior frequently, and feedback is provided about the child's performance.

The BOSS classroom management program is a proactive, reinforcement-based management program that contains four prescribed steps along with directions on how to properly implement these steps. (Note: the following four steps are best suited for K-5 classrooms where students spend most of their day with their regular teachers. For secondary grade applications, secondary teachers primarily implement step 1). The following are the four BOSS steps:

1. Teachers state that they will be watching for "cooperative and polite behaviors" (CPBs) (teachers spend time helping students define and demonstrate both "cooperation and politeness") and <u>frequently</u> compliment students during the day when they demonstrate cooperative and polite behavior. At the same

time, teachers ignore nuisance behaviors. If the teacher needs to redirect a student, she either points out those students who are displaying CPBs, or politely asks the student in question to "show me some CPBs."

2. Step 1 continues. After a few days, teachers ask for student volunteers at the end of the day to state how they were cooperative or polite. Teachers ask for students to acknowledge this prosocial behavior.

3. Steps 1 and 2 continue. After a few days, teachers ask an additional question from the students: teachers ask students to name another student other than himself or herself who has demonstrated cooperative or polite behavior during the day. Teacher asks for students to acknowledge this prosocial behavior as well as thanking students for volunteering others.

4. Steps 1, 2, and 3 continue. After a few days, teachers state to the students that they should complement one another during the course of the day when CPBs are shown toward one another rather than waiting till the end of the day. The teacher infuses this culture of positive communication and acknowledgement each and every day, and throughout each school day. At this point, steps 2 and 3 can become an intermittent activity as the teacher emphasizes the immediate and proactive nature of step 4.

The following are directions for properly implementing BOSS:
1. Ignore nuisance behavior
2. Resist being reactive to inappropriate behavior
3. Point out and reinforce the behaviors you want when they are demonstrated
4. Punctuate (i.e. make a "big deal" or celebrate) especially desirable behaviors when they occur
5. Make sure that positive remarks about CPBs occur at a ratio of about 1:4 in comparison to all utterances. In other words, teachers should be fluid in speaking about CPBs throughout the course of the day.
6. Embrace the credo: "If you want to get it, you must teach it!"

Evidence-based practices for effective classroom management have largely been absent despite strong advocacy for evidence-based practices in the literature. The prevalence of poor management practices suggests that it is difficult for teachers to adopt new strategies. Instead of focusing on positive reinforcement and teaching desirable behaviors in a proactive manner, teachers continue to utilize reactive, punishment-based strategies. It is fairly clear from the literature that these types of 'old school' practices are ineffective for managing students. Teachers need to resist their habits of punishment-based treatment and embrace research-based techniques. Despite these obstacles, integrated programs like BOSS exist and provide evidence-based practices for effectively managing student behaviors.

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We Have Heard Your Call to us, as Men and Christians:
Ohio and Irish Famine Relief

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"From the handsome house of the city to the poorest hamlet and log hut of the country, the same feeling has shone forth," W.W. Scarborough of the Cincinnati Irish Relief Committee wrote to the Society of Friends in Dublin, and he added," the one, money has been given; and from the other, the winter stock of corn has been divided for your countrymen."[1] In 1846-1847 the people of Cincinnati, Cleveland and other Ohio communities joined in a national effort in voluntary philanthropy to help the starving Irish during the Great Famine. Communities across Ohio joined in this voluntary outpouring of sympathy for the Irish as Americans sent food, clothing, and money to assist the starving Irish and Scots suffering from crop failures that hit Ireland, Scotland, western and central Europe. "We have heard you call to us, as men and Christians for bread, and have done what we could," R. Redington wrote on behalf of the donors in Elyria. He noted that his community sent a box of clothes "as another token of our sympathy for you in suffering, and hoping it will bind us closer in the bond of common brotherhood."[2] Americans identified with the plight of the Irish and felt as a people of plenty they had an obligation to help those in need in Ireland. The people of Cincinnati identified "with the suffering in Ireland, for the want of food," and the news of the plight of the Irish "excited strong sympathy among our citizens."[3] Speaking for the people of Muskingum, Perry, and Guernsey counties, John Metcalf, chairman of the Muskingum county committee, observed that "our countrymen, with a generosity that is proverbial and ever alive to the calls of suffering humanity, regardless alike of race, clime, or religion, have nobly responded to the heart-stricken appeals of their famishing brethren on the other side of the Atlantic."[4] Americans perceived themselves as a generous people who responded to the crisis in Europe because the Irish deserved their help. The American public wanted their aid distributed without regard to race or religion and Americans worked together to solicit donations without regard to denomination or ethnicity. Whether in Ohio, New York, or Minnesota Americans made the same points and emphasized the same themes in explaining and justifying their aid to the Irish and Scots.[5]

As a result of the 150th commemoration of the Great Hunger or Irish Famine historians wrote a large number of studies about the famine in Irish history and the impact of the famine on Irish immigration to the United States. Research on famine relief evaluated the role of the British government, but few historians analyzed the American response. In 1847 the American people contributed $2 million to Irish relief. For the first time, Americans put aside their own domestic concerns and focused on an international problem. "The famine caused America to cast aside her isolationist ideology," according to historian Diane Hotten-Somers, "and respond…with a relief movement that marked America's entrance onto the international stage for humanitarian acts."[6] The United States emerged as the leading source of aid for the Irish during the famine. Quakers in Ireland organized relief committees that distributed famine relief, and they depended upon aid from the United States. Aid coming from America "exceeded those coming from the United Kingdom."[7] Because of constitutional scruples raised by President James K. Polk, American contributions came directly from the American people and not the United States government, since Congress refused to appropriate direct foreign aid. American aid in 1847 turned into a people to people movement, from the citizens of the United States to the people of Ireland. The response of the American people in 1847 turned the United States into the leader in international voluntarism in the

19th Century. America's response to the Great Famine established the "main pattern of American giving for relief of a disaster abroad---at least for many decades."[8]

The magnitude of the crisis in 1846-47 and the widespread nature of American aid as almost every village, town, city, and county created an Irish relief committee made the American response to the Great Famine unique. According to historian Merle Curti 'the Irish famine called forth the most impressive…the first truly national campaign to relieve suffering in another land."[9] Following the pattern that appeared across the United States, local citizens committees formed in February/March 1847 from Elyria to Cincinnati raised donations of money, food, and clothing for the Irish and Scots. Citizens of Ohio contributed to the aid sent from America that the Irish Quakers described as "on a scale unparalleled in history" as the United States assumed a new role as a leader in voluntary international philanthropy.[10] American generosity set the pattern for a new role of the United States. Despite the image of American isolation from world affairs in the nineteenth century, Americans did engage in the world. In Ohio politicians, religious leaders, businessmen, and the public did not isolate themselves, whether it was the Great Famine of the 1840s or the Little Famine of 1879-82.

Americans put aside their political and sectarian differences and organized a remarkable effort at voluntary foreign aid. Whigs and Democrats, Catholics, Protestants, and Jews all participated in this national movement. Even Cherokees on the frontier of Indian Territory contributed money and food, sending it to Philadelphia for shipment to Scotland. Germans in Cincinnati, Irish in Cleveland and Albany, Quakers in New York City and rural Ohio, free African Americans in Richmond, slaves in Alabama, Dutch in Albany, French in New York City, and Choctaws at Fort Smith, Arkansas, all joined in this outpouring of aid to Ireland and Scotland. Historian Rob Goodbody confirmed that "donations were being offered from people of all religions and backgrounds throughout the United States."[11] Many of the relief committees organized in 1847 made exactly the same point, whether in Philadelphia, Albany, or Zanesville, Ohio. Americans put aside their denominational, ethnic, and racial differences to band together in the campaign for Irish and Scottish relief that Jonathan Pim, co-secretary of the Dublin Quaker committee, considered "one of the most remarkable manifestations of national sympathy on record."[12]

A potato blight hit Ireland and parts of northwestern Europe, including Scotland, Belgium, France, and Germany, in the mid-1840s. Over a million people died in Ireland, millions more remained at risk, and millions fled to England, Canada, and United States. Famine induced immigration dramatically altered the ethnic and religious makeup of American cities, from Boston to Chicago. "Within two years after the Famine struck Ireland, the Irish population of Cleveland had soared to 1,024, and more were on their way." When the Irish arrived in Ohio's cities they "truly shattered the serenity of the native born."[13] Finding work on the docks and mills the Irish continued to come reaching 10,000, about 12% of Cleveland's population in 1870. Similarly, in Cincinnati, the famine pushed 13,000 Irish to the Queen City. By 1870 their numbers reached 19,000 and made up 21% of the population. Irish immigrants totaled 620 out of population of 3,829 in Toledo in 1850 peaking at over 3,000 in 1870.[14] Prior to 1850 the Irish made up about 22% of the immigrants settling in Ohio. Most ended up in urban areas settling in other urban centers like Sandusky, Dayton, and Columbus. The Great Famine in Ireland pushed the Irish to Ohio and Irish migration peaked in the 1840s. Arriving Irish, predominately Catholic altered the ethnic and religious make up of Ohio's cities. Ironically, while the people of Ohio would rally to the cause of Irish relief the arrival of the Famine generation Irish in the state would produce a negative response in the 1850s---the anti-immigrant Know Nothing movement.

By contrast, only a few thousand Scots a year fled to the United States, because voluntary organizations and the British government better managed the distress in the western Scottish highlands and islands. Few Scots opted to settle in Ohio. At any given moment, about 150,000 remained at risk of starvation in Scotland between 1845-1852, and the mortality rate from the famine remained quite low compared to the starvation, disease, and deaths in Ireland. American press accounts in late 1846 and early 1847 focused attention on the famine in Ireland, but in the American mind the two issues came together as many Irish relief committees, from Albany, New York to Marietta, Ohio, extended their mandate to cover both Irish and Scottish relief.[15] While Scottish migrations to Ohio remained limited enough Scots

settled in Cincinnati to play an important role in organizing a separate campaign for Scottish relief in 1847 through their primary ethnic association, Caledonian Society.

News of the potato blight in Ireland first reached the United States during the winter of 1845-1846, and limited efforts to raise funds began in Boston, New York, and a few other port cities. When word arrived in the summer of 1846 of good potential crops the limited interest in aiding Ireland quickly evaporated. By the fall of 1846 the harvest appeared far worse than expected. Famine relief organizations in Ireland, Scotland and England started to solicit contributions to aid the starving in Ireland and Scotland through the winter of 1846-1847. The Society of Friends (Quakers) in Dublin established a Central Relief Committee in November 1846, and sent copies of an appeal to the United States via prominent Quakers in New York City and Philadelphia. Jacob Harvey, a merchant and Quaker in New York City, solicited aid from Quakers around the United States, including Ohio. The press reprinted Harvey's request for aid in newspapers from Boston to Chicago. Responding to these appeals most of the Irish relief committees formed in the United States directed their contributions to Dublin for the Quakers to distribute. Committees in Ohio followed this pattern, whether in Cincinnati, Cleveland, Elyria, Steubenville, or Zanesville. Americans established nonpartisan, nondenominational relief committees at the village, town, city, county, and/or state level to channel food, clothing, and money to Ireland and Scotland. Residents of each community created voluntary committees on a temporary basis to solicit donations and the committees disbanded once they shipped their aid to Europe.

American reaction to the crisis developed slowly because the press did not focus on the events in Europe until November 1846. Newspapers emphasized a crisis closer to home, the Mexican-American War. Beginning in November, however, the people of Ohio and the rest of the United States could read accounts of the distress in Ireland in their local newspapers. Word arrived aboard the *Great Western* that docked in New York and *Acadia* in Boston. In Cincinnati, the *Catholic Telegraph* quoted from British reports brought by the *Great Western* that "Ireland appears in the most deplorable condition."[16] Readers of the *Ohio State Journal* in Columbus learned that: "The news from Ireland is important." The people are suffering dreadfully, and the country is in the most alarming state."[17] Papers carried by the *Great Western* suggested that "Never had we such accounts to send as in this year. Ireland is visited from north to south, from east to west, with a most dreadful famine." Many of the poor survived on a diet of cabbage and salt, but "many of them dying on the high roads, in the fields, and in the towns" of starvation and disease.[18] In Cleveland subscribers read stories brought by the *Acadia* in the *Plain Dealer:* "the condition of the people is cruelly heart-rending, they are starving, frantic looking women and children, half naked…quite feeble from starvation."[19] Residents of Toledo read in the *Blade:* "From Ireland the accounts are distressing; Many of the people are starving."[20] Reports appeared in the press throughout the United States about the desperate situation in Ireland.

News of the distress led to public meetings in Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, Boston, Jersey City, Brooklyn and New York to solicit donations for Ireland. Initially, Irish-Americans and Quakers led the campaign for Irish relief. In Ohio, the editor of the Toledo *Blade* tried to turn awareness into action. The editor, J. W. Scott, wrote that "it seems to us, that the people of the United States, blessed by a kind Providence with the most abundant crops, should make large contributions for our distressed brethren in Ireland." Scott reminded his readers that Americans aided the Greeks in the 1820s sending several ships full of food and clothing. He argued that the "Greeks were strangers. Not so the Irish. They are our bone and flesh of our flesh." Americans would show themselves ungrateful to God if they did not "give liberally from our abundance to our brethren in Ireland."[21]The editor of the *Blade* emphasized two themes that became part of the American justification to aid Ireland---Americans were a people of plenty with an abundance of food who could aid the starving in Europe and Americans shared a common bond with the Irish. Unlike the Know Nothing wave of the 1850s that defined the Irish and at times the Germans as "the other" in 1846-1847 Americans defined the Irish as brethren sharing a common humanity, Christianity, and blood ties. Unfortunately, Scott's appeal failed to lead to immediate action in Toledo or in other Ohio communities for Irish relief, and the people of Ohio did not immediately follow the lead of New York or Pittsburgh for Irish relief in November and December 1846.

In mid-January 1847 more grim news of the famines in Ireland and Scotland reached the United States from newspapers carried by the ships *Hibernia* and *Sarah Sands.* Newspapers across the country reprinted the stories. Summaries appeared in the Ohio press. According to the Toledo *Blade* 100,000 in Scotland were "now suffering for want of an adequate supply of food." In Ireland the distress "continues to increase and has reached a fearful extent."[22] Readers of the Cleveland *Democrat* learned of the dire conditions in Ireland and of people starving to death because 'the distress is so appalling."[23] Stories in the Chillicothe *Advertiser* noted that "starvation of the most dire description stalks" Ireland and Scotland.[24] Similarly, in Findlay, the *Democratic Courier* informed its readers that "the accounts of famine are distressing in the extreme. The sufferings of the poorer classes in Ireland for want of food are almost unparalleled. The heart sickens to read these accounts…"[25] These grim stories of suffering acted as a catalyst that changed the public mood in the United States from "apathy to action."[26] The scattered meetings for Irish relief held in November and December now turned into a national movement for Irish relief. Political leaders called upon the American people to start a voluntary people to people movement for Irish relief.

Starting in early February citizens met in a number of cities, like New York, Boston, and Philadelphia, calling for action. The first meeting that got national attention took place in New Orleans on February 4, 1847. Newspapers across the country reprinted details of the meeting and the speech of Henry Clay, former presidential candidate and Whig political leader, on behalf of famine relief for Ireland. For example, the Cleveland *Evening Herald* published a short editorial on the meeting and then published the full speech of Clay citing it as a positive example of the call for Irish relief.[27] Similarly, the Cleveland *Plain Dealer* reprinted his speech to draw attention to the need for Irish relief.[28] A few days later, a mass meeting in Washington, chaired by Vice-President George Dallas and attended by many members of the Senate, House of Representatives, and Supreme Court issued a national appeal for the American people to organize local relief committees to collect contributions for Ireland and Scotland. These committees were told to forward their donations to committees in the port cities of New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore, or New Orleans for shipment to Europe. In response, Americans organized hundreds of relief committees across the country from Maine to the frontier of Indian Territory in Oklahoma, including most of the towns and cities of Ohio, to raise funds, food, and clothing for the starving people of Europe. By publicly endorsing famine relief the nation's political leaders blessed and encouraged a nationwide campaign of voluntary philanthropy. Clay's speech and the Washington meeting provided the catalyst to motivate local businessmen, clergy, politicians, editors and civic leaders to join and lead the public's response to the famines in Ireland and Scotland.[29] As J. W. Scott, editor of the Toledo *Blade* observed: A glorious meeting has been held in Washington, at which men of all parties and religions united to devise means to send aid to our famishing brethren in Ireland."[30] The Toledo editor pointed out two key elements of American aid it was nonpartisan and nondenominational. Members of both major parties and all religious denominations joined to help the starving in Europe.

However, this did not lead to direct aid from the federal government. Congressman Washington Hunt, a Whig from upstate New York, introduced a bill in the House of Representatives for $500,000 to purchase and ship food to Ireland, but the bill died in committee. On February 26, 1847, two weeks later, Senator John Crittenden, a Whig of Kentucky, introduced a similar bill in the Senate but it ran into opposition from Democratic President James K. Polk, who considered foreign aid unconstitutional. In spite of the president's opposition enough Democrats voted for the bill that it passed the Senate, but Polk's influence with Congressional Democrats prevented passage and got the bill tabled in the House. In 1847 President Polk and some Democrats drew a distinction between supporting voluntary aid for the Irish and Scots and using public funds as foreign aid to help the starving. Congress did bow to pressure for some kind of symbolic aid by the United States. In response to petitions from Boston, New York City, Albany, and Philadelphia as well as sympathetic editorials in many newspapers of both parties, Congress with Polk's approval, agreed in March 1847 to send two warships, frigate *Macedonian,* and sloop of war *Jamestown,* to carry voluntary donated relief supplies from New York and Boston, respectively, to Ireland and Scotland. The failure to provide direct aid made it appear, according to historian Timothy Sarbaugh, that Polk and Congress "failed the starving Irish' by only contributing "two war torn vessels."[31] In the

end the people of the United States organized local committees, like those in Toledo and Zanesville, and arranged for privately chartered vessels to carry the money, food, and clothing to Europe.

Another source of funds for the starving in Ireland and Scotland came from remittances sent by family and friends to kinfolk in the old country. Quaker Jacob Harvey publicized the remittances sent from Irish laborers and domestics in New York City, Philadelphia and Baltimore to show the generosity of poor immigrants to friends and family and to spur Americans by shaming them to contribute to the relief campaign. Remittances were sent either directly to Europe or often via New York City Bishop John Hughes. Ohio newspapers reprinted accounts of the remittances sent by the Irish-Americans and Irish immigrants to relatives in Ireland. Editors praised the Irish and reprinted the notices to spur action by the citizens of Ohio. The Tiffin *Whig Standard* told its readers that the Irish sent over $1,000,000 over the past year. This large sum came principally "from poor Irish emigrants, for which they are honestly entitled to much praise."[32] After detailing the remittances sent by poor Irish to their fellow countrymen that Jacob Harvey reported the Zanesville *Courier* praised the poor Irish laborers for doing their "Christian duty." The newspaper used the generosity of the Irish as an example of "self-sacrifice and severe self-denial."[33] The generosity of the poor Irish immigrants enhanced their positive public image and contributed to the need for more prosperous Americans to aid the suffering Irish.

In Ohio working men "who spare from their own wants" living in Cincinnati sent small sums from twenty to fifty dollars via an intermediary, William O'Hara, by draft on the Bank of Ireland "for the relief of suffering relatives"[34] Catholics in Cincinnati continued to send remittances during the winter and spring of 1846-47. According to the press donations went by steamer to Ireland on a regular basis reaching a peak of $3,000 in early March 1847. Another $1,800 got sent from congregation members in the Cathedral in Cincinnati. Dayton's Catholics remitted over $300 in early March via their bishop. The Cleveland press reported the sending of remittances from local workingmen. For example, Robert Sanderson, an Irishman by birth, a carpenter sent a large sum of $500 to Irish relatives while Thomas Lindsey, a saddler and Scotsman, sent $500 to Scottish family members.[35] Remittances were another way in which the people of Ohio and the United States aided Ireland and Scotland during the Great Hunger.

Meanwhile, responding to the speech of Henry Clay in New Orleans and to the meeting in Washington newspaper editors and local residents in Ohio began calling for public meetings to solicit funds for the Irish. Once again in Toledo, J.W. Scott editorialized that "now, let the whole country show its heart in this noble work of peace. Let us have a meeting at once in Toledo, and do our part in this glorious effort to relieve human suffering."[36] In Cleveland, J. W. Gray, wrote an extensive editorial on the plight of the Irish noting "enough has been published to awaken our citizens to a sense of duty towards these famishing wretches." The *Plain Dealer* called for a public meeting and the appointment of committees to solicit donations. "Other cities have already sent over donations in large amounts. Who will set the ball in motion?"[37] Another Cleveland newspaper, *True Democrat,* citing an appeal for Irish relief that went to Massachusetts argued that the appeal applied to the people of Cleveland as well. "The appeal is to us," editors E.S. Hamlin and E.L. Stevens wrote, "as well as to Massachusetts----to the citizens of Cleveland."[38] A Cincinnati editor wrote a lengthy account of the famine in Ireland and contrasted the abundance of America. "Our obligation is to help them and to do it promptly," the editor argued. He called upon the people of Cincinnati to raise subscriptions and call public meetings for Irish relief. The editor noted that two schooners were coming from Marietta that could carry relief supplies. "Flour, corn-meal, beans or eatables of any kind will not come amiss. We hope to see the whole country moving speedily." Furthermore, the editor told his readers "Load up your market wagons, dear friends, with our own and your neighbor's contributions and the blessings of many that are ready to perish will be yours." In ending his appeal for aid he once again emphasized the abundance of America and Ohio. American abundance required the people of the state to donate food for the Irish.[39]

According to Edward Marot, editor of the Lima *Reporter:* "the great extent of famine in Ireland has awakened the attention of our citizens in every part of the Union. Subscriptions are being raised for her relief. In every direction we hear of these demonstrations."[40] Throughout Ohio the call came for action to help the Irish. "A Yankee" wrote to the Sandusky *Clarion Whig* demanding that the residents of Sandusky take steps to help. He suggested either a public meeting "should be had immediately" or

"circulating a subscription paper for their relief."[41] Learning of a movement by a "number of able and influential citizens" in Cincinnati for Irish relief, the *Daily Times* encouraged citizens to attend the meeting planned for Irish aid and join the movement to help the Irish people.[42] Similarly in Chillicothe one of the local newspapers learned of a meeting as the paper went to press and hoped that the "liberality of our citizens will prove equal to the emergency" the sufferings of the Irish demanded. The American people "blessed as we are with plenty and abundance" could serve "the Author of these blessings" by providing aid to those "suffering for want of the ordinary necessaries of life."[43] Reporting on the misery in Ireland the Steubenville *American Union* called upon Irishmen, sons\of Irishmen, and other residents "to do something on behalf of the starving millions of the ill-fated Isle." The crisis demanded that the people of Steubenville and the United States help the Irish. "For Humanity's sake…arouse, and give relief."[44] Even in the village of Huron the local newspaper noted that other Ohio "villages and towns are contributing…to stay the progress of starvation in that unhappy country" and expected that the people of the village could contribute generously to aid the Irish.[45] When people in the village of Findlay appeared slower to act than other towns and villages in Ohio the local editor chastised the residents and noted "that there are many warm hearts in Hancock County that has been waiting for an opportunity to contribute something for the relief of the distressed." Calling for a public meeting the editor went on to ask the women and the ministers of the Gospel to take the lead in this worthy cause.[46]

   As the above indicates, Ohio editors not only reported on the Great Hunger, they actively encouraged, shamed, and pushed readers to contribute to relief as part of a national philanthropic effort. Editors made it an issue of civic pride to pressure communities to participate, as did the editors in Findlay and Huron. Their comments were not unique to Ohio. Editors throughout the United States, whether in New Jersey or Ohio, did the same. The themes raised by the editors paralleled those at public meetings---the magnitude of the crisis in Ireland, common humanity, Christian charity, American abundance, common bonds with the Irish, and participation in a national cause of voluntary philanthropy. Some editors reminded readers that Ohio profited from the market for grain created for grain and had a moral obligation to give of its bounty. Editors actively took part in local meetings for famine relief and reported on them to encourage local people to contribute. New York City editor James Gordon Bennett of the *Herald* accurately claimed that the press "did the public's business" outlining the public service role of journalism. Ohio newspaper editors covered the crisis In Ireland in a way that demonstrated the public service function of journalism during the Great Famine.[47] Newspaper editors "gave American readers a compelling portrait of the tragedy that was unfolding in Ireland and producing a compelling effect on life in America as well."[48] For the people of Ohio newspaper editors played a crucial role informing the public of events and interpreting them. The press told them about the mass starvation in Ireland and explained the national movement for aid. Editors reminded the people of Ohio of their duty to participate in the movement for voluntary aid.

   Early in February "accounts of the suffering in Ireland' reached Cincinnati, "and excited strong sympathy among our citizens" who held a meeting, organized a committee "and a handsome sum was at once raised" according to the Irish relief committee of the city.[49] Whig Mayor Henry Spencer, chaired the February 12th meeting at the Merchants Exchange and the speakers included the Catholic Bishop John Baptist Purcell, an Irish immigrant. At that time 25,000 Catholics lived in Cincinnati and made up one third of the population. After the speeches residents donated $4,000 and one merchant offered $1,000 in provisions if nine others would do the same. The meeting established an executive committee to collect and forward the donations. Ward committees called on everyone in their ward to solicit aid for Ireland. Members of the executive committee organized two benefit concerts for Irish relief that brought in additional funds. Churches and ethnic groups donated including the Sixth Street Congregational Church "always among the foremost in good works," the congregation of the recently constructed Catholic Cathedral St. Peter in Chains, Central Presbyterian Church, Unitarian Church, German community of Cincinnati, and the ladies of the Hebrew Benevolent Society.[50] Money and provisions came in from neighboring towns and counties as well as from farmers in Indiana. Food contributions included cornmeal, dried applies, dried corn, flour, beans, rye flour, oats, middlings, beef, and bacon. Members of

the committee expressed their pleasure and surprise 'at the extent of sympathy manifested in the list of donations."[51]

Cincinnati collected more than $30,000 in money, food, and clothing for the Irish that went to the Irish Quakers in Dublin to distribute to the poor as the judged best. The Cincinnati committee requested the Quakers forward a small amount of cornmeal to the author Maria Edgeworth in County Longford to distribute to the starving in her area, which she estimated as 3,000 people in need out of local community of 5,000 inhabitants. Members of the Executive Committee forwarded over 5,000 barrels of kiln dried corn, not dried corn, wheat, flour, rye flour beans, middlings, and salted beef and pork down to New Orleans for shipment in eleven ships to the Dublin Quaker. Another 752 barrels of dried corn meal went to the New York City Irish Relief Committee, the largest in the country, for shipment to Europe.[52] Residents of the Cincinnati area contributed more for Irish relief than in any other part of Ohio. German immigrants, Catholics and Protestants from various denominations, joined the cause of Irish relief since it transcended ethnic and denominational boundaries as part of an American philanthropic campaign. Cincinnati along with Pittsburgh, Chicago, and St. Louis became the key cities in the interior of the United States aiding the Irish during the Great Hunger. The important role of Cincinnati derived from the fact that in 1850, with a population over 46,000, it had become one of the largest cities in the Interior of the United States. In addition, Cincinnati had the largest Irish immigrant population in the state and the Irish identified closely with Ireland and the various nationalist movements sending significant contributions to the Repeal movement of Daniel O'Connell in Ireland.[53]

Trying to stimulate a good turnout Joseph W. Gray, the editor of the Cleveland *Plain Dealer,* reminded his readers: "It is more blessed to give than to receive…and if ever, a just object for Benevolence presented itself, it is famishing Ireland"[54] An appeal from "many citizens" called upon the people of Cleveland to meet in late February to adopt measures to help "the suffering poor of Ireland." In their appeal the unnamed authors emphasized that this had become a national movement. "The whole country is moving in this great work of humanity," and the authors added a mix of shame and civic responsibility to motivate residents to attend, "shall we be backward in contributing our mite?"[55] Stressing the same themes of the distress in Ireland and the examples of other cities, the Cleveland *Herald* told its readers: "In Albany, Rochester, Buffalo, Cincinnati, etc. public meetings have been held, and measures have been taken to contribute in aid to the distressed. What city or village will neglect to emulate this Christian example?"[56] In case anyone missed the point the newspaper published an unsigned letter to the editor "Ireland" suggesting a public meeting because of the need of the Irish and because "the citizens of Cleveland have never been behind in prompt action and liberality when appealed to in a good cause."[57]

Pushed by the city's newspapers and the citizen's committee residents of Cleveland met twice in late February and early March to adopt relief measures for Ireland. At the meetings the public adopted resolutions expressing "that we deeply sympathize with the people of Ireland at this time of their distress, and we deem it no less a pleasure than a duty to contribute our means to their relief."[58] They created committees to solicit donations and contributions of food. The resolutions asked every township in Cuyahoga County to contribute and called upon the Cleveland clergy to solicit donations from their congregations. A Mr. Howard in a letter to the editor of the *Herald* even suggested Cleveland chartering a ship to carry relief supplied from the city to Ireland. Unlike Albany or Brooklyn, that sent ships marked the Albany or Brooklyn ship for Ireland residents did not send a ship carrying the Cleveland standard across the sea. Instead after raising money, food, and clothing from the city and county the donations were sent to the New York City Irish Relief Committee for shipment abroad.[59]

In the state capital, Columbus, Board of Public Works of the State, determined to allow all relief supplies going on public works to go without tolls. Exempting provisions and clothing intended for Irish and Scottish relief was not unique to Ohio. Pennsylvania, New York and other states endorsed similar toll free transportation on canals and roads for aid to Europe. A local merchant, A. G. Hibbs, offered to grind free of charge any grain for Irish and Scottish aid contributed in the Columbus area. Merchants in Cincinnati, Cleveland and communities across the country volunteered to either grind or store grain free of charge as their contribution to the national movement for famine relief.[60] Residents of Columbus met

several times in February 1847 to organize for famine relief. They met on February 18th to consider what action to take because of "the desolate condition of the multitude" in Ireland and Scotland "who are famishing for bread, presents a strong appeal to American and Christian feeling."[61]

A local committee met a few days earlier to draft the resolutions adopted at the meeting on the 18th and the arguments for relief represented the common themes----depth of the famine, American generosity, and Christian responsibility. The resolutions pointed out that Columbus needed to join in the national campaign of philanthropy. According to the committee, "in common with the people of the United States, the citizens of Columbus and Franklin County have heard the most profound sorrow at the calamities afflicting" the people of Ireland and Scotland. Christianity demanded that the citizens of Columbus help their neighbors in Europe. The American people, especially those in Ohio, "are blessed with fruitful harvests and overflowing granaries" and therefore, have a solemn obligation to help the starving.[62] As the people of Columbus noted Americans were a people of plenty requiring them to help the starving in Ireland and Scotland. Residents organized a committee to solicit donations in each ward of the city, asked the clergy to solicit donations from their congregations, appealed to every charitable and benevolent society in the county to donate, and called upon each town to set up township committees to collect donations in money, food, and clothing. The relief committee in Columbus stood out for its clear statement of the problem. It explained the reasons for citizens of Columbus to help, and drafted a comprehensive appeal to city and county residents. In the end, the committee raised almost $2,400 and used it to purchase provisions sent to the New York City Irish Relief Committee for shipment to Europe.[63]

"The whole country is rising as one man to render aid to the poor of Ireland" J. W. Scott, editor of the Toledo *Blade* informed his readers. Furthermore, American generosity "will elevate the American name far above all the fame which war can bring."[64] Apparently, the people of Toledo agreed in organizing a famine relief committee. In spite of a severe snowstorm the people of Toledo came out. Democratic Mayor Emery Potter, (1846-49) and Congressman, (1843-45, 49-51) got selected to chair the public meeting. Potter argued that the sufferings of Ireland required "his fellow citizens to come forward, one and all, and contribute their mite, and exhibit their charity not only in words but by actions."[65] Other local politicians joined him in appealing for public support. They included Henry Mason, the Whig former mayor in 1839-40; James Myers, Democrat and mayor from 1843-44 who would serve as Ohio's Lt.-Governor, 1854-56; and Egbert B. Brown, from Brownsville, New York, who was elected mayor in 1852, resigned, went to Missouri and served as Brig-General during the Civil War. Toledo provides an example of the role of local politicians spearheading the campaign for Irish relief that was repeated across the country in 1846-47. One unusual request came out of this meeting that "as much as the ladies were always foremost in objects of charity and benevolence, the invitation be extended to them."[66] The resolution passed and the citizens committee invited the women of Toledo to participate in the campaign for Irish relief. Only a few cities and towns across the country like Brooklyn, New York and Galena, Illinois, either requested women to join the Irish relief campaign or women took the initiative to form separate women's committees to solicit donations.

When citizens met a few days later in February they called for action because Irish suffering produced "the warmest sympathies" of Americans and the residents of Toledo "as a Christian people"[67] While the Constitution forbade a state religion in public meetings, especially during the campaign for famine relief, public resolutions frequently referred to the Americans as Christians, but without any specific denominational identification. The second Toledo public meeting for Irish relief did something that was unusual---it endorsed the proposal in Congress to appropriate $500,000 for Irish relief. Few public meetings took a stance on the Congressional proposal endorsing foreign aid for the Irish and
Scots. In the wake of these public meetings committees were established in each ward to visit every household to solicit donations. Toledo forwarded its donations to the New York Irish Relief Committee for shipment to Europe. The editor of the *Blade* did not want the ships carrying American aid to Ireland to return home empty. He suggested that we should encourage the Irish to immigrate to America or as he artfully phrased it: "Let the ships that go freighted with our offerings, come back loaded with such

precious freight as men, women and children."[68]   No public meeting in Ohio endorsed this proposal to stimulate Irish immigration as a way to alleviate the suffering.

"A similar operation for Ireland's relief is now being made throughout the state," G.R. M. from Somerset, Ohio, informed the readers of the New York Irish publication, *Freeman's Journal,* and as G.R.M. emphasized "without regard to national, sectarian, or political feelings."[69] People in Somerset recently held a meeting for Irish relief and Perry County would raise $2,000 for the Irish. Residents of the villages of Huron and Norwalk held meetings in late February and early March, respectively, for Irish aid and forwarded their contributions to the New York Irish Relief Committee.[70] When news of the famine reached a Quaker farm family in rural Red Creek one little girl, Nanny, described the famine as a monster, an "ancient dragon."   Nanny and her siblings wondered how they could help. Her brother Willie sold his pet guinea pig and whittled shoe pegs, her sister Florence did needle work, and Nanny offered to do odd jobs. All three children gave up their spending money to raise funds for the starving Irish children. Their mother made quilts and other clothing with local women for the Irish. Their father allowed them to accompany him when he took the village's small contribution for Irish relief to the nearest city's Irish relief committee.[71] What happened at Red Creek was not an exception because children across the country contributed in their schools for Irish relief. Some children, like Beckie Harvey, daughter of Quaker leader Jacob Harvey, in New York City sold their toys or pets as Willie did in Red Creek for Irish relief. For example, at the boarding school in Mount Pleasant, Ohio the children "threw together their little change, which amounted to enough to buy ten barrels, some of them giving nearly or quite all their pocket-money."[72]

We "will not fall short of Biglick" the editor of the Findlay *Democratic Courier* proclaimed when he learned that Biglick township had already sent 200 bushels of corn "and a considerable quantity of wheat" to Cary for forwarding to Ireland. Findlay met the challenge of Biglick and held a meeting for Irish relief in early May.[73]   The people of Conneaut met at the Academy in late February because "we deeply sympathize with the people of Ireland in their present famishing condition and we will express our sympathy by liberal contributions" because the "Irishman is our neighbor."   Americans had a responsibility to help the poor of Ireland because we are a "Christian country" that has "abundance of bread."[74] These common themes appeared- Irish as our neighbors; we had an obligation to help, America was a Christian country, and a society of abundance that could afford to help and should. In Zanesville, residents took responsibility for donations for neighboring counties to send all provisions to the "Central Committee of Friends in Dublin, for impartial distribution"[75] Americans, whether in Zanesville, Ohio or Albany, New York, trusted the Quakers to allocate the funds and provisions Americans contributed. The committee in Zanesville felt an obligation because of the "abundance liberally supplied by a bountiful Providence" and the people of Muskingum, Perry, and Guernsey counties "have given their mite" because the people of Ohio wanted to alleviate the suffering of the Irish people.[76]   As the committee from Zanesville indicated Americans, and especially the people of Ohio, were blessed by bountiful food supplies and the needs of the starving Irish demanded that Americans help.

"It is hoped that the Farmers who are reaping the benefit of starving conditions of the poor of Europe" asked the editor of a Canton newspaper "will not withhold their aid at this critical moment." Going further, the editor, John Sexton, reminded his readers that "Stark County alone has been benefited $75,000" from the food shortages in Europe.[77] After setting up a relief committee in Canton the public meeting requested that all ministers solicit donations and asked each township in Stark County to set up a local committee to channel food and money to Canton for forwarding to the Philadelphia Irish Relief Committee. Canton did something, however, that no other community in the state did---it elected two women, Miss Belinda Schneider and Miss Catharine Rey, to the six person Canton Irish Relief Committee. Getting donations from women was expected. Asking women to help did occur but not frequently, and as indicated in a few communities in the United States women established their own separate committees to solicit donations. What was totally unexpected was the selection of women to serve on the same committee with the men. In fact, when William Duane of the Philadelphia Irish Relief Committee acknowledged the Canton contributions he had to revise his response from gentlemen to gentlemen and ladies. Noticing the two women Duane added "God bless them."[78]

Public meetings reaffirmed the common themes that Americans spontaneously arrived at in 1846-47 while responding to the crises in Ireland and Scotland. In Marietta people "of all classes" from Washington County met to take action in response to the national meeting in Washington, DC. According to the organizers of the Marietta meeting the purpose was "to devise and take measures to aid in relief of the now, *literally starving poor of Ireland."* The invitation to the meeting reminded the citizens of Marietta that "*we have food"* and we can alleviate the suffering. Citizens should join the "the exercise of National Charity" because common humanity and "common Christianity" with the Irish required it.[79] The public meeting created a county committee and township committees to solicit donations. Members of the county committee expected "prompt action on the part of the humane and liberal citizens of every neighborhood in the County."[80] Townspeople responded and over $1,000 plus contributions in foodstuffs were donated.

Similarly, in Franklin County, residents assembled for the Plain township meeting in New Albany, near Columbus. Adopted resolutions noted that the Irish and Scottish people's "sufferings are Indescribable." The people of Ohio could not bear "the screams and moans of the starving children and the wailing of tender parents." While other parts of the country had already come to the aid of the starving Irish and Scots it required the "united benevolence of all in alleviating the intense suffering…"[81] Citizens of Plain township realized they must help the people of Ireland and Scotland or they would "perish without the hand of charity being universally extended to them by their foreign brethren." The Scots and Irish were "our brethren" and Americans had a duty "as a moral and Christian people" to alleviate their distress. Americans, but especially the people of "Ohio, are blessed by a bountiful Providence…with an abundance to spare."[82] Therefore, the people of Plain township had a "moral as well as our religious duty" to help our European brethren. After forming a relief committee the public meeting agreed to create school district committees to solicit money and food. Cities divided up the work of soliciting contributions by wards and rural townships did the same by establishing school district committees. Plain forwarded the donations to the Columbus relief committee to send on to Europe. In one small township in the middle of Ohio local people reached the same conclusions and articulated the same themes about the need for Irish and Scottish relief and the reasons why Americans felt an obligation to help, whether in Albany, New York or New Albany, Ohio.

"While the humane of our country throughout its wide extent are responding to the cry of distress…the people of Jefferson County, it is hoped, will manifest…liberal and benevolent feelings" by contributing to relief for Ireland asked N. Dike, chairman of the executive committee of the Jefferson County Irish Relief Committee, on behalf of his fellow committee members.[83] When citizens of Jefferson County met in Steubenville, then a town of 6,000, they drafted resolutions that articulated their concerns and expectations. "Food for the famishing is required," the public meeting concluded, "and they who are blessed with abundance, as are the people of our country" had a moral obligation "to relieve the distress" in Ireland. Suffering in Ireland demanded a response and gave a special obligation to "the people of America, who have been blessed the past season with large crops and abundant harvests, and are now in the enjoyment of plenty" while Irish men, women and children starve to death.[84] Contributions in Steubenville and Jefferson County resulted in 350 barrels of flour being sent to the Philadelphia Quakers Committee for Irish relief headed by Henry Cope.[85] Because many of the people in Steubenville area came from the north of Ireland the committee requested "it would, perhaps be gratifying to them if our donations could…go to the north of Ireland."[86] Steubenville did something no other Irish relief committee in the state did---it sent its own emissary to Ireland. Judge William McDonald, offered to go to Ireland and help distribute the aid in the north and east of the country. The local newspaper and the Jefferson County Irish Relief Committee endorsed his offer. McDonald agreed to accept any additional donations in food that he would deliver to the Irish. Steubenville appears to be unique in requesting that its contributions be sent to specific part of Ireland and sending its own emissary. However, in justifying the need for aid, and explaining the American obligation Steubenville fit into the pattern established by other relief committees in articulating the reasons for famine relief.[87]

What did ordinary people think about the famine in Ireland? Public meetings like those cited previously give us a general idea as does list of contributors, such as a widow in Cincinnati who could

only afford a "widow's mite" or the contributions of the women of the Hebrew Benevolent Society, recent Jewish immigrants from Germany or Willie in Red Creek who sold his guinea pig for Irish relief. Fortunately, a few letters survived of ordinary people sending contributions from Ohio to the Quakers in Philadelphia. James Drummond, a member of a citizens committee in Barnesville, Belmont County, planned to send flour, bacon, and money to Thomas Cope, but requested that their town's contribution "be sent to Ireland for the relief of the most needy without any reference to sect or denomination."[88] Rev. D. Trueman from Uniontown in Belmont County expressed his "community's having heard of your humane exertions on behalf of the famishing inhabitants of Ireland" felt "a desire to assist you in this goodly labor of love" and help the "unfortunate people" of Ireland.[89] From near Smithfield Benjamin Ladd and two neighbors George Stacey and Josiah Foster wanted to send to the Irish sufferers "some…part of the abundant supply of grain with which we have been blessed."[90] William Ashton and two of his neighbors in rural Ohio sent $10 "for the relief of those who are now suffering from famine in Ireland."[91] These letters suggest that people in private letters from Ohio to Thomas Cope in Philadelphia expressed the same sentiments as in published public meetings. The people of Ohio identified with the plight of the Irish and wanted to help with money, clothing, and food. Americans saw themselves as blessed with abundance they could share with the starving in Ireland.

"While so many praiseworthy schemes are afloat for sending relief to the destitute Irish" an unknown letter writer, A Gael, asked "I am surprised that no measures have been taken…for the relief of the people of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland" who share the same suffering due "the utter destruction of the potato crop."[92] Another Cincinnati newspaper made the same appeal, 'We should not forget among other sufferers these Scotch" after reporting on a meeting for Scottish relief in Baltimore.[93] Historian Tom Devine, the leading expert on the famine in the Highlands stressed the importance of "relief in kind from the United States."[94] Contemporary Scottish relief committees and newspapers commented on the generosity of the Americans. James Hunter, a historian, concluded that large donations of food came from Canada and the United States, "the latter sending several thousand barrels of flour and beef as well as cash."[95] Americans did not forget the Scots. From the Washington meeting, chaired by Vice-President Dallas, to meetings in Marietta, Ohio, Americans considered aid for the Scots as part of their national fund drive for famine relief in 1846-47.

Ohio did not forget the Scots. Scottish immigrants settled in Oho. Never as numerous as the Irish or Germans, they did establish Scottish fraternal and benevolent associations in urban areas where enough Scots resided. Scots, many who worked as stonemasons settled in Cleveland in the 1830s established the St. Andrew's Benevolent Society in May 1846. Cincinnati had enough Scots since the 1820s to found a branch of the Caledonian Society. These organizations became important in 1847 in raising funds for Scottish relief. The Cincinnati Caledonian Society emerged as the most successful fund raiser for Scottish relief between Philadelphia and Chicago. In a meeting on March 3, 1847 the members concluded "that the accounts…from Scotland, leave us no longer room for doubt, but that a large portion of its inhabitants, more especially in the Highlands and Islands has been for months past, and is now suffering the horrors of famine…" Members of the society decided they had a duty to help especially since they had prospered in America and lived in a "land of plenty."[96] The Caledonians donated half of their treasury for Scottish relief and set up a committee of twenty-one to solicit donations. By April the committee raised over $5,500 by going from house to house in all ten wards of Cincinnati. Donations came in from Scottish Americans but also from many non-Scots including the ladies of the Hebrew Benevolent Society.[97] The Caledonian Society purchased 1,200 barrels of kiln dried corn, shipped it to New Orleans for transshipment to the Scottish relief committee Glasgow.[98] The actions of the Cincinnati Caledonian Society stimulated fund raising for Scotland in the Ohio Valley including the creation of a Scottish relief committee in Louisville, Kentucky. Scottish ethnic associations in other cities across the country, like Albany, New York and Philadelphia played an instrumental role in raising awareness of the Scottish famine. However, even without the Caledonian Society's efforts many people in Ohio contributed to Scottish relief via their Irish relief societies that extended their mandate to include Scotland. For example, in Marietta, the local committee raised funds for Ireland and Scotland. The same

thing occurred across Ohio, for example, in Tiffin, Plain, Findlay, Conneaut and Columbus. Scotland became part of the American campaign for international philanthropy.

"The famine in Germany has of this moment, arrived at such a height, that it appeals most forcibly to every human heart" according to a public meeting of Germans in Cincinnati in March 1847.[99] However, unlike Scotland that became part of the American campaign for international philanthropy in 1847 national leaders never mentioned Germany when they met in Washington in February. Instead, the campaign for Germany began in the German immigrant community and appeared primarily in the German language press. In German immigrant communities from Charleston, South Carolina to New York City a separate campaign for German relief began. Since Germans made up half of the immigrants arriving in Ohio the state became an important source of funds for Germany. Cincinnati became the most important German relief committee. Members corresponded with other German communities in the state and the United States about the famine in Germany. They published their appeal in the English and German language press. Following the models of the Irish and Scottish relief committees they established ward and township committees in the region near Cincinnati. They organized a concert in late March to raise funds and by early April collected over $1,500.[100] The campaign for Germany represented one final example of how Americans in 1847 entered the world as the leader in international philanthropy.

Americans took on a new role for the United States in 1846-47. Public officials considered foreign aid for famine relief unconstitutional. Three times in the 19th Century Americans subscribed for aid to Ireland to ease its food shortages in 1846-47, 1861-63, and 1879-80. Each time the national government limited its involvement. Resolutions introduced into Congress in 1847, 1861, and 1880 to provide foreign aid failed to pass. Throughout the 19th Century during international crises, like the Little Famine in Ireland, 1879-82 or the famine in Russia in the 1890s, American government officials expressed their opposition to foreign aid as unconstitutional. Aid to the Scots, Irish and Germans in 1847 depended upon voluntary philanthropy as it would in 1863 and 1880. Americans organized temporary committees, like the Irish and Scottish relief committees in Ohio, to gain public support and solicit donations. Compassion fatigue did not explain the temporary nature of relief committees. They were an expression of American voluntarism. All committees, whether in Albany, New York or Plain township Ohio, considered their mandate temporary lasting a few weeks to a few months. Americans organized fund raising campaigns for domestic disasters and foreign crises, solicited donations, and then disbanded after issuing a report on the expenditure of the donations, like the Cincinnati Irish Relief Committee. Historian Merle Curti's comprehensive study, *American Philanthropy Abroad,* recorded the same pattern throughout the 19th Century.

American aid during the Great Famine represented the height of American voluntarism. The American people organized committees in almost every town in the United States. National political leaders blessed the campaign for famine relief for Ireland and Scotland and encouraged Americans to organize committees. The Washington meeting in February stimulated meetings in Ohio. Reflecting support from both political parties, Whigs and Democrats, at the national level local politicians in Ohio, Whig and Democrat, supported the famine relief campaign in their partisan newspapers and participated on the local relief committees. Americans of every ethnic group and religious denomination participated like the Germans and Ladies Hebrew Benevolent Society in Cincinnati for Irish relief. As historian Christine Kinealy concluded in 1847 "a wave had swept across America that prompted people, rich and poor, from all religious persuasions…to raise money to take food and clothes to Ireland."[101]

Throughout the 19th Century Americans responded to emergencies abroad. According to Merle Curti, for example, when a famine hit Russia in 1891-92 Americans created another national voluntary effort to solicit contributions to relieve the suffering. Attempts to persuade Congress to repeat the loan of warships as it did it 1847 to Ireland and Scotland and to Ireland in 1880 failed. American aid remained a totally private response to a foreign crisis. Once again, committees sprang into existence, asked for donations, and disbanded once the aid was sent abroad.[102] Actually, even before the Great Hunger Americans had given to a variety of foreign causes. Curti mentions the American assistance to the Greeks in the 1820s and Cape Verde Islanders in 1832. A contemporary Cincinnati paper catalogued a longer list of previous American generosity to "sufferers of floods in Switzerland and Italy, by fires in Hamburg, Bohemia,

Hungary, South America, by fires and tornadoes in the British and other West Indies." Americans gave thousands for "famines in the Cape Verde Islands, England, Scotland, and Ireland."[103] Americans had a record of giving to aid victims of foreign disasters for the past thirty-five years. However, the Great Hunger altered the nature of American aid by the magnitude and universal nature of the American response in 1846-1847. As two contemporary newspapers, the Philadelphia *Ledger* and Cincinnati *Times,* argued "The great efforts…now being made by the citizens of the United States in behalf of the starving in Europe, and the liberal donations which they have given…proves the tide of sympathy runs strong and freely through the hearts of the American people."[104] Americans by nature were a caring and generous people, but the Great Hunger turned American assistance into a national cause.

American aid to Ireland and Scotland followed a timeline that paralleled the international pattern for relief assistance in 1846-47. As historian Christine Kinealy observed almost all foreign aid occurred in the nine months after the reports of the failure of the 1846 potato crop "and with the exception of donations to the Catholic Church and private remittances from the Irish people abroad, they dried up following the harvest of 1847."[105] The plight of the Irish and Scots became an international cause celebre in early 1847 that went beyond "the parameters of religion or nationality."[106] Sympathy in England evaporated by the end of 1847 and the British press published fewer stories about the famines. Dependent on foreign sources the American press also stopped reporting the famines and the American people did not know of the continuing need in either Ireland or Scotland. American political leaders did not raise the issue again. Since Americans no longer perceived a need existing committees disbanded and American private aid to Ireland and Scotland ceased. In Ohio most relief committees disbanded by September 1847 once aid was shipped to Europe.

In 1847, the United States became the leader in international philanthropy as Americans raised almost $2 million for Irish and Scottish famine relief. What is remarkable about the effort as well is that it took place just before a major wave of anti-Catholic and anti-Irish nativism of the Know Nothing movement which was also widespread in parts of Ohio. Protestants in 1846-47 put aside their anti-Catholicism and sectarian concerns because of shared values of Christian benevolence and common humanity that defined the Irish as brethren, not the "other," Americans and the people of Ohio identified with the plight of the Irish and Scots. Aid to the Irish and Scots fit into the Protestant values of benevolence, morality, and responsibility but it was not restricted to the upper or middle classes for it crossed class lines and involved ordinary farmers and working people. It involved the active cooperation of German and Irish Catholics in Ohio as well as the recently arrived Jewish immigrants. As one Catholic priest accurately wrote, for a brief moment, the United States became "universal America" where class, ethnicity, and religious denomination did not matter.[107] Congregation Shearith Israel, the oldest Jewish congregation in the United States, held a special meeting for Irish relief and its spiritual leader argued: "Our fellow citizens have come forward with promptitude and generosity; contributions have poured in from all classes, from all sects."[108] This was true in Ohio as well as New York or Rhode Island as Catholics, Congregationalists, Presbyterians, Quakers, Lutherans, German Reformed, Episcopalians, Baptists, and Unitarians became one people with one goal, to help the Irish and Scots.

Famine relief became an expression of American republicanism and voluntarism at its best, as the people of plenty shared their abundance with the less fortunate in Europe. For Whigs and Democrats international philanthropy became an obligation of a republican society. The creation of so many local famine relief committees, like those in Tiffin or Steubenville, emerged as a logical extension of the widespread spirit of voluntarism prevalent in American society in the 1840s. It mirrored the way the people of Ohio banded together for moral improvement, public safety, religion, and civic betterment. American aid to Ireland and Scotland "underscored America's commitment and global voluntarism."[109] American aid in the 19th Century became a people to people movement as Americans organized committees and donated food, clothing, and money for international relief. Whether it was the Irish and Scots in 1847, the suffering textile workers of England in 1862, the Cretans In 1867 or the French in 1871 all became beneficiaries of American voluntary humanitarianism. Ohio took an active part in all these campaigns. For example, the 1871 effort to aid the French led to the creation of the Northern Ohio Relief Association based in Cleveland which had seventeen vice-presidents in cities and towns in northern Ohio

that raised funds for the French and Germans.[110] Summing up American willingness to help, "it is not in character for our citizens to enquire whether the suffering is among our own or other people; it is sufficient that it exists and engages all our sympathies in its behalf." It did not matter to Americans if the cause was "bad government" or nature the American people would help "as though it were our own kindred that made the call." Why were Americans generous? According to the Cincinnati *Times* "such is the effect of our free institutions in our land, and the great principle that all men are equal."[111] Republican institutions and values motivated the American people to become the leaders in international philanthropy.

1. W.W. Scarborough, Irish Relief Committee, Cincinnati to the Society of Friends, Dublin, October 22, 1847, in Society of Friends, Transactions of the Society of Friends, *Transactions of the Society of Friends during the Famine in Ireland*, facsimile reprint of the 1st ed. 1852 (Dublin: Edmund Burke, 1996), 249-250 (Hereafter *Transactions*).
2. R. Redington and others, Elyria, Ohio to the Society of Friends, Dublin, May 28, 1847, *Transactions*, 244.
3. John Creagh, et al, Irish Relief Committee, Cincinnati to the Society of Friends, Dublin, April 22,1847, *Transactions,* 238.
4. John Metcalf, et al, Irish Relief Committee, Zanesville (Muskingum County), Ohio to the Society of Friends, April 30, 1847, *Transactions*, 240.
5. Local histories do not mention the aid sent to Ireland and Scotland. For example, Nelson Callahan and William Hickey, *Irish Americans and Their Communities of Cleveland* (Cleveland State University 1978), Callahan and the impact of the famine in pushing Irish immigrants to Cleveland, but makes no mention of assistance to the Irish during the famine. Kevin Grace, *Irish Cincinnati* (Charleston: Arcadia Publishing, 2012) makes no mention. Lorle Porter, *St. Patrick's People; Irish and English Catholics in Early Ohio History* (Zanesville, Ohio: New Concord Press, 2003). Julie O'Keefe McGhee, et al, *Transplanted Shamrocks: Recollections of Central Ohio's Irish Americans* (Denver: Outskirts Press, 2012); Roger Fortin, *Faith and Action: A History of the Archdiocese of Cincinnati, 1821-1996* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2002); Seamus Mattress and Molly Schiever, eds., *The Irish in Toledo* (Toledo: University of Toledo, 2005); Francis Weisenberger, *"A Brief History of Immigrant Groups in Ohio,"* in Oscar Ender, ed., *In the Trek of The Immigrants* (Rock Island, Ill.: Augustana College Library, 1964); George Knepper, *Ohio and Its People* (Kent, Ohio and London: Kent State University Press, 2003)*;* Lawrence Mossing, *History of the Diocese of Toledo* (Freemont, Ohio: Diocese of Toledo, 1983); William Van Vugt, *British Buckeyes: The English, Scots, and Welsh in Ohio, 1700-1900* (Kent, Ohio; Kent University Press, 2006).
6. Diane Hotten-Somers, "Famine, American Relief Movement (1846-1850)," in Michael Glazer, ed., *The Encyclopedia of the Irish in America* (Notre Dame, In.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1999), 305.
7. Rob Goodbody, *A Suitable Channel: Quaker Relief in the Great Famine* (Bray, Ireland: Dale Publishing, 1995), 21.
8. Merle Curti, *American Philanthropy Abroad: A History* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1963), 64.
9. Ibid.
10. Society of Friends, *Transactions,* 47-48.
11. Rob Goodbody, *Suitable Channel,* 21.
12. Helen Hatton, *The Largest Amount of Good: Quaker Relief in Ireland, 1654-1921* (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993), 258. For some of the studies on the Irish famine, for example, Cormac O'Grada, *Black 47 and Beyond* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1999); Christine Kinealy, *A Death Dealing Famine: The Great Hunger in Ireland* (London: Pluto Press, 1997). She discusses the American response, 111-116. On the Scottish famine, Tom Divine, *The Great Highland Famine* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1988). On famine relief, Curti, Goodbody,

and Hatton cited above, new work by Christine Kinealy, *Charity And the Great Hunger in Ireland: The Kindness of Strangers* (London and New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2013), chapters 4 and 10, 85-106, 221-256, focus on American aid. Peter Gray, "Famine Relief in Comparative Perspective: Ireland. Scotland and NorthwesternEurope, 1845-1849." *Eire-Ireland 32* (Spring 1997): 86-208. For local studies of famine relief in the United States: Harvey Strum, "Pennsylvania and Irish Famine Relief, 1846-1847," *Pennsylvania History* 81:3 (2014): 277-299; Henry Crosby Forbes and Henry Lee, *Massachusetts Help to Ireland During the Great Famine* (Milton, Ma. Captain Forbes House, 1967); John Ridge, "The Great Hunger in New York", *New York Irish History 9* (1995): 5-12; David Gleeson, "Easing Integration: The Impact of the Great Famine on the American South," in *Ireland's Great Hunger*, ed. David Valone and Christine Kinealy (New York: University Press of America, 2001), 198 briefly mentions famine relief. Neil Hogan, *Cry of the Famishing: Ireland, Connecticut and the Potato Famine (*New Haven: Connecticut Irish-American Historical Society, 1998); Harvey Strum, 'Famine Relief from the Garden City to the Green Isle," *Journal of the Illinois Historical Society* 93:4 (Winter 2000-2001): 388-414

13. Callahan and Hickey, *Irish Americans,* 70.
14. Kevin Grace, *Irish Cincinnati,* 7, 41.
15. *Marietta Intelligencer,* March 11, 1847.
16. Cincinnati *Catholic Telegraph,* November 26, 1846.
17. Columbus *Ohio State Journal*, November 14, 1846.
18. Ibid, November 21, 1846.
19. Cleveland *Plain Dealer*, November 18, 1846.
20. Toledo *Blade*, November 20, 1846
21   Ibid, November 23, 1846.
22. Ibid, February 1, 1847.
23. Cleveland *Democrat*, February 6, 17, 1847.
24. Chillicothe *Advertiser*, February 6, 1847.
25. Findlay *Democratic Courier*, February 27, 1847.
26. Forbes and Lee, *Massachusetts's Help*, 11.
27. Cleveland *Evening Herald*, February 18, 1847; Cleveland *Daily Herald*, February 22, 1847.
28. Cleveland *Plain Dealer*, February 23, 1847.
29. Washington *National Intelligencer*, February 12, 1847. For details of the Clay meeting see New Orleans *Daily Delta*, February 5, 1847. For an original draft of the resolutions adopted at the Washington meeting, see February 9, 1847 in the Daniel Webster Papers, Dartmouth College. I used the microfilm edition, reel 20, at Princeton University's Firestone Library.
30. Toledo *Blade*, February 19, 1847.
31. Timothy Jerome Sarbaugh, "A Moral Spectacle: American Relief and the Famine 1845-49," *Eire/Ireland* 15:4 (Winter 1980): 6-14.
32. Tiffin *Whig Standard*, February 6. 1847.
33. Zanesville *Courier*, January 26, 1847.
34. Boston *Pilot*, January 23, 1847.
35. Cleveland *Plain Dealer*, March 13, 1847. Information on remittances from Cincinnati and Dayton see the Cleveland *Herald*, March 10, 1847.
36. Toledo *Blade*, February 19, 1847.
37. Cleveland *Plain Dealer*, February 16, 1847.
38. Cleveland True Democrat, February 27, 1847.
39. Cincinnati *The Watchman of the Valley*, February 11, 1847.
40. Lima *Reporter*, February 24, 1847.
41. Sandusky *Clarion Whig*, February 16, 1847.
42. Cincinnati *Daily Times*, February 11, 1847.
43. Chillicothe *Advertiser*, February 13, 1847.

44. Steubenville *American Union*, February 18, 1847.

45. Huron *Reflector*, February 22, 1847.

46. Findlay Democratic *Courier*, April 17, 1847.

47. See William Huntzicker, *The Popular Press, 1833-1865* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1999); Neal Hogan, "The Famine Beat: American Newspaper Coverage of the Great Famine," in Arthur Gribben, Ed.., *The Great Famine and the Irish Diaspora in America* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts, 1999: 155-179. Hogan does not cover famine aid.

48. Hogan, "Famine Beat,' 177.

49. John Creagh, et al, Irish Relief Committee, Cincinnati to the Society of Friends, Dublin, April 22, 1847, Transactions, 238. Also, see Cincinnati Times, February 13, 1847.

50. Cincinnati The *Watchman of the Valley*, February 18, 1847; For details on contributions see the Cincinnati Irish Relief Committee, *General Report of the Cincinnati Executive Committee for Irish Relief*   (Cincinnati: E. Shepard, 1847). The committee published its report and Cincinnati Historical Society kindly provided me with a copy. Also, see New York *Freeman's Journal*, March 13, 1847 for details by a   correspondent about Irish relief in Cincinnati. Cincinnati *Enquirer* February 25, 1847.

51. *Cincinnati Executive Committee*, 1. For the request to send cornmeal to Maria Edgeworth, see W. W. Scarborough, Irish Relief Committee, Cincinnati to Society of Friends, Dublin, October 22, 1847, *Transactions*, 250

52. General Irish Relief Committee, New York City, Aid to Ireland: Report of the General Irish Relief

53. For details on the shipment of supplies see the Cincinnati Executive Committee, Schedule #5. Christine Kinealy only mentions Ohio a   concise but thorough summary of the contributions from Cincinnati, Charity and the Great Hunger, 238-39. Hatton, *Largest Amount of Good*, 118, briefly mentions Cincinnati but cites 4,000 barrels based on the letter from the committee and not the report of the Executive Committee which is more thorough. For the Repeal connections see, Christine Kinealy, *Daniel O'Connell and the Anti-Slavery Movement* (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2011), 126-30.

54. Cleveland *Plain Dealer*, February 27, 1847.

55. Cleveland *Democrat*, February 26, 1847.

56. Cleveland *Herald*, February 17, 1847. Also, see United States, Work Projects Administration *Ohio, Annals of Cleveland, 1818-1935* (Cleveland, 1936-), 263: 1442. Copy provided by Ohio Historical Society Archives/Library, Columbus, Ohio.

57. Ibid, February 24, 1847; *Annals*, 263:1443.

58. Cleveland *Plain Dealer*, March 3, 1847.

59. For the Howard letter, Cleveland *Herald*, March 3, 1847; *Annals*, 264: 1450.

60. Columbus *Tri-Weekly State* Journal, March 18, April 13, 1847.

61. Columbus *Ohio Press*, February 20, 1847.

62. Columbus *Ohio State Journal*, February 20, 1847.

63. *Report of the Executive Committee of Franklin County*, Columbus, September 20, 1847 in Ibid, September 21, 1847.

64. Toledo *Blade*, February 24, 1847.

65. Ibid, February 22, 1847.

66. Ibid.

67. Ibid, February 24, 1847.

68. Ibid.

69. New York *Freeman's Journal*, March 6, 1847.

70. Huron *Reflector*, February 22, March 2, 9, 1847.

71. Mary Howitt, *Our Cousins in Ohio* (London: Darton and Co., 1849), 280-87. Also, the description of these events in Hatton, *The Largest Amount of Good*, 6, 114-15.

72. *The Friend*, February 27, 1847, 184. Citing a letter from a Quaker in Ohio.

73. Findlay *Democratic Courier*, May 8, 15, 22, 1847. Quote is from the issue of the 15th.

74. Conneaut *Reporter*, March 4, 1847.

75. Zanesville *Courier*, March 11, 1847.

76. John Metcalf, chairman, and James Palmer, Secretary, Irish Relief Committee, Zanesville to the Society of Friends, April 30, 1847, *Transactions*, 240.

77. Canton *The Ohio Repository*, February 18, 1847.

78. William J. Duane to Thomas Goodman and others, February 22, 1847 published in the Canton *The Ohio Repository*, March 4, 1847.

79. Marietta *Intelligencer*, March 18, 1847.

80. Ibid.

81. Columbus *The Ohio Press*, April 8, 1847.

82. Ibid.

83. "Relief for Ireland" March 1, 1847 (Steubenville, O, 1847), Broadside, Ohio Historical Society Archives/Library, Columbus, Ohio. Also, contents published in Steubenville *American Union*, March 4, 1847.

84. Steubenville *American Union*, March 4, 1847.

85. There were two separate but related relief committees in Philadelphia that the people of Ohio sent some of their contributions to for Ireland, Philadelphia Irish Relief Committee and the Central Committee of the Friends of Philadelphia for the Relief of the Irish Poor.

86. N. Dike, Chairman, Irish Relief Committee, Steubenville to the Society of Friends, Dublin, May 17, 1847, *Transactions*, 243. Helen Hatton briefly mentions Steubenville, *The Largest Amount of Good*, 116.

87. For McDonald, Steubenville *American Union*, March 11, 18, 1847.

88. James Drummond to Thomas P. Cope, February 18, 1847, Cope Family Papers, Irish Relief Committee letters, January-August, 1847, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

89. D. Trueman to Thomas Cope, February 19, 1847, Cope Papers, HSP.

90. Benjamin Ladd to Thomas Cope, February 12, 1847, Cope Papers, HSP.

91. William Ashton to Thomas Cope, February 20, 1847, Cope Papers, HSP.

92. Cincinnati *Times,* February 16, 1847.

93. Cincinnati *Herald*, March 17, 1847.

94. Devine, *The Great Highland Famine*, 116.

95. James Hunter, *The Making of the Crofting Community* (Edinburgh, 2000), 108.

96. Minutes of the Caledonian Society, March 3, 1847, manuscript copy, Cincinnati Historical Society.

97. Cincinnati *Daily Times*, April 21, 1847.

98. Ibid; Minutes of the Caledonian Society, April 10, 1847.

99. Cincinnati *Herald*, March 24, 1847.

100. Ibid, April 7, 1947; Cincinnati *Daily Times* March 24, 1847.

101. Kinealy, *Charity and the Great Hunger in Ireland*, 255.

102. Curti, *American Philanthropy*, 99-119.

103. Cincinnati *Daily Times*, February 25, 1847. See Curti for the Greeks and Cape Verde, 15-40.

104. Ibid and cities the Philadelphia *Ledger* in an editorial partially taken from the Philadelphia paper and partially written by the Cincinnati editor.

105. Christine Kinealy, "Potatoes, providence, and philanthropy: the role of private charity during the *Irish Famine*," in Patrick O' Sullivan, ed., *The Meaning of the Great Famine*, (London: Leicester University Press), 158.

106. Ibid, 161.

107. The phrase universal America came from Father Charles O'Reilly of Woonsocket, Rhode Island, *Boston Pilot*, March 6, 1847.

108. "Meeting of the Jewish Population of New York in Aid of Ireland," *Occident 5:1* (April 1847), 37.

109. Hotten-Somers, "*Famine*," 108.

110.For details of American aid see, Curti, *American Philanthropy*, 65-136.
111.Cincinnati *Daily Times*, February 25, 1847.

Corporate Style Education Reform and the Latino Community

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One of the elements of American exceptionalism is comprised of our nations deeply rooted history in public education. In fact, the origins of public education in America can be traced back to the colonial period (Sen, 2014). Educational opportunity was one of the elements that set America apart from Europe; in the United States every resident was given the opportunity to attend public school and earn a baseline education. On the contrary, education was something that only the most privileged citizens were capable of obtaining in European countries. Education in the United States has never been static and has undergone various changes at different points in time. However, changes took place on a more local scale, as education was something that was almost entirely under the jurisdiction of individual states. The United States Department of Education wasn't in existence until the early 1980s (Sen, 2014). Over the past three decades, education reform has taken on a new meaning, especially to the Latino community, who now make up about 21 percent of the students in the United States (Gandara). I would consider many of the harmful modern reforms to be corporate oriented.

Corporate style education reform gained traction during the Reagan administration. President Reagan appointed the National Commission of Excellence in Education to publish a report about the state of education in America ("Socialist Alternative"). The report titled *Nation at Risk* opened the floodgates towards reform; before long the neoliberal camp and their allies in the White House aimed to take advantage of "failing schools." Pro-business and pro-privatization groups and individuals began to pitch ideas about how to solve the education "crisis" in America. Many of the corporate style reforms today include: standardized testing, proliferation of charter schools, advocating competition amongst students and teachers, and transforming schools into being run in a more top down approach. The list is not limited to these reforms but they will be the ones that I will focus on. There is sufficient data to conclude that these types of reforms are disproportionately harmful towards the Latino community along with other minority groups.

Corporate style education reform gained one of its most significant victories upon the passage of the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001. President George W. Bush championed this reform that was eventually passed with bipartisan support in congress. No Child Left Behind became the first real propagation of standardized testing. It is no secret that Latino students consistently perform worse than their white counterparts on these types of tests. "In 2009, at the national level, the achievement gap between Hispanic and White students at grade 4 and 8 in mathematics and reading was between 21 and 26 points on the National Assessment of Educational Progress scale (Hemphill, Cadelle, & Vanneman, 2011)." The NAEP compiles and analyzes data from every state given the results from their No Child Left Behind mandated tests. While there is no argument as to what the numbers show, there is disparity as to why the numbers are so lopsided against Latino students. Teachers groups and civil rights groups have criticized the tests as being flawed for over a decade. One major issue that is not accounted for when students are testing is their English language skills. Latino students are much more likely to face challenges understanding what is being asked of them then students who speak English as their first language. In fact, "high-stakes testing causes additional damage to the many students of color who are English language learners. The tests are often inaccurate for ELLs, leading to misplacement or retention. ELLs are, alongside students with disabilities, those least likely to pass graduation tests ("Fair Test")." Unfortunately, a one-size fits all approach to testing will not accurately measure a student's intellectual abilities. The National Center for Fair & Open Testing identified numerous problems with high-stakes

testing from early childhood through college entrance. One of the issues they identify is that, "Schools at times suspend, expel, 'counsel out' or otherwise remove students with low scores in order to boost school results and escape test-based sanctions mandated by the federal government's 'No Child Left Behind' law, at great cost to the youth and ultimately society ("Fair Test")." Due to the stringent sanctions that No Child Left Behind demands from failing schools there is now an incentive for trying to phase out failing students, most commonly Latinos, from school. This causes a domino effect that fate many Latinos to low paying, non-managerial job positions in the work force. The Annie E. Casey Foundation found the gap between the test scores of white and Latino students has grown over 30 percent since the 1960s. One of the explanations given for this phenomenon is that, "students with grandparents who have graduated from college always score higher, suggesting that the tests unfairly penalize students who are the first in their family to attend college (Rooks, 2012)." This is proof that there is a snowball effect negatively impacting the Latino community when educational policies are geared towards non-minority students. The damages of high-stakes testing can last generations when those tests are used as a tool to prescribe students educational futures. Not only are standardized tests slanted against minority students but also they are flawed in general when it comes to measuring the amplitude of a student's capabilities. "Standardized tests do not judge a student's complex thinking skills or the practical application of knowledge. They do not encourage creativity, but instead reward memorization and test-taking strategies (Bullock, 2013)." In fact, these tests often only measure subjects such as math, reading, and writing. This means that subjects such as art, history, music, and physical education go largely unnoticed. Since these subjects are not tested on this also creates a curriculum gap that stunts Latino student's creativity and critical thinking skills. The practice of standardized testing needs to be brought to a halt. A "bubble-in" the answer type test shows us nothing about a student's intellectual capabilities. On the contrary, these tests can be used to more accurately predict a student's zip code or the type of car that their parents drive.

Another corporate reform tactic being utilized is the transformation of traditional public schools to charter schools. Charter schools are defined as, "publicly funded elementary or secondary schools that have been freed from some of the rules, regulations, and statuses that apply to other public schools, in exchange for some type of accountability for producing certain results, which are set forth in each charter school's charter ("National Education Association")." Essentially a charter school is run by a private organization or business but paid for with public tax dollars. Most are not unionized and some charters are run by for-profit companies. While there may be some merit behind the idea of charter schools many of the practices associated with them inadvertently or directly harm Latino students. Charter schools are often marketed as an alternative to traditional schools that have not met the needs of minority students. Advocates of charter schools say they are a way to get kids out of their failing neighborhood schools and into more successful environments. However, this is inconsistent to evidence published at Stanford University's Center for Research on Education Outcomes. The research conducted in this study looked at test data from charter schools in 26 states and the District of Columbia. The results indicated that only 25 percent of charters outperformed traditional public schools in reading while 29 percent of charters delivered stronger results in math (Layton, 2013). On the contrary 56 percent of the charters produced no significant difference in reading and 19 percent had worse results than traditional public schools (Layton, 2013). In math, 40 percent produced no significant difference and 31 percent were significantly worse than regular public schools (Layton, 2013). While data doesn't suggest that charter school attendees are gaining any sort of significant advantage over their traditional public school counterparts there is some outcry over the opportunities of Latinos to be admitted into these schools if they so choose to attend. Many charter schools use a lottery system to determine who will be accepted. While a lottery system in and of itself doesn't advance any sort of discrimination, the process towards applying does differentiate between minority and non-minority students. Latino students are more likely to have parents at home without any English language proficiency than any other group. Without a parent capable of guiding a student through the process of applying to go to a charter school the student's opportunity is significantly minimized. Latino students often have parents who work jobs that that don't provide them with the flexibility to spend hours outside of work going through the process of going to a charter school. Extra hoops to attain a quality education are not in the best interest of Latino students. The proliferation of

charter schools across the nation in many of the most populous cities, where Latinos are most likely to reside, mean less traditional public schools. The relationship between the proliferation of charter schools and the closing of public neighborhood schools is a cause and effect relationship. As charter school numbers have gone up in urban cities mass closing of traditional schools have taken place. While mass closures of schools are troubling in itself, the type of students being displaced is even more troubling. More often than not, the schools that are being closed are highly populated by minority students, including Latinos. It is not uncommon for the schools that are being closed in cities like Chicago, Philadelphia, Oakland, and New York to have populations upwards of 90 percent minority students. There have been demonstrations of pushback against these types of school closure policies. "Opponents describe the closures as a steep blow to a generation of minority students already struggling with social and economic instability. The school closures and their unintended consequences have sparked protests among parents, students, and advocates who say the school board targeted minority students and low income communities (Lee, 2013)." Randi Weingarten, president of the American Federation of Teachers, spoke on the issue saying, "You have poor kids all over the country but the mass closures are disproportionately affecting children of color. Instead of fixing a school and making public schools the center of a community where parents want to send their kids, you're hurting communities, you're hurting schools and you are sending kids outside of their neighborhood to places that in the long run, frankly, are no better than the places they left (Lee, 2013)." She went on to further say the mass closure model is an "abdication of responsibility" by school leaders. It seems disconcerting that students who perform best in public schools, white and affluent students, are rarely never displaced from their neighborhood schools. If charter schools are not performing any better, or even in some cases worse than traditional schools, and minority students such as Latinos are being hurt by their growing presence, it may seem counterproductive that their numbers are increasing steadily every year. Most charter school reformers and business leaders credit charter schools with being a key solution within the overwhelming problem of minority students "failing" in traditional public schools. Educational scholars such as Diane Ravitch believe there is an ulterior motive to the proliferation of charter schools in America. Many of the businesses in charge of operating charter schools are run for profit. Education budgets in states across the nation total in the hundreds of billions per year, leaving many venture capitalists salivating at the opportunity to get a piece of this budget. Many charter schools are run by for-profit educational management organizations (EMOs). EMOs have developed over time as a result of the charter school movement. The Roosevelt institute highlights some of the ethical issues with allowing EMOs to run schools funded by taxpayer dollars. "There is a good reason that public schools are run by state and local governments rather than for-profit businesses. As a society, we expect government programs to be tailored to serve the needs of citizens and create common standards for the betterment of all. If we blur the line between private businesses and public schools, we may wind up diverting public funds to support a company's bottom line rather than our shared educational goals and values ("Roosevelt Institute")." One of the many major donors for charter school operations in the United States is Alice Walton. In fact, in 2008 the Walton foundation spent over $2 billion dollars on charter school propagation (Connelly, 2012). Alice Walton is the heir to the Walton fortune, which was amassed by her father's chain store, Wal-Mart. In my home state of Washington she was responsible for donating over $1.1 million dollars to the pro charter school campaign during the 2012 election (Connelly, 2012). One of the reasons I refer to modern reforms as corporate style is because they are literally funded by corporations and their owners, such as billionaires Bill Gates and Alice Walton (Barkan). The connection between for-profit charter schools and the Latino population is discouraging. By allowing private businesses to profit off of charter schools they have an incentive to make sure currently operating schools are "failing." If traditional schools are deemed as "failing" it gives venture capitalists ammunition to lobby politicians and parents into buying the idea of charter schools. Minority students such as Latinos overwhelmingly populate the schools that are targeted as "failing". Putting an incentive into keeping disadvantaged students in "failing" schools is not good public policy for the Latino community. Shutting down neighborhood schools destabilizes communities and is not the answer that is in the best interest of Latino students.

One of the most commonly used concepts in free market economies is the idea of competition.

Capitalists see competition as the best way to achieve the most desirable results. Corporate school reformers are now trying to translate competition in the markets into the classroom. Federal funding for schools across the nation is now being distributed through a competition-based program, known as Race to the Top. The three key elements of the program are simple. "Teachers will be evaluated in relation to their student's test scores. Schools that continue to get low test scores will be closed or turned into charter schools or handed over to private management. In low-performing schools, principals will be fired, and all or half of the staff will be fired. States are encouraged to create many more privately managed charter schools (Ravitch, 2010)." Race to the top is a highly data driven program. Since federal dollars are largely handed out based on standardized test score results Latino students will likely see very limited resources headed their direction. This program doesn't sit well with many of the nation's leading civil rights groups. They insist that federal funding should be based on need, not competition. As many teachers have put it, "education is a right, not a race." Injecting competition into public education isn't just limited to how federal dollars are dispersed but also into individual classrooms. Corporate backed legislation being implemented across the nation calls for a new merit pay system for teachers. Historically teachers have been paid according to the degree they hold, with advanced degrees earning extra pay, and how many years teachers have spent in the classroom. Under a merit pay system teachers would compete for their paychecks. Teachers who have the highest test scores would be paid the most, while teachers with students who don't perform well on tests would be docked pay. As outlined earlier every piece of data indicates that Latino students don't do well on standardized tests. If these types of tests were used to determine teacher pay then classrooms with highly dense Latino populations would be avoided at all costs. Merit pay leaves absolutely no incentive for the most highly skilled and sought after teachers to work in a school with a disadvantaged population. Education secretary Arne Duncan has been calling upon states to create merit pay systems for the last five years. In places where merit pay has been introduced such as New York City havoc has prevailed as teacher-cheating scandals have been exposed. It is a sad day in education when teachers have to cheat in order to maintain their livelihood. Competition based reforms are not good public policy for America's school children, especially those in already disadvantaged circumstances such as the Latino population.

A top down approach to public education is another corporate emulated style of managing education. In step with businesses and corporations many reformers want to hand over more control to someone at the top of the chain in the name of accountability. Many super-populated cities in which Latinos largely inhabit around the nation are currently undergoing this seizure of power all in the name of more easily unhinging current policy for better results. Mayoral control of public schools is the latest trend in a top down approach to education. New York City is a prime example. The New York State Legislature gave Mayor Michael Bloomberg control of the New York City public schools in 2002 (Ravitch, 2013). In return for supreme authority of the public schools in New York City Mayor Bloomberg promised results. He said that with his newly granted powers the schools in his city would see soaring test scores. While test scores were on an upward trajectory for a few years they eventually plummeted. "In 2009, 86.4% of the state's students were "proficient" in math, but the number in 2010 plummeted to 61%. In 2009, 77.4% were "proficient" in reading, but now it is only 53.2%... the city's pass rate in reading for grades 3-8 fell from 68.8% to 42.4%, and the proficiency rate in math sunk from an incredible 81.8% to a dismal 54% (Ravitch, 2013)." The originally inflated numbers were largely due to the fact that state standards for passing had been unreasonably low; after they were slightly raised the house of cards came crashing down. Chicago public schools are another great example of mayoral control. In May of 1995 Mayor Richard M. Daley gained direct control over the public school system as a response to legislation passed by the State of Illinois legislature ("The United States Conference of Mayors"). This legislation created a corporate structure of school management, including a Chief Executive Officer position. The CEO even had the power to close schools that she deemed "chronically underperforming." A publicly elected school board was replaced with a five member Chicago School Reform Board of Trustees that is appointed solely by the mayor. Fast forward fifteen years and current Mayor Rahm Emanuel has closed over 50 schools in his city in one year, largely populated by African-American and Latino students on the south end of the city (Lee, 2013). The movement against democratization of public schools poses a serious

threat to Latino students across the nation. When public schools are handed over to mayors and their appointed committees, where is the Latino voice in the decision making process? Blocking community voice and interests in the public school systems across America does nothing but disenfranchise Latinos from institutions that they are already struggling to attain positions of power within. According to the School Superintendents Association less than two percent of superintendents are of Latino descent. This is a startling low number considering the number of Latino students reflected in classrooms today. By blocking elections of public school officials there is little hope that the Latino community will be represented in the decision making process.

While the corporate reforms taking place across America leave Latino students in a dire situation there are viable solutions that should be examined. A great starting place would be to replicate an educational experience that has proven to be successful. Finland is consistently ranked as having the most superior education system in the world. Many of the educational practices in Finland are in direct contrast to what the United States has implemented in the last few decades. Issues such as poverty, standardized testing, and curriculum all need to be addressed.

Ending high stakes testing is a great place to start in improving education for Latino students. American schools need to spend more time educating and less time ranking and sorting based on standardized tests. Standardized testing has its roots traced back to the eugenics movement when scientists were attempting to prove racial inequalities. For every minute a Latino student spends taking a test, they lose a minute of learning time. The United States needs to repeal provisions in the No Child Left Behind Act that are mandating standardized testing. The Latino population would also greatly benefit by capping the amount of hours each school year that student's are allowed to spend taking standardized tests. There are few, if any, required standardized tests in Finland.

The privatization movement in the United States is nothing more than a distraction to the real challenges that Latino students are facing. Instead of spending public dollars on privately run enterprises, often for profit, we need to improve the existing schools that we already have. When public neighborhood schools are closed in poor neighborhoods, Latino students lives are thrown into chaos and destabilized. Instead of demeaning "failing" schools the United States needs to double down on their investments to achieve the American ideal of equality of opportunity, regardless of your zip code. Mayor Rahm Emanuel of Chicago sends his kids to the private University of Chicago Laboratory Schools (Lee, 2013). The laboratory schools have many wrap around services that students in Chicago's public schools are being denied. Art, music, world languages, librarians, computer labs, and physical education are all part of the curriculum in the laboratory schools. If this type of holistic education provides for a broad, deep, and rich curriculum that is good enough for the mayor's children, then it should be good enough for all the kids living in Chicago, including disadvantaged Latino students.

Lastly, and most importantly, poverty needs to be addressed. Latino students are twice as likely than white students to be living in poverty ("American Community Survey Briefs"). There is virtually no poverty in Finland, so every student comes to school with the mental capacity to learn. Every student in Finland also has access to adequate healthcare, which cannot be said for every student in the United States. According to the organization Feeding America there are 15.9 million children living in food insecure households. Over 23 percent of Hispanic households are food insecure ("Feeding America"). These are numbers that every American should be ashamed of. Poverty is a vicious cycle and an adequate education is the best way to combat it. Latino students need to be on an equal playing field, which may require more resources that previously provided.

The state of education for Latino students is in a very disheartening position. The deck is currently stacked against these students and their communities. Civil rights activist and attorney Lani Guinier says three questions need to be asked whenever a system of discrimination has been instituted. First off, "who are the winners and the losers ("Gettysburg College")?" Winners and losers have been established in the American education system now more than ever, with Latinos often on the losing end. Every student in America is given a report either labeling them as "passing" or "failing." The second question she poses is, "who is making the rules to the game ("Gettysburg College")?" There is virtually no Latino presence when it comes to decision-making mechanisms within the educational system of America. Latinos lack

the resources and sheer numbers to be involved with crafting the policies that are salient to their community. And lastly Dr. Guinier asks, "What are the stories that the winners tell the losers to keep them playing the game ("Gettysburg College")?" All over America corporations and businesses have paid millions of dollars to get legislatures to facilitate the execution of charter schools across this nation. As stated earlier, the privatization of schools is almost always pitched as helping disadvantaged students gain access to the types of schools that they deserve. It is time to tell American billionaires that Latino students are not for sale. By answering Dr. Guinier's questions it is evident that the current corporate reforms taking place in America today are institutionalizing Latino failure for generations to come. It is time for America to give every American, including Latinos, the opportunity to achieve the American dream, starting with an adequate education.

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