# Table of Contents

*Instructional Tools for Mobile Learning: M-Learning for Today’s Classrooms*
Paulina Kuforiji, Bonita Friend Williams, Columbus State University  
1

*Project Purpose*
Yeunjoo Lee, Casey McWhirter, CSU Bakersfield  
11

*How to Develop this Land?*
Qiong Liang, Central Washington University  
18

*The Executioner’s Needle: The Supreme Court Revisits Lethal Injections*
Joseph A. Melusky, Saint Francis University (PA)  
24

*The Renewal of Liuzhou Underground Infrastructure*
Guoliang Meng, Central Washington University  
37

*The Meaning of History: A New Approach to Teaching Social Sciences and World History Based on the Paradigm Shift from Newtonian to the New Physics*
Ali Parsa, California State University, Fullerton  
43

*Are Career Politicians Always Bad? Lessons from the American Founding*
Richard Reeb, Barstow College, 1970-2003  
56

*Understanding How Three Key Events Impacted the Presidential Legacy of Andrew Johnson*
Darrial Reynolds, South Texas College  
72

*Developmentally Appropriate Practices in the Early Childhood Classroom: Are They Walking the Talk?*
Jana M. Sanders, Texas A&M University-Corpus Christi  
Melissa Fahey, Houston Independent School District  
79

*Community College Students’ Self-Reported Potential Career Benefits of Taking a Social Science Course Online: A Case Study*
Jeffrey T. Schulz Central Community College  
Allen Francis Ketcham, Texas A&M University  
87

*Uniting by Excluding: Shifting Patterns of Social Identity in Italian Discourse*
Elizabeth Self, Daniel Acheson-Brown, Eastern New Mexico University  
105

*Using Mini-Dramas and Simulations to Enhance Cultural Competence in Foreign Language Classroom*
Virginia Shen, Chicago State University  
112
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Author(s)</th>
<th>Institution</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SafeZONE Online: Creating and Serving as Safe Spaces on Campus</td>
<td>Santos Torres, Jr., Debra L. Welkley, Chris Kent,</td>
<td>California State University, Sacramento</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Challenges for Global Communication in the 21st Century</td>
<td>Binh Vo, Central Washington University</td>
<td></td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American outreach and the Liuzhou Association of Overseas &amp; Returned Scholars (LAORS)</td>
<td>Qiwen Wang, Central Washington University</td>
<td></td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educational Attainment and Website Usage: A National Look at Education and Its Influence on Educational Website Usage</td>
<td>Brad C. Wedlock, The University of Louisiana at Lafayette</td>
<td></td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reforming Government Statistics in China</td>
<td>Dongyin Wei, Central Washington University</td>
<td></td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Training Programs for Government Employees: Liuna District Government Of Liuzhou City</td>
<td>Nan Wu, Central Washington University</td>
<td></td>
<td>168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Follow the Money: Liuzhou Bureau of Finance</td>
<td>Zhou Yu, Central Washington University</td>
<td></td>
<td>174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work Place Safety: The Work Safety Bureau of Liuzhou City</td>
<td>Shuai Zeng, Central Washington University</td>
<td></td>
<td>181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Force and Firearms in China</td>
<td>Yu Zhao (Zoey), Central Washington University</td>
<td></td>
<td>188</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Instructional Tools for Mobile Learning:
M-Learning for Today’s Classrooms

Paulina Kuforiji
Bonita Friend Williams

Columbus State University
Columbus, Georgia
Instructional Tools for Mobile Learning: M-Learning for Today’s Classrooms

A visual image of “learning” in 2016 is very different than in 1996, a mere twenty years ago. In 1996 most classrooms still had blackboards (the slate kind, not the platform for online courses) and maybe one desktop computer for teacher use. Fast forward ten years to 2006 and the blackboard transforms into a “smart board” and Blackboard is one of several platforms for e-learning. Ten more years of electronic development produces smart phones with the capability of online access from a hand held device that fits in your pocket. E-learning has expanded to incorporate a new, growing subset-mobile or m-learning. This paper will briefly review the major roles that mobile learning (m-learning) has begun to play in the lives of teenagers and young adults both in and outside the classroom. Several tools will be highlighted that P-12 and college teachers may find useful in engaging twenty-first century teens and young adults in mobile learning in the classroom.

Mobile Learning and Its Educational Potential

Peters (2009) describes m-learning as “just” learning that involves three key components: “just the right time, just the right amount, and just for me”. Other researchers (Koole, 2009; Ally, 2007) also identified accessibility, content load and individualization as key elements in the popularity and use of mobile learning in formal settings like structured courses as well as for personal use. In addition, communication with others- peers, instructors, and institutions, was noted as an element that makes the use of mobile devices a viable factor in the picture of twenty-first century learning. The “m” factor, mobility, seems to be the driving force that extended the use of laptops, tablets, and smart phones well beyond personal and professional communication to a learning tool with the capacity to reach an expanding population of users. According to a recent survey report (Pew, 3015), 97% of teens ages 13-17 use smart phones to access the internet on an almost daily basis. With the information and tools available to capitalize on this accessibility, educators are positioned to effectively use these devices to impact academic learning.

M-learning (mobile learning and devices) are now widely used in the classroom and distance learning environments to provide students with the opportunity to study at anywhere, any time and in any place. Ghattu (2015 and Messinger (2011), discussed the uses of m-learning as follows:


The remainder of this paper gives a quick overview of tools that can be used by teachers and by students to share information as well as to document and assess learning of information. The tools are organized by the five categories listed above. Links to the sites and ideas for instructional uses are also provided.
Classroom Communication Tools

Screenleap - www.Screenleap.com

Screenleap is a web-based application that allows a user to share their computer screen with a viewer while they are currently working on it. It can be used without downloading and installing or even without signing up for an account. It allows users to download music, audio books, podcasts, photos, and video. It is recommended to have fewer than 25 people viewing a single screen share. It works on both iOS and Android mobile devices.

Instructional Uses. Students can download podcasts of relevant instructional material along with audio and video lectures. Although the early devices have rather small screens, future versions probably will have bigger screens so that users can read e-books on them. The video iPod, for example, takes a step in this direction.

Remind (formerly Remind 101) - https://www.remind.com/

Kearns et al (2010) believed that “communication processes support and contribute to the overall satisfaction and learning within the online modality” (Kearns, et. al., 2010, pp. 11). One of the tools is Remind. It provides multipurpose one-way correspondence between teacher and students, or teacher and the students' parents. It is a communication tool that helps teachers reach students and parents where they are. Remind allows users to connect instantly via mobile messages to anyone who subscribes. It allows teachers to connect instantly send messages via mobile devices to students and parents. Teachers can safely connect to students without using sharing of personal information and no login for students. Users can use Remind for free on any devise.

Instructional Uses.

Here are some ways in which Remind can be used. Teachers can send text, photos, videos and even set messages to be sent at a later date. It can be used to send announcements for faculty and staff that are timely, or urgent in nature. It can also be used for professional development, whereby daily tips pertaining to instructional technology, or classroom pedagogy can be sent to faculty and staff.
Celly: [https://cel.ly/](https://cel.ly/)

Celly is unique app that is used to communicate with large groups of people. It is sets up a mini social network for you and your students/parents. Once the ‘cell’ is created people join by linking their cell phones or joining in using the iOS or Android app. Phone numbers are kept private, which is great for an educational environment. Cells can have a moderator (perfect for the teacher) that is able to ensure communication is appropriate and on-topic. Celly is a platform which is free for school and required no software download or hardware. It is easily available on web browser, phone, texting, tablets, ipad and smart phones.

**Instructional Uses.** Some of the instructional uses of Celly includes:

- **Note Taking:** Students can take and store note on Celly through Celly website and SMS text. They can also schedule their personal reminders. Every Celly account has its own personal notes section. Users can archive and recovered it at any point of time.
- **Polling:** Users can conduct instant polls in classroom. Educators can also go for classroom assessment, pop quizzes, trivia, as well as collecting feedback from staff students and parents.
- **Field Trips:** Using group messaging, educators can keep everyone connected on a field trip. Parents can also join field trip network and can stay connected.
- **Moderated Group Messaging:** Moderation tools enable users to facilitate in or out in any class group conversation. Educators can select which messaging needs to send to the entire group or individually.

**TodaysMeet TodaysMeet.com**

TodaysMeet is a free service for hosting backchannel discussions. It is a web-based tool that allow students to communicate with each other or ask the presenter questions. It can be used in a variety of ways such as a real-time discussion during a classroom viewing of a video, as a tool for quickly polling my students, and as forum for students to ask questions anonymously.

**Instructional Uses.** Students can use TodaysMeet, for back-channeling while showing a video. They can ask questions and share more comments regarding the content. TodaysMeet can be used to support lectures and also used for collecting questions and comments anonymously.
Assessment Tools

The second example of the uses of mlearning in the classroom is assessment. Kahoot - www.getkahoot.com

Kahoot is a free, web-based tool that allows the user to survey students, ask formative assessment questions, or facilitate an online discussion on computers or mobile devices. Quizzes, Discussions and Surveys can be created and the users have access to thousands of already created quizzes.

Instructional Uses. Some of the instructional uses of Kahoot includes:

1. Kahoot can be used to introduce a new topic or unit. A Kahoot quiz can be created to be created to assess students’ prior knowledge.
2. Kahoot can be used to create a survey and discussion.
3. It can be as a conversation starter for questions and topics for all kinds of content in the classroom.
4. Building a Positive Classroom Culture. The user can plan for a fun game where students can guess the interests and fun facts about their classmates to help team build and promote positive classroom culture.

Quizizz: www.quizziz.com

Quizizz is an alternative to Kahoot.

Quizizz is a formative assessment tool that is best used to obtain information on how the class as a whole is doing in understanding content material. It is a free tool and user are able to create or access hundreds of ready-made learning. Quizizz Unique features are: (a) Quizizz is player-paced while Kahoot’s pace is determined by the teacher or host; (b) a fun game to conduct quick assessments, (c) it is student-paced and (d) there is realtime feedback.

Instructional Uses. Some of the instructional uses of Quizizz includes:

1. Quizizz is an engaging way for students to review material in a competitive setting. It tracks points, and correct answers.
2. It can be used to build up question library
3. Quizizz is ideal for an in-class review session
Socrative – www.Socrative.com

Socrative is a free student response system that works on any device. With its built-in quick questions and quiz options, it is a good resource for formative and summative assessments. It is also used for creating open ended questions that students can vote on. Socrative supports multiple languages platforms. It is interactive and engaging and provides immediate feedback via formative assessments. Students can use Socratic on any device, on any platform.

Instructional Uses. Some of the instructional uses of Socrative includes:

1. Socrative can be used to gather anonymous questions and answers:
2. It can be used to administer short quizzes and it gives students immediate feedback on the multiple choice and true/ false questions.
3. Socratic can be used to host a “space race” in your classroom: A space race is a competitive format for quizzes. Space race can be played as a team or individual activity. Each correct answer moves a rocket ship across the screen. The first person or team to get their rocket across the screen wins.

Seesaw - http://web.seesaw.me/

Seesaw is a multimedia journal that allow students to showcase what they know using photos, videos, drawings, text, PDFs and links at school. It is an organized, digital portfolio of each student’s learning such as videos, photos, text and drawings. It is accessible by teacher, student and parent. It works on both iOS and Android mobile devices. It is free except for enhanced parent features.

Instructional Uses. Some of the instructional uses of Seesaw includes:

1. Teachers, parents, and students can all engage with student work, providing comments and seeing progress.
2. It can be used to create a learning journal to collect data and share with parents.

Plickers www.plickers.com

Plickers is a student response system that allows teachers to gather formative assessment data from the students. It works on both iOS and Android mobile devices.

Instructional Uses. Some of the instructional uses of Seesaw includes:
1. Plickers can be used to check for students' understanding of the concept.
2. Quick response for in-class practice
3. It can be used for review session of a lesson.

**Screencasting and Screensharing Tools**

- Use AirPlay to wirelessly stream content from your iPhone, iPad, or iPod touch
- Airplay allows you to display your iPad on a Mac or PC

**Screencasting Apps for Mobile Devices**

**Showme**

ShowMe is iPad app that enables the teachers to create content on a virtual whiteboard and share the lessons with students.

Instructional Uses. Some of the instructional uses of ShowMe includes:

It is used in a flipped classroom environment. Teachers record their lectures for students to watch at home, teachers are using class time to inspire through group collaboration and project-based learning.

**Educreations Interactive Whiteboard iOS App**

Educreations is an interactive whiteboard and screencasting tool that captures the user’s voice, handwriting, text and images. Users can annotate, animate, and narrate nearly any type of content as you explain any concept. Teachers can create short instructional videos and share them instantly with students. It is both a web-based app and iPad app and it is free.

Instructional Uses. Some of the instructional uses of Educreations includes:

It is used in a flipped classroom environment. Teachers record their lectures for students to watch at home, teachers are using class time to inspire through group collaboration and project-based learning.

**Student Collaboration and Content Creation Apps**

Padlet [http://padlet.com/](http://padlet.com/)
Padlet is a virtual wall that allows users to express their thoughts on a common topic easily. It is synonymous to a digital piece of paper.

Instructional Uses. Some of the instructional uses of Padlet in the classroom:

1. Padlet can be used for Book Reviews: It is a great workspace for students to share thoughts, Padlet offers a great venue for students to share their thoughts.
2. It can be used to write topic summary: Padlet can help teachers summarize a large amount of information and present it in a visually pleasing way.
3. Opinion/Forum: Both the teachers and the students can post a particular topic or issue, and students can post their opinions on the subject.

Evernote  www.evernote.com

Evernote is a cross-platform app designed for note taking, organizing, and archiving. Notes can be shared via email or on the web and can be synced to all devices. It is available on multiple platforms (iOS, Android, Kindle Fire, Web, Mac / PC). All the information available / shareable at all times: text, images, attachments, audio

Evernote is a tool to remember everything. Learn how to use Evernote to manage your classroom from

Instructional Uses. Some of the instructional uses of Evernote in the classroom:

- A 2nd Grader Explains How she Uses Evernote for Fluency:  http://edudemic.com/2013/03/evernote-for-fluency/
- 10 Great Ways Students (or teachers!) can use Evernote in the Classroom:  http://blog.evernote.com/2010/12/15/10-evernote-tips-for-school-education-series/
- How my Students Started Using Evernote in the Classroom (Media Specialist perspective)  http://blog.evernote.com/2011/01/05/how-my-students-started-using-evernote-education-series/


The fifth example of the uses of mlearning in the classroom is Photo and Video Apps.
Photo and Video Apps

Google Photos: The user can organize, search, & share all your pics and videos on Android, iOS, web. There is auto backup and syncs across all of your devices. Google Photos automatically create movies, animations, stories, collages and more. The photo and video can be edited and shared to multiple online services.

References:


Kearns, L. R., & Frey, B.A. (2010). Web 2.0 Technologies and Back Channel Communication in an Online Learning Community. Techtrends: Linking Research and Practice To Improve Learning, 54(4), 41-51


Using Evernote in the Classroom. (n.d.). Retrieved from https://docs.google.com/document/d/1Dxuyq_9bvMWysdcR1qUF-17lZezqG1bRFjSpqK0ys/edit?pref=2&pli=1

PURPOSES OF THIS PRESENTATION

- To share activities and accomplishments of Project PURPOSE.
- To elicit suggestions for improvement.
WHAT IS PURPOSE?

- Preparation Using Research-based Practices to Optimize Special Education

- Supported by a grant award from US Office of Special Education Programs (2014-2019)
  - Personnel Preparation in Special Education, Early Intervention, and Related Services

- To recruit, train, and retain 30 special education teachers to become highly qualified Moderate/Severe education specialists with an Early Childhood Special Education Added Authorization.

CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY, BAKERSFIELD

- CSUB
  - Located at the California Central valley
  - 75% of students: the first generation college students
  - A federally designated minority institution.
    - 48% Hispanics
    - 7.3% Asian Pacific
    - 6.7% African American

- CSUB SPED program
  - Mild/Moderate Credential Program
  - Moderate/Severe Credential Program
  - Works with 46 school districts.
PROJECT PURPOSE

- Preparation Using Research-based Practices to Optimize Special Education

FINANCIAL SUPPORT

- Funds $18,000 for 2 years (tuitions, books, travel).
CURRICULUM REFORMS

- **Culturally Responsive Teaching**
  - Using the cultural knowledge, prior experiences, and performance styles of diverse students to make learning more appropriate and effective for them; it teaches to and through the strengths of these students (Gay, 2000).

- **Evidence Based Practices/Action Research**
  - Students as a consumer of relevant research and literature.
  - Prepared to conduct action research in classrooms.

- **Technology competencies**
  - Address Universal Design for Learning throughout the curriculum.
  - Provides hands-on experiences.
  - Obtain technology tools.

SUPPORTS FOR STUDENTS

[Diagram showing the relationship between Professional Learning Communities, Quality Field Experience, Project Scholars, Project Faculty, Campus Resources, and Project Mentors]
PROJECT MENTOR

- 3 mentors
- Qualifications
  - Current special education teachers.
  - Experiences in Professional Learning Communities.
  - A member of minority groups.
- Support and mentor Project Scholars throughout the program.
- Provide informal or formal support to Project Scholars.

PROFESSIONAL LEARNING COMMUNITIES (PLC)

- Lead by Project Mentors.
- Discuss student selected topics.
  - IEP writing
  - More IEP writing
  - Positive Behavior supports/Management
  - Invited speakers (e.g., parents)
STUDENTS/MENTORS FEEDBACK

- Cohort 1:
  - 10 students
  - Began the program in Fall 2015.
  - “Project PURPOSE has been a wonderful experience. It has exceeded my expectations.”
  - “the mentoring part is the best part about project PURPOSE. The mentors have been extremely helpful.”
  - “Project PURPOSE has been an amazing experience thus far. There are many educators available to assist me along the way in my career.”
  - “I believe having a mentor throughout the program is a great tool for new students to relay on and ask for guidance when this is needed.”

STUDENTS/MENTORS FEEDBACK

- “The program provides an excellent structure and services to mentees. As a mentee and recipient of the grant, the program provides hands-on and detailed assistance to the needs of emerging educators. I definitely agree that this is an excellent program that facilitates the growth and development of my skills and knowledge as a future special education educator.”
- “The mentoring component is one of the most beneficial aspects of this program.”
RESOURCES

- Project PURPOSE website:
  http://www.csub.edu/sse/grants/purpose/index.html
- SPED Program website:
  http://www.csub.edu/specialed
- Project Director
  - Dr. Yeunjoo Lee, 654-6478, ylee@csub.edu
- Project Coordinator
  - Dr. Calli Lewis-Chiu, 654-6828, clewis19@csub.edu
- PURPOSE email
  - project.purpose@csub.edu

How to Develop this Land?
—Probe into the management mode of the industrial park

Qiong Liang
Central Washington University
Liuzhou City Liubei District Municipal Government, Guangxi, China
**Liubei District**

Located at north Liuzhou, the Liubei District is established in 1979. With 3 towns and 7 local councils, the district is the biggest (320.03 square kilometers) suburb with the biggest population (403,600 local residents).

The Liubei District located in the "one hour economic circle" and "two hour Economic Zone" of Liuzhou city.

**District development planning**

"1 Circle, 2 Axises and 2 Belts, 4 Areas"

The 4 development zones are determined according to the geographical conditions and the existing economic conditions of the Liubei District. **1 Circle** means Business development circle. **2 Axises** means take these two as the axis for developing industry. **2 Belts** means industrial development of relatively good strip area. **4 Areas** means 4 industrial development areas.
Transportation
- The northern gate of Liuzhou
- The largest railway freight station with a large number of railway lines
- The largest shipping terminal
- An excellent road system

Industrial Capacity
- Liubei District, the most important Liuzhou City Industrial Zone is the home of the city's three largest firms: Liuzhou Iron and steel (Group) Corporation, Liuzhou Chemical Industry Group Co., Ltd., Guangxi Jinsangzi Co., Ltd. and more than a dozen other pillar enterprises that form the backbone of Liuzhou's industry.
- There were 153 enterprises with an output value up to RMB 60 billion yuan.
**Industrial Development**

Liubei District is currently developing: Recycling, Automobile and Machinery Spare Parts, Textile and Clothing, Electronics and Advanced Steel Products.

**Industrial Park Planning**

Liubei district around “a vertical and a horizontal”, speeding up the development of the 4 kilometer, constantly good park development planning, strengthening the partition function, the rational allocation of resources, improve the supporting facilities of the industrial park, park to improve the bearing capacity, pushing industrial park development from quantity to quality change.
Economic development to fuel social improvements is an essential part of district governance; the key to success is innovative planning and sound management of industrial park systems.

**Approaches to Development**
- Liubei Government Projects
- Projects financed through the Municipal Government
- Public-Private Partnerships (PPPs)

**Plan One: Government Project**
- Successful case: Bailu Industrial Park
- The first industrial park independently developed by the government in Liuzhou city
- 3500 acres
- 70 companies
- Focus on Automobile and Machinery Spare Parts, Electronics and Advanced Steel Products

**Plan Two: Municipal Government Financing**
- Successful case: Shatang Industrial Park
- Located in the national reform and development demonstration town——Shatang
- Planning area is 4000 acres
- Developed area 1000 acres
- Focus on textile industry, Apparel Industry, Food processing industry
Plan Three: Public-Private Partnership
A long-term contract between a private party and a government agency, for providing a public asset or service, in which the private party bears significant risk and management responsibility (World Bank, 2012).

The Future Management Mode: PPPs Industrial Parks
Liubei District Government has attempted to utilize the PPPs in construction and operation of industrial park. Joint venture was founded by a private company and a government platform company in order to purchase the right to use land. The joint venture constructed the park infrastructure and the standard workshops, and then leased the properties to the manufacturing industry. The government pays the joint venture a fixed portion of the incremental tax collected from the enterprises in that industrial park as subsidies. By doing this, the government saved the constructive and operational finance funds as well as the increase in government revenue.

Conclusion
China’s government has been exploring every aspect of the PPPs without the Top-hierarchy Design, so the practices of utilizing PPPs are far from perfect.

In brief, as the infrastructure construction field continuously opens to private capital, PPPs is becoming a effective choice for the development of infrastructure and public services and is playing a an important role in promoting the urbanization construction. Then it will be conducive to promote the modernization of national governance systems and enhance governance capability.
The Executioner’s Needle:
The Supreme Court Revisits Lethal Injections

by

Joseph A. Melusky
Saint Francis University (PA)
The Executioner’s Needle: The Supreme Court Revisits Lethal Injections

Abstract
The Supreme Court continues to evaluate methods of execution in light of “evolving standards of decency.” Lethal injection is currently the most widely used method in the United States. This paper examines the Court’s latest (but probably not its last) word on lethal injections: Glossip v. Gross (2015).

Introduction
In Baze and Bowling v. Rees (2008), two inmates challenged Kentucky’s lethal injection process, contending that incorrect administration of the drugs would inflict severe pain and would constitute “cruel and unusual punishment.” The Supreme Court rejected their challenge. Concurring, Justice Stevens wrote, “I assumed that our decision would bring the debate about lethal injection as a method of execution to a close. It now seems clear that it will not.” He added that the case would also generate debate “about the justification for the death penalty itself.” He was right. This paper focuses not on the debate about the death penalty itself but on continuing controversies about lethal injection.

The Eighth Amendment prohibits “cruel and unusual punishments,” but it does not absolutely prohibit the death penalty. The Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments provide that persons cannot be deprived of “life, liberty, or property, without due process of law.” The Fifth Amendment’s protections apply at the national level and the Fourteenth Amendment’s apply against state actions. Persons can be deprived of their lives if they receive due process of law.

But the death penalty is unconstitutional if it is inflicted in a “cruel or unusual” fashion. Methods of execution change. What is “cruel and unusual” today may have been acceptable yesterday. Burning at the stake, breaking on the wheel, pressing under stones, drawing and quartering, boiling in oil, disembowelment, crucifixion, and beheading were once common and usual. Such methods have since been rejected as incompatible with contemporary standards of decency. Courts look to these evolving standards as they evaluate methods (Melusky 2012). The guillotine was once hailed as a humanitarian advance in death-penalty technology. The electric chair promised “instantaneous” and “painless” death. Gruesome malfunctions led to today’s ostensibly more “humane” method of execution: lethal injection.

From Furman (1972) to Gregg (1976)
In 1972, the Supreme Court struck down a challenged death penalty law in Furman v. Georgia. Five separate concurring opinions were issued. Justices Brennan and Marshall concluded that capital punishment is always constitutionally prohibited. Other Justices – Douglas, Stewart, and White – objected to the appearance of racial bias or arbitrariness in how the death penalty was applied. A problem was that states gave juries too much discretion about whether or not to impose the death penalty. The four Nixon appointees – Chief Justice Burger and Justices Powell, Rehnquist, and
Blackmun – dissented. Burger emphasized that the Court had not banned capital punishment and invited state legislatures to reform their capital-punishment laws to limit jury discretion.

Thirty-five states accepted Burger’s invitation by revising their death-penalty laws. Ten states eliminated jury discretion, making the death penalty mandatory for certain crimes. This approach failed. In 1976 (Roberts v. Louisiana and Woodson v. North Carolina), the Court struck down mandatory death penalties. Twenty-five states tried to provide juries with “guided discretion,” implementing two-stage trials in capital cases. Stage one would determine guilt or innocence and stage two would determine the punishment in light of aggravating or mitigating circumstances.

In Gregg v. Georgia (1976) and two companion cases, Proffitt v. Florida (1976) and Jurek v. Texas (1976), the Court found that modified death-penalty laws successfully addressed the Furman problems. Writing for the majority in Gregg, Justice Stewart said that the Eighth Amendment draws its meaning from “the evolving standards of decency that mark the progress of a maturing society” (Trop v. Dulles 1958). “Excessive” punishments that inflict unnecessary pain or that are grossly disproportionate to the severity of the crime are prohibited. But capital punishment for the crime of murder is not invariably disproportionate. It is an extreme sanction befitting the most extreme crimes. Dissenting, Justices Brennan and Marshall reaffirmed their Furman belief that capital punishment is constitutionally impermissible. Capital punishment returned in 1977 when convicted murderer Gary Gilmore was executed by a Utah firing squad.

**Executions: Some Numbers**

In a previous paper, I described where and how often executions have been performed (Melusky 2015). Thirty-one states, the federal government, and the U.S. military currently authorize capital punishment. Nineteen states and the District of Columbia do not. Since 1976, 1,430 executions have taken place (as of March 11, 2016). The peak year for executions was 1998 when 98 were performed. It has been in decline with 28 executions having been performed in 2015. Some states use it far more frequently than others. Texas leads the nation by a large margin. Three states – Texas, Oklahoma, and Virginia – account for over half (53%) of all executions. Regionally, the vast majority of executions take place in the South (1,164) followed by the Midwest (177) and the West (85). Executions are rare in the Northeast (only four). Together, Texas and Oklahoma account for 647 of these 1,430 executions (“Facts about the Death Penalty” updated March 11, 2016). Statistics also appear to undermine the argument that capital punishment deters serious crimes. The South leads the nation in executions (5.5 per 100,000 in 2014) but it also has the highest murder rate. The Northeast, with the fewest executions (3.3 per 100,000) has the lowest murder rate (“Facts about the Death Penalty” updated March 11, 2016).

**How Are Executions Performed in Death-Penalty States?**

Various methods have been used in the United States including hanging, firing squads, the gas chamber, and electrocution. Today lethal injection is the preferred method of execution. Since Gregg, the vast majority of executions used this method:
1,255 executions were performed by lethal injection, 158 by electrocution, 11 by gas chamber, three by hanging, and three by firing squad (Source: “Facts about the Death Penalty” updated March 11, 2016).

In 1977, Oklahoma was the first state to adopt lethal injection. In 1982, Texas was the first state to use this method when it executed Charles Brooks. All death-penalty states and the federal government now use lethal injection as their primary execution method. Typically, an inmate is strapped to a gurney. Heart monitors are attached. Two needles (one serves as a back-up) are inserted into useable veins. Tubes connect the needle to several intravenous drips. The first contains a saline solution to prevent clogging of the lines. At the warden’s signal, a curtain is raised and witnesses in an adjoining room observe as lethal drugs are administered (“Description of Execution Methods” 2016). Although lethal injection is the primary method in all death-penalty states, alternate means are still permitted in some states (“Methods of Execution” 2016).

**Baze and Bowling v. Rees, 533 U.S. 35 (2008)**

Petitioners challenged Kentucky’s three-drug lethal injection procedures. The first drug, sodium thiopental, is a sedative that induces unconsciousness. Its proper administration ensures that the inmate does not experience pain associated with paralysis and cardiac arrest caused by the second (pancuronium bromide) and third drugs (potassium chloride). Intravenous catheters are inserted into the prisoner by qualified personnel having at least one year of professional experience (a certified phlebotomist and an emergency medical technician). The warden and deputy warden remain in the execution chamber with the prisoner. The execution team administers the drugs remotely from an adjoining control room. If a visual inspection by the warden and deputy warden reveals that the prisoner is not unconscious within 60 seconds, another dose of thiopental is administered before the second and third drugs. The warden and deputy warden also inspect the catheters and lines to watch for problems. By law, a physician cannot participate in conducting an execution. One is present only to assist in reviving the prisoner in the event of a stay of execution or, following the execution, to certify cause of death. Petitioners conceded that the protocol was “humane,” but there was a risk of “significant pain” if the procedures were not followed properly.

In a seven-to-two decision, the Court rejected the constitutional challenge. Chief Justice Roberts announced the judgment in an opinion joined by Justices Kennedy and Alito. Citing *Gregg*, Roberts noted that capital punishment is constitutional so “there must be a means for carrying it out.” Some risk of pain is inherent in any execution method. The Constitution does not require the elimination of any and all such risk.

Roberts pointed to three cases in which the Court upheld challenged state execution procedures. First, in *Wilkerson v. Utah*, the Court upheld death by firing squad. There the Court described cases from England where “terror, pain, or disgrace were sometimes superadded” to sentences. Examples included “public dissection” and “burning alive.” Punishments of “torture” and others that reflect “unnecessary cruelty” are constitutionally forbidden. Death by firing squad does not cross this threshold. Second, in *In re Kemmler*, the Court accepted death by electrocution. Punishments are
“cruel” when they involve “torture or a lingering death.” Electrocution was “an effort to devise a more humane method.” Third, in *Louisiana ex rel. Francis v. Resweber*, the Court upheld a second attempted electrocution after a mechanical malfunction on the first try. The Court found no Eighth Amendment violation because the malfunction was “an accident, with no suggestion of malevolence” and “[a]ccidents happen.”

The risks of an inadequate dose of the first drug (the sedative), improper mixing of chemicals, or improper setting of IVs are not “objectively intolerable.” In fact, lethal injection is widely tolerated as the preferred method of execution across the nation. Roberts concluded that Kentucky’s procedures did not violate the Eighth Amendment.

Concurring, Justice Stevens stated his *personal* opposition to the death penalty. Like Justices Blackmun, Powell, Brennan, and Marshall before him, Stevens said that he had been persuaded that current decisions to retain the death penalty were “the product of habit and inattention rather than an acceptable deliberative process that weighs the costs and risks of administering that penalty against its identifiable benefits.” In *Gregg*, the Court identified three purposes for capital punishment: “incapacitation, deterrence, and retribution.” After examining each of the three, Stevens found that they had “diminishing force.” He expressed additional concerns about discriminatory application of the death penalty, the possibility of erroneously convicting an innocent defendant, and the irrevocable nature of capital punishment. He concluded that the death penalty represents “the pointless and needless extinction of life with only marginal contributions to any discernible social or public purpose.” A penalty with such “negligible returns” is excessive, cruel, and unusual. So why did he concur? Citing respect for precedent, Stevens acknowledged that the Court had upheld the constitutionality of the death penalty and established a framework for evaluating methods of execution. Applying these standards, he found Kentucky’s procedures constitutionally acceptable.

Justice Thomas, in a concurring opinion joined by Scalia, said that “a method of execution violates the Eighth Amendment only if it is deliberately designed to inflict pain.” Officials of the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century state had “tools capable of intensifying a death sentence.” They had ways of “producing a punishment worse than death” for the most dangerous offenders. For example, burning at the stake was always painful and it destroyed the body. It was “a form of super-capital punishment worse than death itself.” The punishment for high treason involved “emboweling alive, beheading, and quartering.” Such “aggravated forms” of capital punishment were designed to “terrorize the criminal” in order to deter others. They were “purposely designed to inflict pain and suffering beyond that necessary to cause death.” In Blackstone’s words, “in very atrocious crimes, other circumstances of terror, pain, or disgrace [were] superadded” and were designed “to ensure that death would be slow and painful, and thus all the more frightening to contemplate.” Thomas said that the Framers of the Constitution regarded such enhancements as “cruel and unusual punishments.” Embellishments designed to “inflict pain for pain’s sake” are constitutionally impermissible. But a method is not “cruel and unusual” simply because there is *some* risk of pain. The Eighth Amendment targets “intentional infliction of gratuitous pain.” Thomas felt that Kentucky was trying to make capital punishment “more humane, not to
add elements of terror, pain, or disgrace to the death penalty.” In sum, the protocol is “designed to eliminate pain rather than to inflict it.”

Justice Scalia, with Thomas, concurred. Scalia challenged Stevens’ reliance on “his own experience” in opposing the death penalty. Justices Alito and Breyer also wrote concurring opinions.

Justice Ginsburg, joined by Justice Souter, dissented. Use of pancuronium bromide and potassium chloride on a conscious inmate would produce “agony” and “searing pain.” The constitutionality of Kentucky’s protocol “turns on whether inmates are adequately anesthetized by the first drug . . . , sodium thiopental.” But Kentucky “lacks basic safeguards . . . to confirm that an inmate is unconscious.” Kentucky “does little” to make sure that the inmate has received an adequate dose of the sedative. The only two people who remain in the execution chamber with the inmate, the warden and deputy warden, lack medical training. In most instances, lethal injections will produce a painless death. But mistakes can happen. “Rare though errors may be,” Ginsburg stated, “the consequences of a mistake about the condemned inmate’s consciousness are horrendous.” The omission of “available safeguards to confirm that the inmate is unconscious” creates an avoidable risk of inflicting “severe and unnecessary pain.”

But how rare are these errors that Justice Ginsburg mentioned? How infrequently do accidents occur?

**Botched Executions**

Michael Radelet cites 46 examples of botched executions that took place between 1982 and 2014 (2014). His list of botched executions includes two by gas chamber, 10 by electrocution, and 34 by lethal injection.

Radelet’s examples of lethal injections gone wrong do not convey an impression of serene and antiseptic death. Problems often involved officials’ difficulty in finding a suitable vein. A history of drug abuse by some of these prisoners contributed to these difficulties. During Raymond Landry’s prolonged execution in Texas in 1988, the syringe came out of his vein, spraying deadly chemicals across the room. The catheter was reinserted after this “blowout.” During his execution in Texas in 1989, Stephen McCoy had such a violent reaction to his lethal injection that witnesses fainted. The Texas Attorney General admitted that the drugs should have been administered in “a heavier dose or more rapidly.” In Illinois in 1990, Charles Walker suffered great pain during his execution because there was a “kink” in the plastic tubing going into his arm and the IV needle was pointing towards his fingers and away from his heart, prolonging the execution. During serial killer John Wayne Gacy’s 1994 execution in Illinois, the lethal chemicals solidified, clogging the IV tube. Blinds were drawn to shield the witnesses while a new tube was attached. Anesthesiologists blamed the “inexperience of prison officials” for the problem, saying that “proper procedures taught in ‘IV 101’ would have prevented the error.” During Emmitt Foster’s 1995 execution in Missouri, chemicals stopped circulating seven minutes into the procedure. Foster gasped and convulsed and, once again, blinds were drawn. The county coroner found that the leather straps holding Foster to the gurney were too tight and had to be loosened. Angel Diaz was
executed by lethal injection in Florida in 2006. The first injection failed to sedate him. A second dose was administered. The process was lengthy. An autopsy revealed that the needle had gone through his vein and out the other side, so lethal chemicals were injected into soft tissue rather than the vein. Two days after the execution, Governor Jeb Bush suspended all executions in the state and set up a commission “to consider the humanity and constitutionality of lethal injections.” In 2009, Romell Broom actually survived his own execution in Ohio! For two hours, officials unsuccessfully attempted to find a useable vein while Broom winced and grimaced. Broom tried to help his executioners find a good vein. Ohio Governor Ted Strickland intervened and ordered the execution to stop so that physicians could be consulted for advice on how to execute Broom more efficiently. As of this writing, Broom remains on Ohio’s death row. On March 16, 2016, the Ohio Supreme Court cleared the way for a second execution attempt (Berman).

In 2014, Oklahoma prepared an experimental drug protocol to be used in Clayton D. Lockett’s execution. Oklahoma Governor Mary Fallon asked the courts to allow the execution and a bill was introduced in the Oklahoma House of Representatives to impeach judges who voted to delay the execution. It took officials more than an hour to find a useable vein. Ten minutes after administering the first drug (a sedative) a physician (whose presence conflicted with some medical ethical standards) announced that Lockett was unconscious and ready to receive the two lethal drugs, drugs that would cause excruciating pain to a conscious recipient. Lockett was not unconscious: “Lockett began . . . writhing on the gurney, clenching his teeth and straining. . . .” Officials lowered the blinds. Fifteen minutes later, witnesses were ordered to leave. Minutes later, the Director of the Oklahoma Department of Corrections stopped the execution. Lockett, while still in the execution chamber, died 43 minutes after the execution began. The cause of death was listed as a heart attack. An autopsy revealed that he died from the lethal drugs. Oklahoma’s official report on the execution cited insufficient training of corrections officers, communication difficulties between those inside and outside the execution chamber, and a lack of contingency planning in case of problems (“Lethal Injection News” 2015; Melusky 2015) – more errors. In light of such cases, are errors really “rare”? If “accidents happen,” how many are too many?

Welcome to Groundhog Day: The Court Revisits Oklahoma’s Lethal Injections

In Baze, the Court upheld Kentucky’s use of the anesthetic sodium thiopental in executions. Anti-death-penalty advocates pressured pharmaceutical companies to prevent the drug (and, later, another barbiturate called pentobarbital) from being supplied for executions. When these drugs became difficult to obtain, Oklahoma decided to use midazolam, a sedative, as the first drug in its three-drug protocol. Clayton Lockett’s previously discussed botched execution used this method. After the Lockett execution, Oklahoma revised its procedures by increasing the midazolam dosage. Four death-row inmates – Charles Warner, Richard Glossip, John Grant, and Benjamin Cole – challenged the Oklahoma protocol. They argued that midazolam cannot sustain the level of unconsciousness needed for surgery so it is unsuitable for use in executions. Warner was executed on January 15, 2015 after the Court declined to stay his execution by a five-to-four vote. In her dissenting opinion, Justice Sotomayor said she was “deeply troubled by evidence suggesting that midazolam cannot be
constitutionally used as the first drug in a three-drug lethal injection protocol.” After his execution began, Warner exclaimed, “My body is on fire!” (Murphy 2015).

In *Glossip v. Gross*, the Supreme Court ruled by a five-to-four vote that the petitioners failed to show that Oklahoma’s use of midazolam violates the Eighth Amendment. Justice Alito announced the judgment of the Court in an opinion joined by Chief Justice Roberts and Justices Scalia, Kennedy, and Thomas. First, Alito observed that the prisoners conceded that the State could use sodium thiopental or pentobarbital as part of its protocol, but these drugs are no longer available to Oklahoma’s Department of Corrections. Oklahoma has been unable to procure those drugs despite a good-faith effort to do so. But the prisoners have not identified any available drugs that could be used in place of those that Oklahoma is now unable to obtain. They failed to identify a known and available alternative method of execution that entails a lesser risk of pain. Second, the prisoners failed to establish that Oklahoma’s use of a massive dose of midazolam – much higher than a normal therapeutic dose -- entails a substantial risk of severe pain. Oklahoma had difficulties with Lockett’s execution, but he was given only 100 milligrams of the drug. In addition, the execution team had trouble finding a useable IV access site. A low dose of midazolam is not the best drug for maintaining unconsciousness during normal surgery, but a 500-milligram dose is another matter. Alito accepted the District Court’s finding that the drug would render a person “insensate” and unable to feel pain during an execution. Petitioners failed to demonstrate that the use of midazolam was “sure or very likely to result in needless suffering.” Alito described changes in execution methods as states have sought more humane ways of carrying out death sentences. Citing *Baze*, he noted that it has been settled that capital punishment is constitutional so it logically follows that “there must be a [constitutional] means of carrying it out.” Some risk of pain is inherent in any method of execution. The Constitution does not require the avoidance of all risk of pain. Holding that the Eighth Amendment demands the elimination of essentially all risk of pain “would effectively outlaw the death penalty altogether.”

Justice Scalia, in a concurring opinion joined by Justice Thomas, opened with the words, “Welcome to Groundhog Day.” The scene is familiar. Once again, prisoners come to the Court and ask that their sentences be nullified as cruel and unusual punishment. The response is also familiar. A “vocal minority” of the Court “waw[e] over their heads a ream of the most recent abolitionist studies . . . as though they have discovered the lost folios of Shakespeare” and insist that “the death penalty must be abolished for good.” Now Justice Breyer, citing his “20 years of experience on this Court,” takes on the role of the abolitionists in opposing the death penalty. He relies on a “white paper devoid of any meaningful legal argument.” His argument is full of “internal contradictions and … gobbledy-gook.” Breyer described a study of 205 cases that measured the “egregiousness” of a murderer’s conduct with “a system of metrics” and “compared the egregiousness of the conduct of nine defendants who were sentenced to death with the egregiousness of the conduct of the 196 defendants who were not so sentenced. The study concluded that death sentences are applied arbitrarily. Scalia was less impressed by this study than Breyer: “If only Aristotle, Aquinas, and Hume knew that moral philosophy could be so neatly distilled into a pocket-sized . . . system of metrics.” But egregiousness requires a more complex moral
judgment. Furthermore, egregiousness of the crime is only one of several factors relevant to punishment. Individual culpability, potential for rehabilitation, and deterrence also are relevant. An individualized consideration of all mitigating circumstances is required, not merely the formulaic application of some egregiousness test. This is why we rely on juries to make decisions about crimes, defendants, and punishments.

Breyer doubted that the death penalty has a “significant” deterrent effect. Scalia disagreed, saying that federal judges live suburban homes or in high-rise co-ops with guards at the door. Judges do not live with the threat of violence that confronts many Americans. Breyer’s suggestion that “the incremental deterrent effect of capital punishment does not seem ‘significant’ reflects, it seems to me, a let-them-eat-cake obliviousness to the needs of others.” How much incremental deterrence is appropriate? Scalia’s answer: “Let the People decide.”

Justice Thomas, in a concurring opinion joined by Scalia, said that the Eighth Amendment prohibits only those methods of execution that are “deliberately designed to inflict pain.” The plaintiffs did not claim that Oklahoma attempted “to add elements of terror, pain, or disgrace to the death penalty.” As such, they have no valid claim. Thomas also criticized Breyer’s reliance on the “Donohue Study” and its conclusion that death sentences do not appear to depend on the “egregiousness” of the crimes, but instead reflect “arbitrary” factors, such as the locality in which the crime was committed (Donohue 2014). Law students reviewed written summaries of murders and assigned “egregiousness” scores based on a rubric. “Depravity points” were assigned to different killings. For example, killing a prison guard earned a defendant three depravity points and killing a police officer merited two. Killing a child under the age of 12 earned two depravity points but killing someone over the age of 70 earned only one point. Thomas maintained that victims deserve more than a “pseudoscientific assessment of their lives.” It is incomprehensible to Thomas that a mother might be told that her child’s murderer is not deserving of society’s ultimate punishment, especially if the decision was based on such “cold mathematical calculations.” Unlike actual jurors, the law students based their decisions on written summaries. They did not view detailed evidence of the crime, assess the credibility of witnesses, see the remorse of the defendant, or feel the impact of the crime on the victim’s family. There are good reasons why these sentencing decisions must be “left to the jurors and judges who sit through the trial, and not to legal elites (or law students).”

In a dissenting opinion joined by Justice Ginsburg, Justice Breyer stated, “[R]ather than try to patch up the death penalty’s legal wounds one at a time, I would ask . . . a more basic question: whether the death penalty violates the Constitution.” The Constitution now prohibits various gruesome punishments that were common years ago. Nearly 40 years ago in Gregg, the Court upheld the death penalty under laws that contained safeguards that promised to ensure that the penalty would be applied reliably. But “circumstances and the evidence of the death penalty’s application have changed radically since then. Given those changes, I believe that it is now time to reopen the question.” Was Breyer ready to join Justices Brennan, Marshall, Blackmun, Powell, and Stevens who had previously rejected capital punishment?
In 1976, the Court relied on the states to develop procedures that would protect against constitutional problems. Years of studies, surveys, and experience strongly indicate, however, that “this effort has failed.” Constitutional defects in the administration of the death penalty include unreliability, arbitrariness, and long delays. As a result, the death penalty is in decline and “most places within the United States have abandoned its use.” The death penalty has become an increasingly “unusual” form of punishment. These developments, along with his own years of experience on the Court, led Breyer to believe that “the death penalty, in and of itself, now likely constitutes a legally prohibited ‘cruel and unusual punishment’.”

Breyer criticized the reliability of capital punishment by citing studies of wrongful convictions and, perhaps, even some wrongful executions. Exonerations occur more frequently in capital cases rather than in ordinary criminal cases. Why? One reason, as Breyer points out, is that capital cases are typically horrendous murders with intense community pressure on police, prosecutors, and jurors to secure a conviction. Such pressure can increase the likelihood of convicting the wrong person. Some researchers have estimated that four percent of those sentenced to death are actually innocent.

Breyer also said that it has become “increasingly clear that the death penalty is imposed arbitrarily.” The Court tried to make the death penalty less arbitrary by restricting it, in Justice Souter’s words, to “the worst of the worst” (Kansas v. Marsh). Breyer described several studies, including the Donohue study of Connecticut’s death penalty system (Donohue 2014). The study found evidence of racial, gender, and geographic disparities. Only nine death-eligible homicide defendants out of 205 received capital sentences. Applying a metric that measured the egregiousness of the defendants’ conduct in these cases researchers concluded that only one of these nine defendants was “the worst of the worst.” The behavior of the remaining eight defendants was no worse than many other defendants who had not been sentenced to death. Factors such as race, gender, and local geography, rather than the egregiousness of the crime, often determine death sentences. Research “strongly suggests that the death penalty is imposed arbitrarily.” The constitutionality of the death penalty depends on its application to the worst of the worst. Evidence indicates that “it is not so limited.”

Breyer went on to discuss lengthy delays in capital cases. Individuals typically spend long periods of time on death row, alive but awaiting execution. Lengthy delays undermine penological rationales for capital punishment: deterring future crime and satisfying the community’s desire for retribution. An offender who is sentenced to death is more likely to find his sentence overturned than to be executed. He has a good chance of dying before his execution takes place. Executions are rare. Can a community find retributive vindication when an execution does not occur until several decades after the crime was committed? We could take steps to hasten executions, but doing so would risk more wrongful convictions. We can have a system that seeks to advance penological purposes in deterrence and retribution or a procedural system that seeks reliability and fairness. But, in Breyer’s words, “[w]e cannot have both.” That fact, Breyer concluded, “strongly supports the claim that the death penalty violated the Eighth Amendment.” Has Breyer joined Brennan, Marshall, Blackmun, Powell, and Stevens in categorically rejecting the death penalty? He has come close. In his words, “I believe it
highly likely that the death penalty violates the Eighth Amendment. At the very least, the Court should call for full briefing on the basic question.” (Italics added)

Justice Sotomayor, joined by Justices Ginsburg, Breyer, and Kagan, dissented. Sotomayor criticized the majority for imposing on the petitioners “the wholly novel requirement of proving the availability of an alternate means for their own executions.” Citing Oklahoma’s difficulties with midazolam and Calvin Lockett’s execution, the petitioners faced “what may well be the chemical equivalent of being burned at the stake.”

Sotomayor reviewed medical expert testimony that was considered by the District Court. Experts agreed that midazolam is used as the sole anesthetic only in minor procedures that are “not terribly invasive.” One testified that it would be a “big jump” to conclude that the drug would effectively maintain unconsciousness throughout an execution. Midazolam has not been approved by the FDA as a sole drug to maintain unconsciousness. Calvin Lockett awoke during his execution. Will increasing the dosage from 100 milligrams to 500 milligrams prevent a similar occurrence? Some of experts testified that midazolam has a “ceiling effect” and increased dosages do not increase the effectiveness of the drug. Furthermore, Sotomayor wrote, “none of the State’s ‘safeguards’ for administering these drugs would seem to mitigate the substantial risk that midazolam will not work.” Making sure that officials have properly secured a viable IV site will not enable midazolam to maintain unconsciousness. The drug can induce unconsciousness. The problem is that an inmate may be awakened by the pain caused by the second and third drugs. At that point, it is too late. The lower court’s determination that the use of midazolam poses no objectively intolerable risk of severe pain is “factually wrong.”

The Supreme Court has recognized that methods of execution involving unnecessary cruelty are “categorically off-limits.” But today, Sotomayor continued, the Court holds that a method of execution that is intolerably painful will be prohibited only if the plaintiff can point to a “known and available alternative” method of execution. The majority relies on “a flawed syllogism”: If the death penalty is constitutional, then there must be some constitutional means of accomplishing it. But even if we accept that the death penalty is, in the abstract, constitutional, a method of execution that is “barbarous” or “involves torture or a lingering death” does not become constitutionally acceptable just because it is the only method currently available to a State. If all available execution methods are “cruel and unusual,” nothing compels states to perform executions. If a State wants to perform executions, it is the state’s responsibility to find methods that are not cruel and unusual. It is not the responsibility of the condemned “to devise or pick a constitutional instrument of his or her own death.”

Lethal Injection, Sotomayor concluded, is the latest step in a long search for “neat and non-disfiguring” methods of execution. Lethal injections hide the prospect of excruciatingly painful deaths “behind a veneer of medication.” Ignoring evidence of the insufficiency of midazolam as a sedative to save this execution protocol is a “contortion” that is “not worth the price.”

Conclusion and “Last” Words
Oklahoma’s three-drug execution cocktail was narrowly upheld in \textit{Glossip}. But what will come next? Recall Justice Stevens’ words from \textit{Baze}: “I assumed that our decision would bring the debate about lethal injection as a method of execution to a close. It now seems clear that it will not.” The number of death-penalty states is declining. Annual executions are decreasing. States are finding it increasingly difficult to obtain lethal-injection drugs. Some states are exploring alternate means of execution and some are contemplating a return to earlier methods like firing squads and the electric chair. Justice Breyer seems close to joining several earlier justices in the belief that the death penalty is flatly prohibited by the Constitution. Justice Ginsburg concurred with Breyer. Justice Scalia has passed away and political controversy surrounds appointment of his eventual successor. In light of all of this, let’s give Scalia the final word (for now). The Court has imposed, under color of the Constitution, “procedural and substantive limitations that did not exist when the Eighth Amendment was adopted.” For example, the Court has prohibited the death penalty for all crimes except murder and it has imposed an age limit at the time of the offense for capital sentences. In his view, the Constitution is “not living but dead” -- or, as he preferred to put it, “enduring.” It means not what the Court thinks it ought to mean, but “what it meant when it was adopted.” For Scalia, the constitutionality of the death penalty is “not a difficult, soul–wrenching question.” It was permitted when the Eighth Amendment was adopted and so it is clearly permitted today (Pew Forum 2002). In more recent speeches, however, Scalia said he "wouldn't be surprised" if the Supreme Court found the death penalty unconstitutional (Commercial Appeal 2015; Associated Press. 2015). Time and, perhaps, Scalia’s successor will tell.

\textbf{References}


\textit{In re Kemmler}. 1890.136 U.S. 436.


The challenges facing Liuzhou’s underground infrastructure system today are unlike any it has ever faced before.
According to the statistics of Liuzhou Safety Bureau official report, there are 366 hidden safety problems of underground gas& oil pipelines until the middle of 2015, and most of them are due to the misconduct of other underground pipes.

(Source: Liuzhou Safety Bureau official safety report, June, 2015)
Today, China’s underground pipeline system is gradually failing to serve the city, and a deteriorating trend is threatening the people’s life. The issues behind these challenges need to be identified urgently.

**ISSUES**

- **Issue 1:** Urban underground pipelines laying with few coordination and are short of unitary management guidance.

- **Issue 2:** The underground data that are needed in planning and approval are deficient, and supervision is weak.

- **Issue 3:** The underground laying technique is defective and maintenance is difficult to implement.
Since 1833, French had built the first utility tunnel system in the world, to enhance Paris’ public sanitation system and successfully eliminated the cholera. This utility tunnel was laid under the city’s ground and could contained sewer system, water collection system, telecom system and traffic controlling system into a same tunnel.
After that, French continued to further this utility tunnel system to become a scientific urban underground infrastructure. With utility tunnel, those different pipeline systems below city can be well arranged and it is easy for people to construct or fix them.

Although, utility tunnel system need a huge one-off investment and a long time to finish, nowadays, it is still applied by many developed countries. Similarly, utility tunnel also could be introduced to Liuzhou city to deal with those issues.

**Recommendations**

**Step 1**
Reorganize the institution setting of Liuzhou underground pipeline administration, found a unified administrative department. Under this institution setting, the new comprehensive department can make a coordinated laying plan through combing with demands of each underground pipeline. At the same time, this department can conduct a severe inspection and evaluation during the process of underground pipeline construction.

**Step 2**
Conduct a city underground pipeline survey by stages and create an information platform to share the underground pipeline data. After step 1, a city underground pipeline survey could be conducted predominantly by the department step by step. This survey aim at completing Liuzhou underground pipeline data. We can choose one district of Liuzhou to get start and cooperate with those pipeline companies involved, because the survey would need huge capital input and a long time, but it is significant for all of us. Next, the data collected by this survey will contribute to build an underground pipeline information sharing platform which is available for these companies as a reward.

**Step 3**
Introduce the utility tunnel with related legislation and PPP mode. Through applying utility tunnel, a modern and intensive urban underground infrastructure could be formed. It laid various underground pipelines in the same tunnel for centralized management, which could save the land resources, decrease environmental damages and it is convenient for maintenance. While, this project should be conducted by stages, too, and can begin at these areas of high-volume rate or new developing. At the same time, it should be government directive. On one hand, the corresponding legislation should be conducted to regulate the new model underground infrastructure's property-rights as well as the responsibilities of every entities involved; On the other hand, PPP mode will be used to deal with the financing problems of utility tunnel construction.
Thank You
Questions?
The Meaning of History:
A New Approach to Teaching Social Sciences and World History Based on the Paradigm Shift from Newtonian to the New Physics

Ali Parsa
California State University, Fullerton
Since the birth of social sciences in the mid-eighteenth century Enlightenment, they have helped us to analyze, understand, and explain human social and individual behavior. The methodology and approach of social sciences, as in the physical sciences, has been based on objective inquiry and verifiable evidence. The implicit goal of the social sciences has been to understand human behavior in order to create happier, more balanced, and better functioning individuals and societies. In pursuit of methodological rigor and accuracy, we have now increased expertise, specialization, and divisions within field after field of the social sciences.

In this milieu, the discipline of history, which used to belong to the division of humanities such as philosophy and literature and used to focus more on interpretation of historic facts, is now focusing on facts but not much interpretation. Further, while social sciences themselves are questioning their purpose and usefulness, world history is trying to model itself after the social sciences.

In understanding of the meaning of world history, the old utilitarianism of Jeremy Bentham, the structural functionalism of August Comte, and the social Darwinism of Herbert Spencer, have been debunked as either old-fashioned or Western-biased Eurocentrism. But, there has not been any viable replacement for them except value-neutral, post-modernist, and politically-correct cultural relativism. What has been lost in the meantime is the search for even the possibility of the existence of a universal ethical value.

This paper is an attempt to show that such universal values are attainable and could be used as a new foundation for our social sciences and historical understanding of the world. Furthermore, I am suggesting that this could be achieved by a shift in our understanding of the universe form the old Newtonian mechanical approach, that promotes determinism and separation, to the new quantum physics, relativity, and cosmology that seem to suggest indeterminism leading to freedom of choice and the instantaneous connectedness of the universe, which would give us a more holistic understanding of humanity. I also suggest that this post-modern and cultural relativism has not produced any real cultural understanding or global peace. Furthermore, relativism has not resulted in social-political harmony within societies or happiness in individual lives. Just look at the world around you! I believe the present approach is fast pushing humanity into a new tribalism. After all, sciences *sui generis* are value-neutral and the only values they have depend on what humans give them and expect from them.

**What is the “Paradigm Shift”?**

The fundamental premise of this paper is based on the concept of “paradigm shift” as presented by philosopher of science Thomas Kuhn in his book, *The Structure of the Scientific Revolution.* In this book he argues that scientific knowledge and understanding of the universe do not occur cumulatively and in a leaner fashion; rather they develop, in part and once in a while, in a process of non-incremental or revolutionary change. This change starts with the awareness of an anomaly that does not fit in the existing ways of ordering phenomena, and the changes that result in requiring “putting on a different kind of thinking-cap.”

I think the anomaly and contradiction facing today’s understanding of humanity is how to combine the question of ‘free will’ with scientific ‘predictability.’ This question did
not even occur in the minds of the enthusiastic creators of the social sciences in the eighteenth century Enlightenment. The other contradiction is how to understand the meaning of individual lives in the context of the larger human history, and the meaning of human history in the larger context of cosmic history. Answers to these questions were once attempted by philosophers of history such as Hegel and Marx but are now totally abandoned as unscientific or irrelevant to the understanding of human beings in the social and behavioral sciences. In the end, these questions hinge upon answering this simple question: Is our existence totally meaningless or does it have a purpose? If ‘yes,’ then what is that purpose? If ‘no,’ then, does anything matter?

According Kuhn, these anomalies could only be answered if we view things from outside the box of our fields. To him, almost always the people who achieved the understanding of a new paradigm shift have been either very young or very new to the field whose paradigm they change. He also admits these paradigm shifts could never be unequivocally settled by logic and experiment alone.

Kuhn asserts, in the process of these revolutionary shifts, scientists see new and different things even in places they have looked before, as if the professional community had been suddenly transported to another planet where familiar objects are seen in a different light. When the transition is complete, the profession has changed its view of the field, its methods, and its goals. Although the world itself has not changed, with a change of paradigm, the scientists function in a different world.

The previous paradigm shift occurred at the time of the European Scientific Revolution in the seventeenth century. Some two hundred years later, around the end of the nineteenth century, another shift in the fundamental science of physics had already begun to change the human perception of reality. That change in paradigm started with quantum physics and relativity, and continues with our more recent cosmological model, the big bang theory — the creation and expansion of the universe, and its implications for philosophy. I believe this shift is yet to be realized and applied to our well-established social sciences and understanding and teaching of world history. I believe our present view of social sciences is still based on the old mechanical and deterministic Newtonian paradigm that sees the world as material, static, and eternal. In a book called *Biology Revisioned*, biologists Willis Harman and Elisabet Sahtouris argue, even in biology, it is becoming more apparent that the new understanding of the physical world itself resembles biology rather than the other way around, which is a testimony to this universal indeterminism.

In the following pages, I will try to briefly describe and apply the three aspects of the new physics to our understanding and application of the social sciences and world history.

**Quantum Theory: The Behavior of Individual Particles**

How does the most basic unit of reality behave? According to quantum physics, the behavior of sub-atomic particles, the building blocks upon which the universe is built, is indeterministic and, therefore, completely unpredictable. The logical extension of that understanding that would start in the subatomic level of the brain would naturally extend to the human brain itself, and on a larger scale, to human societies. That means the old Newtonian perception of reality, which was based on a strict cause-and-effect understanding of the universe, completely breaks down when faced with the scientific
discoveries of the micro level of reality. In The Ghost in the Atom, quantum physicists Paul Davies and Julian Brown explain this ultimate unpredictability of physical reality. One might wonder then, why are the functions of advanced computers, which are ultimately based on particles, so predictable and precise? Aren’t they made up of the same matter particles? The answer to this apparent contradiction is that computers work only because of the tremendously vast number of particles and their related statistical probability. Even then the result is not 100% guaranteed. Can’t we say the same thing about the brain? After all, the brain is also made up of a huge numbers of particles. The answer to this question is that the computers are designed to calculate and respond to a particular goal the designer has in mind. However, the purpose of the design of the human brain goes beyond science. The analogy between the computer and the individual brain, apart from the fact that the brain is self-conscious and the computer is not, is described by Michio Kaku in his book, Beyond Einstein: The Cosmic Quest of the Theory of the Universe. He writes:

Imagine the millions of students who take the college entrance exams every year. It is difficult to predict how each individual will perform on the exam, but we can determine, with uncanny accuracy, the average performance of the entire class. The bell-shaped curve, in fact, changes very little year to year. Hence, we can predict how several million students will score on the exam before they have taken it, but can predict nothing about the result of any one student.

It is also well understood that social sciences themselves are statistical in nature. We could never have enough experimental samples to come up with a general prediction. A good example is the prediction of future economic and political situations. The fact-based, analytical, rational analysis prediction of top experts often ends close to 50-50 chances, which is almost close to the prediction of flipping a coin. The ultimate incapability of social sciences to make predictions is not due to a lack of sufficient data or the possibility of repeatable experiments, but rather, it is due to ignoring free will (which itself should be based on ethical choices). But it is also due to insisting on the so-called methodology of the social sciences that is modeled after Newtonian physics that intentionally separates the different aspects of human lives and ignores the impact of free will as largely irrelevant. That choice could not be understood in isolation from the perception of the purpose of human existence and the directionality of human history. They cannot be ignored as subjective, unscientific, and, therefore, irrelevant to the study of human beings. Unfortunately, this lack of interest in this crucial issue is the result of the advent of the ethics of cross-culturalism that in its post-modernist form denies any culture-independent value system, or as said before, a new form of tribalism.

Does this mean the social scientist must abandon his or her field? Of course not! Rather, he or she could allow for vision, religion, and philosophy to enter the equation in his or her studies to better understand their subject. Would we then reach facts that are based on repeatable experiments and consensus, the hallmark of scientific confidence of the verifiable truth? I do not think so! But maybe we could also consider the big picture and vision that guide and inspire humanity in order to fix individual and social ills rather than through science alone. The acceptance of and emphasis on free will (as inseparable from ethics) in the application of social sciences and teaching world history would have profound moral, social, and political implications. The point here is not that many social scientists deny the existence of free will, but that it has little place and
relevance to their work. Emphasis on free will promotes taking more individual personal responsibility, which leads to better societies. I believe more connection to the true ethical fabric of the universe would produce more harmony and peace within the self and in society.

**Quantum Theory: Entanglement, the Instantaneous Connectivity of All Particles**

The second important achievement of quantum physics also has a profound ethical implication. This discovery, called *quantum entanglement*, is a strange phenomenon from the standpoint of the old paradigm in science. It basically shows that certain particles in the universe are connected and instantly communicate through an unknowable phenomenon beyond the speed of light. This discovery occurred earlier than our knowledge of dark matter and dark energy, which also suggests there is a non-material glue that binds the whole fabric of the universe together.

Physicist and mathematician Amir Aczel describes this phenomenon in his book, *Entanglement*. This discovery could provide a scientific justification for the age-old wisdom teachings of all religions in promoting care and love for others. Maybe ethics is the fabric of the universe after all! This view runs counter to the individualistic, egoistic, and even materialistic structural functionalism.

Quantum physicist George Ellis, coauthor of the book *The Large Scale Structure of Space-Time* with Stephen Hawking, in his book *On the Moral Nature of the Universe: Theology, Cosmology, and Ethics* argues on the similar ground of connectivity. In this book he uses the term “self sacrifice” to be the fundamental foundation of existence. His interpretation could be applied to all previous religions that tend to be so divisive now, and could unite them in a more loving and peaceful manner.

In a more recently written article Ellis argues that emotions and values shape how we make decisions, and “provide a far richer basis for life than the kind of purely intellectual approach that scientism invokes.” He believes:

Rationality can help only when we have made these value choices, but the choices themselves, the ethical system, must come from outside science. Science cannot provide it, for the simple reason that there is not any scientific experiment that relates to right and wrong, or good and bad.

To distinguish between ethical values and emotion, Ellis criticizes evolutionary psychologists who tend to confuse these issues, assuming values are subsumed under emotions. However, he notes that ethical values have a normative dimension that cannot be presented through emotions per se, although emotions are one of the factors helping us understand normative values.

In refuting sociobiology and evolutionary psychology, he argues that there are many problems with those attempts, which claim to explain from where our ethical views come. When science tries to explain ethics, it actually explains it away and ignores key social effects and culture, as well as the role of our individual religious and moral experiences. He asserts that the arguments that try to explain the true origin of our ethical beliefs in evolutionary biology, completely undermine ethics itself because “you would no longer believe that you had to follow its precepts; you could choose to buck the evolutionary trend.” Furthermore, if you did follow those precepts you end up in the domain of eugenics and social Darwinism. He also refutes that in trying to explain altruism via kin selection whose genes will be preserved by acts of sacrifice,
evolutionary psychology leads to the exclusion of all out-groups and, therefore, cannot by its very nature explain the kind of ethic that says, “Love your enemy.”

In refuting the ability of sciences to make any value judgment, Ellis writes, if a social scientist claims that science can provide a basis for ethics, he or she should be asked what does the social sciences tell us about what should be done about Iraq today? There is no experiment which says an act is good or bad. There are no units, no measurements, and no meaning to aesthetics, which are outside the boundaries of social science.

The New Cosmology: The Big Bang Theory

The third aspect of the new physics that could by applied to our understanding of social sciences and history is the new cosmology. It is now well understood that our universe started with a big band and continues to expand. Some cosmologists and astrophysicists believe that this direction could reverse itself and the universe may one day collapse on itself, and the cycle could happen many times over (multi-universe theory).

This view runs against the old assumption that the universe is eternal and directionless and is a closed system of energy transformation. Another contradiction with the old physics of this new finding is that according to the law of entropy, randomness must increase as the universe expands, but ironically, we see the reverse is happening, which is creation of life and ultimately human consciousness. This suggests a direction, purpose, and evolution of consciousness that seems to be the goal of existence, in the philosophy of Frederick Hegel.18

In all fairness, I should mention that there are other well-known physicists who have the completely opposite interpretation of this new physics from that of George Ellis. Quantum physicist and expert cosmologist Stephen Hawking (close colleague and co-author with Ellis), in his famous book, The Grand Design,19 suggests that ultimately the universe is deterministic and self-evolving. He rejects the existence of ‘choice’ in independent conscious agents that act outside natural laws. In his book he criticizes contemporary philosophers as totally irrelevant and incapable of understanding and, therefore, philosophizing the meaning of universal existence since they are so detached from and unaware of the amazing new discoveries in physics.

However, as mentioned earlier, the claim of this article is not that the new science of physics and astronomy can scientifically prove or even explain the phenomenon of human freedom and the existence of ethical choice; rather, the new physics itself could be interpreted in a new way and as a different analogy that would lead to a paradigm shift. A careless interpretation of the new physics could also lead to cultural relativism (relativity), and the rejection of the existence of the external world outside one’s mind (emphasis on the self, the observer, as seen mostly in the New Age philosophies). We saw how the misguided use of the previous scientific paradigm led to social Darwinism and the evil associated with it.

How Does This All Relate to Understanding and Teaching World History?

Presenting world history must either have a didactic purpose to the students or the intellectual goal of stimulating exchange to achieve a better understanding of its purpose. In my book, I have applied the above methodological frameworks to present a
meaningful, directional, and value-based narrative of human history. I do not claim to have discovered new groundbreaking historical and archaeological facts; rather, I have chosen existing historical findings in the pursuit of supporting a fresh narrative of world history.

Before proceeding further, I shall clarify some of the basic epistemological definitions that tend to confuse and convolute clear understanding of the argument proposed. These historical dichotomies are: why versus how, reason versus cause, and rational versus empirical.

A couple of the most misused terms in everyday language are the ‘why’ versus ‘how.’ We often hear comments such as, ‘Science tells us why things work.’ In reality, science never does that. It only tells us ‘how’ things work. Let us take the case of physical laws governing subatomic particles or chemical reactions. The discovered laws simply tell us the way the particles interact, but not why these laws exist. The two questions and the subsequent answers belong to two distinct categories. Questions of ‘how’ belong to sciences (including social sciences) and questions of ‘why’ belong to the realm of philosophy, ethics, and religion.

The second dichotomy, which is more relevant to the study and function of social sciences and world history, is that of ‘reason’ versus ‘cause.’ Causation is when phenomenon A directly and necessarily results in phenomenon B. It is a mechanical phenomenon in nature even in its multi-causation forms. I have analyzed this issue in detail in my book, *The Mind of the Historians: Causation in Philosophy of History.* However, reason involves some type of decision making. The reason I decided to do a certain thing versus another, although based on my past experience, involves a choice. The reason I am at this state in my life has to do with a series of decisions that causally (or even accidentally) led me to where I am now. This goes back to the question of brain anatomy where the initiation of an act takes place apparently and scientifically in no single area of the brain but somehow mysteriously in its totality. Many philosophers and intellectually-oriented scientists have explained this holistic approach as a more correct way of observing and understanding biological phenomena and even the universe itself. This approach is diametrically opposite to the established social scientific methodology that promotes separation and isolation for the sake of scientific and methodological rigor and achieving more precision in the framework of controlled experimentation.

The third dichotomy familiar to most of us in academia is that of the ‘rational’ versus ‘empirical’ approach in research. The empirical (scientific-observational) approach is inseparable from the rational (synthetic-contemplative) pursuit of knowledge. However, unfortunately, in the midst of euphoria about the tremendous achievement in human accumulation of observable and factual knowledge, we have forgotten that this vast human knowledge must also be interpreted. Proposing theories, experimenting, and coming up with conclusions are the great legacy of the Scientific Revolution, however, the vastness of minor and separate achievement should not prevent us from seeing, or at least attempting to see, the big picture and instead discard it as irrelevant to our fields.

In my own specific field of study, understanding and teaching of world history, it appears that the emphasis has shifted from questions of why to how, reason to cause, and rational to empirical understanding of history. Academic history, especially world history, has been divided into many separate, isolated areas both geographically and
chronologically to the point that the resulting numerous research products appear to be more self-focused rather than connecting to a larger social problem that they try to resolve. If it is claimed that such tasks are not the job of history, then the discipline of history should be detached from social sciences (even though it shares the methodology of research) and be returned to the humanities (such a literature and philosophy) where it really belongs. That would allow more intellectual creativity and, maybe even, social usefulness.

Apart from recording of the past (empirical), world history has often been paired with interpretation of the past (rational). From Frederick Hegel and Karl Marx in the nineteenth century to Arnold Toynbee of the mid-twentieth, the attempt has been to make sense of the bigger picture of history. More recently great works such as William McNeill’s *The Rise of the West*, Francis Fukuyama’s *The End of History and the Last Man*, Robert Wright’s *Nonzero: The Logic of Human Destiny*, Ian Morris’s *Why the West Rules — For Now*, and finally, Niall Ferguson’s *Civilization: The West and the Rest* have been received enthusiastically by the educated public but mostly ignored by people from within the field of academic history. If anything, they have been criticized for being inaccurate, generalized, and scientifically flawed. Some critiques have come from the liberal-left circles calling them Eurocentrist, Western-biased, and the outcome of subjective political and personal beliefs, as though there is a way to carry on research in social sciences and history purely based on objective and unbiased methods independent from the personal and institutional vision of the producer.

In addition, the difference between my interpretations of history from those contemporary historians mentioned above is that they all, more or less, are influenced by a materialist framework, which are themselves partially based on Marxism. In addition, they have almost all stayed away from any ethic and directionality of human history, which has been unfairly bashed by established academia as ‘mixing metaphysics with history.’

My approach is more on the basis of the dialectical logic that originated with Plato and continued with Hegel and Marx. According to this logic, *progress* is only possible through resolution of conflicts. This dualism is also an important part of the Chinese religion of Daoism. However, unlike the Western (Judeo-Christian and Islamic) *confrontation* dualism rooted in the Zoroastrian God versus Satan, the Chinese version of this dualism is more peaceful as it is a *complimentary* dualism as in *yin* and *yang* (male versus female), which I tend to agree with more, and which is aligned with my approach. In spite of its certain humanistic, egalitarian, and ethical validity, I believe Marx’s philosophy of history that promotes violent historical transformation is completely opposite to the view that only through inclusivity and mutual understanding is humanity capable of advancing into a higher orbit of human consciousness.

The Hegelian dialectical approach goes beyond solely the material interpretation of history into metaphysics, meta-history that values visions, beliefs, and religions more than those who mostly ignore these human characteristics as intangible, unquantifiable, and, therefore, not scientific enough. The critics believe that the two belong to different fields of human knowledge and, therefore, must remain separated. In my view, the old metaphysical approach to world history must be brought back, but must be viewed in a
different light to make any sense of today’s world and contribute to resolving our present global crisis: the absence of passion for universal values and true interconnectivity.

One of the few histories that came closest to pursuing ethical values was the great work of the Arnold Toynbee, *A Study of History*, which has been unfairly criticized by many recent academic historians as belonging to the British colonial and imperial age in addition to being criticized for mixing his own religious belief into history, as if there is a history which is totally objective and irrelevant to one’s society and ethical values. I believe considering the time we live in, we need to continue to write, interpret, and teach world history in the manner of Toynbee which sees somehow a purposeful and directional development of human history. The critics, who inaccurately charge him as Eurocentrist and propose more cultural inclusivity, ignore the fact that inclusivity requires one to have a view in the first place before one can be inclusive about it. Once again, the criticism stems from the dominant but dangerous cultural relativism and post-modernism presenting itself in the veil of being more democratic and inclusive.

My conception of rise and fall is different from that of earlier historians such as Toynbee in that it is based on an evolutionary and progressive view of overall historical development. Toynbee simply does not acknowledge a directional history. My view of world history is also very different from such deterministic social Darwinist views as those of Spencer, who saw a linear development in human history, that is, that the West will continue to be at the peak of this development forever. History is, in my view, not deterministic, but it does have a general direction. It is not linear, but rather cyclical. The West is not guaranteed to remain the leader in human development, even though throughout the last six hundred years it has taken the lead in three cycles of roughly two hundred years each. It began with the Renaissance (around 1400), continued with another cycle of 200 years, the Scientific Revolution (around 1600), and finally the French and Industrial Revolutions (around 1800) to the present time.

So, “How does all mentioned above relate to teaching of history?” one might ask. I believe if our students of history are supposed to learn anything from world history, it must include an explanation and analysis for the ‘rise and fall of civilization,’ the genre that has been abandoned as ‘old-fashioned’ and has been replaced by nothing. I believe our goal in teaching history must be to elevate human history to a higher orbit of understanding and inclusivity, and that cannot be done without using the past history of successful civilizations. How should we define ‘successful’ when applied to a civilization? My suggestion is a civilization could be considered successful when it can provide all of the three following conditions for its citizens: (1) safety and protection from violence; (2) relative (to others) material prosperity and comfort; and (3) space for growth and creativity.

In my approach to history, the use of the latest discoveries in physics that are the basis of this new paradigm shift along with a new directional interpretation of history, which is based on historical lessons, could produce a sense of purpose and connectedness. On this issue, I do not prescribe to teaching Gibbon’s *Rise and Fall of the Roman Empire* in survey classes. But there is a lot to learn from the approach in the context of the new paradigm shift. We could treat history more humanely without loosing its scholarly purpose. After all, in our survey history classes, we are not only trying to make research historians, but rather are trying to make better human beings.
My Observation and Approach to World History

The brief history of the world I am proposing is based on three main observations. First, successful civilizations, from ancient times to the present, have flourished when responding creatively to the major challenges of their times and their environments. Although this suggestion appears to return to analyzing the material (environmental) condition of historical development, but that should not be the focus; rather the focus is the ethical choice made at such turning points in history. The choices are to fight for the exclusion of the other, or cooperate with the inclusion of the other. A good example of this is just how the very first civilizations started in the world.

The first two main civilizations, the Sumerians and Egyptians, which appeared roughly five thousand years ago, began their civilizations in an extremely hot, rainless, desert-like, and inhospitable environment around the rivers Tigris and Euphrates in Mesopotamia, or around the Nile river in the north-east corner of Africa, respectively. The lands around the rivers were agriculturally rich to the width of a band of approximately five km on either side of those rivers. The problem was that the agricultural land around the rivers became scarcer as the population began to grow. The ethical choice was clear. Either they had to fight each other off for the scarce resources (as is often the case in human history) or, cooperate in creating wider irrigation canals. They chose the latter. No matter how we try to explain this choice as preconditioned by different causes, the fact is that no one denies they made a conscious choice. They seemed to somehow grasp the universality of connectedness better than others around their time and place.

Another clear example of this historic fact in moving societies to a higher degree of inclusivity is the Catholic-Protestant religious wars within the nations of sixteenth century Europe. Over a century of bloody confrontations ended roughly at the beginning of the eighteenth century under the inclusive banner of the ideology of nationalism that brought peace within each new nation in Europe. A couple of centuries later, at the beginning of the twentieth century when the once-progressive ideology of nationalism had been corrupted and misinterpretation of amazing new discoveries had also brought about social Darwinism, two horrendous world wars were fought. Europe ended those dark experiences and created a new European Union, which has lasted to the present. Does humanity have to go though such disasters to wake up and realize a simple truth about connectedness? Are we experiencing a similar crisis, but on a much larger global scale that might demand even larger sacrifices to move humanity into a higher orbit of an ethic of inclusivity? Perhaps! Within Abrahamic religions, especially Christianity and Islam, we already feel the tension. The path of least destruction toward eventual peace requires, first, recognition of such historical patterns and then an attempt at resolving the present conflict with a new reinterpretation of religion. Christians and even more so, Muslims, must allow for a new reformation. Denying the conflict will not lead to resolving it. Cultural inclusivity without deep transformation of ethical values would amount to narrow ‘cultural relativism.’ The problem is much more serious than is assumed by most academics and intellectuals. It is also the crises of values, the meaning of human life and human history. The new paradigm shift and reinterpretation of religion and history could be useful as a guide for the future. Maybe the next unification will be combining the Western (Abrahamic) religions with Eastern philosophy. Maybe the one after that
might be between theism and atheism, and maybe when the world is finally united we could face another challenge from other celestial forces!

The second historical observation is that the majority of civilizations throughout the long history of humanity seem to have a lifespan of about two hundred years or some multiple of that number (i.e., four or six hundred). The reason for that can only be explained by the number of consecutive generations in two hundred years and the psychological relationships among these generations. Two hundred years consists of roughly six generations (about thirty years each). These six generations can be divided into the first two generations, which I call "visionaries," who establish a powerful new vision. Father and son (or family members) work together and see each other at work. They have to create this new vision and work hard to implement it. However, the second set of two generations do not have to work as hard, but benefit from all of the work and thoughts of the original vision of the previous two generations. We can call them the "benefactors." They generally idealize the values of the past. The final two generations in the cycle of two hundred years begin to see that the old ideals do not work anymore due to the fact that human society is not static and changes. The society has changed, but the ideals have not. As a result, these final two generations become increasingly critical of the established system. This is the turning point in their history. They either rethink the whole vision based on their current reality (revision) and become more inclusive, or they criticize the system to death and cause its collapse. To me, the United States of today seems to be at this important junction. One plausible explanation of the generational interpretation of a two hundred year cycle of civilization could be related to the psychological dynamics of father-son and grandfather-son relationships that are addressed by some of the modern research in generational psychology.\(^{30}\)

The survey of the many successful civilizations in my world history text shows this pattern very clearly. As prominent examples I will discuss the Greek (mainly Athenian) golden age, the Persian Achaemenid Empire, and the Roman Empire's golden age, each lasting about two hundred years. The Chinese Han Dynasty lasted for four hundred years, and the Ottoman and European empires lasted six hundred years. The great European civilization also started with the Renaissance (around 1400), continued with another cycle of two hundred years, the Scientific Revolution (around 1600), and finally the French and Industrial Revolutions (around 1800) to the present time. Finally, there is the successful American civilization, which is now two centuries old.\(^{31}\)

The two major themes mentioned above are not testable in every instance; in fact, neither are many of the social sciences' theories. They are general impressions of history and, I admit, require more evidence and elaboration. But I think they would promote intellectual debate and discussion. I hope this attempt will serve as a small contribution to a better understanding of other factors involved in human lives, human societies, and human history.
Endnotes


7 Ibid., pp. 89-90.


10 Ibid., p.120.


17 Ibid.


Please see: Ahmann, Elizabeth, and Susan V. Bosak. “Intergenerational Relationships: An Interview with Author Susan V. Bosak.” *Pediatric Nursing* 25.6 (1999): In this interview, Bosak discusses psychological separation and connection between generations.

The lifespan of human beings has surely increased since the beginning of modern times, and even more so with better heath care and improvements in the standard of living. However, the time between generations (when a person marries and reproduces) does not seem to have changed much. People might have married earlier in life in the past, but they also lived a shorter lifespan.
Are Career Politicians Always Bad? Lessons from the American Founding

Richard Reeb, Barstow College, 1970-2003
The 2016 presidential campaign, especially on the Republican side, has been characterized by a powerful public animus against what is called the “establishment,” meaning current public office holders and professional politicians in general; and by a marked preference, for “outsiders,” such as businessman Donald Trump, and, for a time, neurosurgeon Ben Carson and businesswoman Carly Fiorina. This is certainly a remarkable development among Republicans, but perhaps not surprising, in view of their perpetual alarm at the continuing expansion of the federal government in domestic affairs and its dangerous paralysis abroad. I believe that public animus against the “political class” today (paralleled to some degree by the insurgent presidential candidacy of socialist Sen. Bernie Sanders on the Democratic side) also reflects years of disaffection, shown in the continuing popularity of term limits for elected officials.*

That is, these sentiments are nothing new and indicate frustration with political gridlock. Neither of the two major political parties since the 1960s has managed to dominate the government, as Democrats did for more than two generations following the Great Depression and Republicans did for at least three generations following the Civil War. But it is not simply frustration over the fact that the government doesn’t “get things done,” but rather that unpopular public policies among Republicans such as unrestricted immigration and income redistribution resist change.

Many GOP voters not only feel frustration; they are also impatient with constitutional limitations and restraints, such as requiring political control of both houses of Congress and the Presidency in order to change or repeal long-standing public policies. For months conservative talk show hosts and Fox network commentators have denounced Republican leadership in Congress for failing successfully to challenge, for example, President Obama over his health care plan by means of the House’s power of the purse, ignoring the President’s veto power and the Senate filibuster.

America’s founders believed, however, that stability is no less a virtue in a good government than leadership, though one might add, in view of 227 years of experience under the Constitution, its being appreciated often depends on the circumstances and, frankly, which political party is in power. For both Democrats and Republicans have defended what Alexander Hamilton called “energy in the executive,” depending on whether or not this advanced their objectives or one of their own was in office; and, no less, the Senatorial filibuster had its defenders, depending on whether or not they had the votes to close debate.

This paper regards it as obvious that it is better to take what historian Steven Hayward recently called “the long view,” viz. that successful public policy change ultimately requires the concurrence of all, or most, of the three governmental branches. An unsuccessful election or two, not to mention unfavorable rulings from federal courts, can undo even the most excellent policies. A change of policy requires a change of governmental officers; the solidity of the policy requires its supporters’ long continuance in office. If this is a valid consideration, it requires us to question the popular but short-sighted idea that periodic and massive shuffling of the political deck is a viable political strategy. That idea is the product of an anti-political attitude that assumes that long commitments to public service are not necessary and even harmful, as many unhappy
citizens either avoid public office or condemn those who hold it for more than a term or two.

That this attitude is currently popular among conservatives is not only a consequence of their disappointment with the seeming intractability and immovability of the much unloved Big Government, but evidently also arises from their incomplete knowledge and understanding, even appreciation, of the United States Constitution. For those who originally framed “the supreme law of the land” in 1787 were, on the whole, not only not hostile to long political careers in theory but many of them actually made such a life choice.

This paper will reexamine the nature of the Constitution as it relates to the phenomenon of career politicians in order to argue not only that career politicians are not necessarily always bad but often are very good for the country. It is surely self-evident that nothing invented by mankind, including valuable political institutions and wise public policies, can be preserved by neglect. In what follows, I will review the constitutional framers’ debate over the length and requirements of legislative, executive and judicial tenures; the provisions that found their way into the Constitution; and the arguments made on their behalf by its supporters during the ratification debate.

While there was much common ground for major change among delegates to the federal convention that convened in Philadelphia nearly 229 years ago, there was also considerable disagreement about precisely how to reform the state-dominated system formally established by the Articles of Confederation in 1781, and preceded by the similar Continental Congress in 1774. Nationalists such as George Washington, Alexander Hamilton and James Madison wanted to scrap the Articles, a feeble system of state sovereignty, and replace it with a fully national (though not unlimited) government with direct authority over the citizens. Their opponents, such as William Patterson, Elbridge Gerry and John Dickenson, wanted somehow to strengthen the confederacy without abandoning its defining features. Each side was further divided on the extent of popular control to be desired. Almost all believed that democracy must be subject to constitutional restraints no less than other forms of government, and sought to combine it with stability and energy. As famed political scientist Martin Diamond well summarized their views, the government was designed to be competent as well as popular.

The tenure for public officials in the more powerful national government that emerged was therefore not a mere housekeeping matter or secondary issue. As James Madison wrote in The Federalist No. 37, stability in government requires that decisions be made by a limited number of persons for an extended period. Energy in government requires the exercise of power by a single hand. These observations set the framers of the Constitution apart from those who held to the popular twentieth century notion that “the cure for the evils of democracy is more democracy.” It also distinguishes them from those today who favor frequent rotation in office or are inordinately suspicious of politicians as a class.
No one took a stronger position in support of a lengthy tenure for national office holders and, thus, for long careers in politics, than Alexander Hamilton of New York. In a convention speech on July 18 which boldly advocated life terms for senators, presidents and justices, the aide-de-camp to General Washington during the war for American independence also gave his critics ammunition for their belief that he actually favored aristocracy and/or monarchy. Even if that were true, which it was not, the first two branches he referred to were to be elected and all members were subject to removal from office—hardly characteristic of the hereditary ruling classes and monarchies of Europe. True, Hamilton called the British government with its Monarch, Lords and Commons the best in the world, but he deemed it wholly unsuitable for the United States because it lacked Britain’s class structure.

As to the upper house, Hamilton declared, “No temporary Senate will have the firmness eno[ugh]” to be “faithful to the national interest” or to provide “a permanent barrier to every pernicious innovation . . .” He was critical of those who believed that “seven years [was] a sufficient period to give the senate an adequate firmness,” an error arising “from not duly considering the amazing violence & turbulence of the democratic spirit.”

Hamilton was equally adamant about the executive, asking: “For can there be a good Government without a good Executive[?]” To this end, he said, “we ought to go as far as [the French and the English] in order to attain stability and permanency as [far as] republican principles will admit. Let one branch of the Legislature holds their places for life or a least during good behavior.” Again, Hamilton doubted that a proposed senatorial term of seven years “would induce the sacrifices of private affairs which an acceptance of public trust would require, so as to ensure the services of the best Citizens.”

Similarly, a proposed limit of seven years for the executive (and no possibility of re-election) would leave that official with “little power. He would be ambitious, with the means of making creatures; and as the object of his ambition w[oul]d be to prolong his power, it is probable that in case of a war, he would avail himself of the emergency, to evade or refuse a degradation from his place. An executive for life has not this motive for forgetting his fidelity, and will therefore be a safer depository of power.”

Notwithstanding these unpopular views, Hamilton believed “that a great progress has been already made & is still going on in the public mind . . . [and that] the people will in time be unshackled from their prejudices . . .”

Of course, there was practically no support for Hamilton’s broad views among other convention delegates. Nevertheless, there was a strong conviction among them that commitment to a fixed plan of government and public policy was essential for the nation’s welfare. But that was not possible as long as the nation lacked a sound constitution. Thus, the convention’s task was twofold: first, to move away from the confederation’s confining and debilitating limitations as much as possible; and second, to ensure that the new republican government was both effective and responsible to the people. James Madison’s observations about energy and stability included the no less compelling point that government by consent requires that it be run by many hands for short periods. This is no easy mixture. It is not surprising that one of the many books about the federal convention is entitled Miracle at Philadelphia.
The issues at the convention that shed most light on the wisdom, or lack of it, of encouraging careers in politics are the composition, character and longevity, and even the compensation, of the persons serving in the national legislature, executive and courts. The Congress of the Confederation was based on the equal suffrage of the 13 states (one vote each) which composed it. The states' dominant role thereby doomed that body to ineffectiveness or, as its most severe critics put it, imbecility. The critical first step away from such a defective arrangement was to institute a Congress elected directly or indirectly by the people and then to add another house to check the first. The result was the House of Representatives based on population and the Senate based on equality of the states. We will now examine how the convention arrived at this and other results.

II

The convention first met on May 16, but owing to the tardiness of several state delegations, it did not begin to function until May 25. After the body's appointment of a chairman (George Washington) and adoption of rules of procedure, including one vote per state and absolute secrecy, deliberations began in earnest. On May 29, the Virginia Plan, introduced to the convention by Gov. Edmund Randolph and widely believed to have been written by his fellow Virginian, James Madison, proposed a radical restructuring of the federal government. It was not as radical as the plan which Hamilton introduced a few weeks later, but it moved boldly in a national direction. It proposed a bicameral legislature in which both houses were based on popular, not state government, consent; an executive chosen by the legislature; and a judicial branch with justices serving “during good behavior.” This proposal dominated discussion until the ill-fated New Jersey Plan was put forward by William Patterson of that state on June 19.

The Virginia Plan called for “liberal stipends” for members of both legislative bodies. While those of the first branch would for a time be ineligible for re-election and subject to recall, those of the second were “to hold their offices for a term sufficient to ensure their independency,” thereby securing “the devotion of their time to public service” (22). The members of both houses were ineligible for any other offices during their tenure, and for a time thereafter. Those familiar with the pattern in English politics will note the object here of preventing corruption of legislators granted government offices by the reigning monarch and cabinet ministers.

The national executive would have a definite term of office with a “fixed compensation for services rendered,” that is, neither increasing nor diminishing, and “ineligible a second time.” The appointive lifetime judges were to have their compensation similarly fixed. To sum up, the Plan goes very far to encourage dedication to public service in all three branches with terms and compensation commensurate to that end.

At first, discussion centered on the extent of legislative powers, but soon attention turned to “the equality of suffrage” believed to be the primary defect of the Confederation, to be replaced by “an equitable ratio of representation” (31). In the first house, this meant direct election by the people, but in the second house this meant election by the first. At this early point in the debate, some drew a line against replacing the existing practice of state legislatures electing members of Congress. The basis for their objection was striking. William Sherman from Connecticut, according to James
Madison’s notes, “opposed the election by the people. . . [who] want information and are constantly liable to be misled” (48).

Elbridge Gerry of Massachusetts was even more emphatic. “The evils we experience flow from the excess of democracy. The people do not want virtue; but are the dupes of pretended patriots.” He also said, “It would seem to be a maxim of democracy to starve the public servants, warning against “the danger of the levilling (sic) spirit” (48).

Taking the opposing view were George Mason of Virginia, James Wilson of Pennsylvania and Madison. Mason described election as “the grand depository of the democratic principle of the Gov[ernmen]t,” enabling the first branch, like the House of Commons, to “know & sympathise (sic) with every part of the community . . He admitted that we had been too democratic but was afraid we s[houl]d run into the opposite extreme” (48-49).

A strong nationalist, Wilson “contended strenuously for drawing the most numerous branch of the Legislature immediately from the people,” maintaining that “[n]o government could long subsist without the confidence of the people” (49). For his part, Madison said he was “an advocate for the policy of refining the popular appointments by successive filtrations, but thought it might be pushed too far.” That is, that policy should be applied to the second branch but not to the first, which “should rest on the solid foundation of the people themselves. . . “(50)

In rebuttal, Gerry expressed his hope that the election be “so qualified that men of honor & character might not be unwilling to be joined in the appointments,” while Pierce Butler of South Carolina “thought an election by the people an impracticable mode” (50). It is clear that neither side was an unqualified supporter of democracy, but differed over the extent to which popular rule should play a part.

When the motion for popular election of the first house passed, debate turned to the second. Butler opposed this also, fearing that state powers would be lost. In response, Randolph called for a second popular body less numerous than the first and on that grounds making it less liable to “passionate proceedings.” He called for “a good Senate” that would be “a check” on “the turbulence and follies of democracy” (51). Thus, reservations about democracy were expressed in this debate as well. Wilson, however, favored election of both houses by the people (by districts for the Senate), a point on which Madison by then agreed. This provision did not pass yet. No one spoke in favor of frequent rotation in office, not surprising in view of their guarded opinions regarding democracy.

III

Much of the debate concerning the executive centered on whether it should be unitary or plural, the question being which most contributed to responsibility, as well as to energy and dispatch. Charles Pinckney favored a “vigorous executive,” but feared that its powers would render it an elective monarchy, “the worst kind.” Wilson argued that “Unity in the Executive,” on the contrary, “would be the best safeguard against tyranny” (63) Wilson also favored election by the people while Sherman called for appointment by the legislature. Approving the clear dependence on the legislature, Sherman
nevertheless proposed a term of three years “and was “a[gains]t the doctrine of rotation as throwing out of office the men best qualified to execute its duties” (68).

Pinckney supported a tenure of seven years, joined by Mason, who was for “prohibiting a re-eligibility as the best expedient for preventing the effect of a false complaisance on the side of the Legislature towards unfit characters; and a temptation on the side of the Executive to intrigue with the Legislature for a re-appointment” (68). Gunning Bedford of Delaware thought seven years too long and that impeachment would be no remedy for “incapacity” (69).

While a life term was not on the convention’s agenda, a widespread concern for attracting able men with sufficient time to accomplish their goals was evident. As was so often the case, the debate was not over the goal, but over the means of achieving it. Mere time servers would not do, a sort that dominated in the appointive, one-year governorships found in most of the states, as well as in the Confederation’s one-year presidency. For the national executive would not only be enforcing laws, but making both domestic and foreign policy.

Wilson’s support for popular election of the president for three years was intended to ensure the independence of the executive, as much as possible, from both the national legislature and the state governments, which mode Mason dismissed as “impracticable” (69). The convention at this point supported a seven-year term and a ban on re-eligibility, but that did not last. Gerry objected to election by the legislature, fearing “constant intrigue for appointment,” but was cool to popular election out of concern for state authorities and fearing that the people were “too little informed of personal characters in large districts, and liable to deceptions” (80).

When the convention took up the compensation of the executive, the elderly Benjamin Franklin made one of his rare speeches, in opposition to a paid executive, read by Wilson because of the patriarch’s incapacity. He saw ambition and avarice as two passions with “a powerful influence on the affairs of men” and predicted that “this profitable preeminence” (meaning a well-paid executive) will attract the “bold and the violent” (83). No one supported his position.

Meanwhile, motions to authorize either the state executives or the national legislature to remove the executive were rejected. Motions to establish one executive (rather than three, or a council binding him) went forward. Madison contended that a single executive would promote “tranquility not less than the vigor of government” (96). The reason is clear: an executive branch riven by the rivalry of its members cannot provide a settled administration, with baneful effects throughout the government and society. While Sherman thought annexing a council would make the executive “acceptable to the people,” Wilson countered that a council “oftener serves to cover, than prevent malpractices” (97).

The executive’s independence was also related to his power to veto legislation. While some favored an absolute veto, others feared not only that it gave the executive too much power but that the power would seldom be used for fear of offending the legislature. Mason feared it would produce monarchy, undesirable “notwithstanding the oppressions and injustice experienced among us from democracy” (101). The argument
for the veto, however, was not only based on the need to prevent bad laws but to keep the legislature from encroaching on the executive.

Unlike the legislative and executive branches, the mode of selection and tenure of the judges elicited no debate, as appointment rather than election and the standard of “good behavior (life term) were approved by large margins.

This summary of the constitutional convention’s treatment of the “careers” of future national officers shows it steering far from the senatorial and executive life terms sought by Hamilton; yet despite differences of opinion on the details of fixed and limited terms of office, it is clear that delegates sought a stable government no less than a popular one. The various devices debated had the common object of acknowledging the force of democracy but also of ensuring good government. Such a government depends on able and devoted citizens willing to assume its responsibilities, sure in the knowledge that their efforts will not be fruitless owing to unrealistically short terms, lack of popular support or inadequate compensation.

IV

Let us now review the provisions of the finished Constitution. Members of the House of Representatives are elected by the people for two-year terms, with no limits on their re-eligibility; they must be at least 25 years old and seven years a citizen; and their compensation (and the Senators’) is established by law. Other qualifications may be set by state legislatures.

First, the pool from which House members are drawn is the whole body of the people. Thus, the common suspicion of those elected from such a wide source seems strange, it not perverse. Second, the young age of eligibility was remarkable, given the Anglo-Saxon patriarchal tradition. But perhaps more remarkable is that it makes a long career in that body possible. Moreover, there is no mandatory age limit. Finally, permitting Congress to set its own pay enables it to determine what is adequate to attract and retain members, subject to change if the people deem it inappropriate.

For all of that, the two-year House term makes frequent and significant changes possible, depending upon the public’s interest in legislative proceedings and the members’ ability to demonstrate their worthiness in elections. That they are ineligible for any other offices during their term contributes greatly to their independence from the executive.

Two senators per state are elected for six-year terms by the state legislatures (until changed to popular election by the 17th Amendment in 1913), with one third of them elected (following the original election) every two years; and members must be at least 30 years old and nine years a citizen. The term was one year shorter than what was originally proposed, a minor difference, but still long enough to provide a barrier to wholesale change in the body, buttressed by the one-third election rule. Thus, Senators’ terms are three times as long as House members’, and at least two thirds of them are retained each election cycle. No Senate so constituted can easily be suborned by a popular House or President.
The slightly higher age requirement makes for an older and more experienced body than the House, though clearly far short of one filled only with grey eminences. Nevertheless, it is a distinction of some importance. As there is no mandatory retirement age, members may well, and often do, serve to the age of three score years and ten and even older. Of course, since there is no such limit in the House either, that body also could be, and often has been, occupied by more than a few quite senior members. Finally, Senators are also barred from serving in other offices during their terms, and this ensures their independence as well.

Thus, the terms, age and compensation of members of both houses of Congress make career politicians possible, even predictable. Indeed, from the very first, members (including those who served in the Federal Convention) served long careers in the nation's legislature. Biographies are invariably written far more about those who served for many years than about those who served a term or two and were never heard from again. Careers are indispensable for statesmanship.

The President must be 35 years old and a natural-born citizen, and is chosen for a term of four years by the Electoral College, with no limits on re-election until the 22nd Amendment (two terms or ten years) was adopted in 1951. This indirect election, in which the Electors are chosen in a manner directed by the state legislatures, has veered sharply toward direct election as they all were, in a relatively short time, selected by popular vote within each state. The object here was to make the President independent of all but the people. Four years is significantly shorter than seven, but the possibility of re-election instead of the ban on it which accompanied the longer term, contributes to the occupant’s seeking long-term rather than only short-term goals. Policies not infrequently require time to demonstrate their wisdom or practicability, on the basis of which the people may judge.

The first few presidential candidates “stood for election,” meaning they did not actively campaign for the office, even maintaining that amusing fiction when long and spirited (and expensive) campaigns became routine. It is no small thing to devote so much of one’s time, energy and resources for attaining a less-than-permanent office.

The President’s salary is fixed by law, which may not be raised or lowered during his time in office. Given the extraordinary responsibilities, demands, pressures and even, personal risks for the nation’s chief executive, it is only just that he can rest assured that he won’t be financially worse off by serving in that office than elsewhere. Though far short of the huge compensation guaranteed to crowned heads of state, it is enough to attract extraordinarily able persons.

Finally, all justices on the Supreme Court and “inferior Courts” are nominated by the President and confirmed by the Senate for life terms (“good behavior”). Nothing is said about their qualifications, leaving the determination of them to the President and the Senate in the selection process. Of course, justices were expected to have significant legal experience, particularly as judges, but this doubtless desirable background is not required. The unique judicial function, in any case, requires broad learning and sober judgment, not a common trait and thus welcome for long periods. Hence, federal judicial service can be, and often is, a career job.
The Federalist Papers, the series of 85 essays written during the national debate over the merits of the proposed Constitution from October, 1787 to April, 1788, have come to be regarded as the authoritative commentary on the document. The authors, Alexander Hamilton, James Madison and John Jay, using the pen name of Publius, defended the finished work on essentially two grounds, viz. that it was sufficiently federal and sufficiently republican. Our primary concern here is with the latter, particularly on what that defining feature meant for the idea of careers in politics. What was open for debate at the Federal Convention had been resolved, but there was a wider audience to persuade in the state ratifying conventions. In the papers on the House of Representatives and the Senate, Madison sought to allay popular fears about their republican features. These were followed by the papers on the Presidency and the Supreme Court written by Hamilton, whose object was to make the case for an energetic presidency and an independent judiciary. (All page references will be in parentheses.)

Madison’s first and most fundamental argument in No. 52 is that the House will be “dependent on the people alone” (294). Speaking to the qualifications for office, he observes that “the door of this part of the federal government is open to merit of every description, whether native or adoptive, whether young or old, and without regard to poverty or wealth, or to any particular profession of religious faith” (294). Notwithstanding this unprecedented equality of opportunity, many citizens feared that long years of service in a legislative body would make members vulnerable to corruption or hostile to the rights of the people. Madison contends that the two-year term is safe by pointing out that the even longer serving members of the Continental Congress during the Revolution and Members of the centuries-old English House of Commons (as long as seven years in both cases) did not betray their constituents.

To those who believe “that where annual elections end, tyranny begins,” Madison writes in No. 53 that there is no link between the seasons and a man’s virtue (298). Indeed, short terms are a hindrance. “No man can be a competent legislator who does not add to an upright intention and sound judgment a certain degree of knowledge of the subjects on which to legislate” (300). Indeed, the complexity of national matters of foreign and domestic commerce, taxes and regulating the militia puts a premium on the knowledge gained from actual legislative service.

Madison predicted that “[a] few of the members. . .will possess superior talents; will by frequent re-elections, become members of long standing; will be thoroughly masters of the public business, and perhaps not unwilling to avail themselves of those advantages.” Moreover, the frequent election of new members will render many of them subject to “the snares that may be laid for them” (303).

Clearly, Madison expected that what we today call “career politicians” would dominate the House. It is both a warning and an invitation. For if politicians can win frequent re-election to that body with questionable goals, they can be opposed effectively only by those equally willing to spend many years serving there.
Another popular fear about the House concerned its size. With 65 members for its first three years until the first census, following which, Madison suggests, it may grow to 100, it was far smaller than the House of Commons and even the legislatures of several states. He sees no “magic number” but rather a necessity to avoid making the body too small and unresponsive for representing the people or too large and unwieldy to conduct business well. As to the ratio of constituents to legislators, Madison warns: “Nothing can be more fallacious than to found our political calculations on arithmetical principles” (310). He also warns against “an indiscriminate and unbounded jealousy, with which all reasoning must be in vain” (311). Restraining the popular desire for large increases in the size of the House leaves the door open for the naturally small number of men with superior wisdom and virtue.

This becomes clearer in Madison’s discussion of whether the House “will be too small to possess a due knowledge of the interests of its constituents” (314). His reassuring answer is that the objects of legislation, which are relatively few, are well within the scope even of a body with few representatives.

But the fear remains that the House members will have little sympathy with the mass of the people and will sacrifice them to the few. Madison dismisses the charge this way: “Whilst the objection itself is leveled against a pretended oligarchy, the principle of it strikes at the very root of republican government” (318). He reiterates that the electors are from all classes and ranks and that anyone of merit is eligible for election. Many of those elected will in fact merit the honor, but pride and vanity will also play a part in securing their loyalty. Most of all, “the vigilant and manly spirit which actuates the people of America” can be counted on to contribute greatly to this end (321).

Madison concludes his defense of the House by warning against augmenting its numbers too much. “[I]n all legislative assemblies the greater the number composing them may be, the fewer will be the men who will in fact direct their proceedings” (328). A large body is likely to be a passionate body, one easily manipulated by the few. “Madison warns: The countenance of the government may be more democratic, but the soul that animates it will be oligarchic” (328-29).

The predictable domination of the House by career politicians requires a sober appreciation of the limitations of the democratic principle, which cannot by itself guarantee either responsiveness or effectiveness in legislators. Moderation regarding length of terms and size of legislatures helps to check the dominance of passion over reason and to enable the House to do its work well.

The problems of large popular bodies point to the need for a check within Congress provided by another body with fewer members and longer terms. Speaking to the qualifications of Senators, Madison in No. 62 puts them in the context of “the senatorial trust, which, requiring greater extent of information and stability of character, requires at the same time that the senator should have reached a period of life most likely to supply those advantages. . .” (344). The fewer and longer-serving senators provide “the additional impediment. . .against improper acts of legislation” (346). The Senate thus counteracts the defects of “an assembly of men called for the most part from pursuits of a private nature continued in appointment for a short time and led by no permanent
motive to devote the intervals of public occupation to study of the laws, the affairs, and
the comprehensive interests of their country. . ." (347)

The Senate also counteracts “mutability in the public councils. . . [For] a continual
change even of good measures is inconsistent with every rule of prudence and every
prospect of success.” (348). In the end, the “most deplorable effect” of “an inconstant
government” “is . . . diminution of attachment and reverence” by the people (350).

Finally, the longer terms of Senators produce greater responsibility than the House.
Such stability makes possible “a succession of well-chosen and well-connected
measures, which have a gradual and perhaps unobserved operation,” the results of
which may take years to see (351). Whether the Senate has become what Madison
called “a temperate and respectable body of citizens” (352) is open to debate, of course.
But the intention is clear and the need is great. The Senate was designed to encourage
long and devoted service which there, as in the House, produces career politicians.

VI

Hamilton promises in No. 67 to set forth the President’s “real nature and form; in order
as well to ascertain its true aspect and genuine appearance. . .”(376), which he
contends has been greatly misrepresented and its powers greatly exaggerated by
opponents of the Constitution. Then he proceeds in No. 68 to defend its mode of
election, which aroused little or no controversy then, but has produced much in the
years since. Today, in all states but two, voters select a unified slate of electors pledged
to a single candidate.

The Electoral College was in fact proposed as a superior alternative to election by
Congress, the state governments or the people directly. It enables “the sense of the
people” to “operate” through “a small number of persons, selected by their fellow
citizens from the general mass [who] will be most likely to possess the information and
discernment requisite to so complicated an investigation” (380). This will prevent or
avoid ferments, cabals, corruption and foreign influence in the election while usually
producing a very qualified person. Above all, it will tend to produce a good
administration, without which no form of government can succeed. These are elements
essential to stability as well as accountability.

The unity of the executive also contributes greatly to both its success and its
responsibility to the people. In No. 69 Hamilton argues that the President will be safer
by far than the King of England and even the governor of New York, to which he
confines most of his comparisons. The President is elected for four years and re-
eligible, rather than an hereditary occupant; he is subject to impeachment; he has a
partial, not an absolute, negative on legislative bills; he is commander of the armed
forces but cannot declare war; he can convene Congress but not adjourn it except when
the houses cannot agree; with the two-thirds concurrence of the Senate he can
negotiate treaties with foreign nations and with a majority vote of that body can appoint
executive and judicial officers; and he has no “spiritual powers” whatsoever. These
features discourage abuse of power but also encourage effective performance in office.
Famously in No. 70 Hamilton calls for an energetic president. “Energy in the executive is a leading character in the definition of good government,” making national security, enforcement of the laws, and civil peace possible. “A feeble executive implies a feeble execution of the government. A feeble execution is but another name for a bad execution; and a government ill-executed, whatever it may be in theory, must be, in practice, a bad government.” (391). Energy requires unity, duration, adequate support and competent powers.

Hamilton warns against both a plural executive and a binding council, which though intended to restrain executive power, have the opposite result. In No. 71 he favors a relatively long duration in office in order to ensure the President’s “personal firmness” and a stable administration. A man is more interested in doing his duty, Hamilton contends, the longer he holds the office or is not facing permanent retirement. A firm executive would have the will to resist popular though ill-advised passions or impulses. No less is it important for him to resist domination by the legislature. The Constitution’s provision for the President’s re-election also contributes to the stability of his administration. This adds the man’s desire for reward to the extensive time necessary to accomplish his objectives. Too, sometimes the nation needs the talents of particular individuals to deal with wars or other great crises.

As to career politicians, Hamilton writes in No. 72: “That experience is the parent of wisdom is an adage the truth of which is recognized by the wisest as well as the simplest of mankind. What more desirable than in the first magistrate of a nation” (406)? As with Congress, “a change of men, in the first office of the nation . . . would necessitate a mutability of measures” (407). A still more alarming result of forced retirement of one who had become habituated to exercising the powers of the office would be his contriving to avoid complete exclusion from it.

Turning to the provision for the President’s support, Hamilton in No. 73 defends it on the grounds “that a power over a man’s support is a power over his will.” As to the President’s “competent powers,” Hamilton begins with his veto power which he describes as “a constitutional and effectual power of self-defense” (409). Preventing the passage of bad laws he calls a “secondary” inducement to this power (411). This power also helps to prevent “the mischiefs of that inconstancy and mutability in the laws, which is the greatest blemish in the character and genius of our governments” (412).

Hamilton justifies other powers of the president either on the ground that they require the exercise of power by a single hand, viz. waging war and granting reprieves and pardons; or that they are too dangerous for one man, viz. making treaties and appointing executive and judicial officers. Nevertheless, the latter has all the advantages of the former because the President has the sole power to conduct negotiations and make nominations. The same reason that supports the comparatively small Senate’s participation in treating making and appointments disqualifies the more numerous House of Representatives from dealing directly with these matters.

On this basis, Hamilton predicted that the most able men in the country, if not the most ambitious, would regularly seek the Presidency and endeavor to accomplish great objects in order to merit re-election. Less motivated by fear of rejection than love of
fame, these men would distinguish themselves notwithstanding the Constitution’s strictures and its denial of monarchical powers.

Turning to the federal judiciary, Hamilton considers the mode of appointment and length of the terms for the judges. About the first—presidential nomination, Senate confirmation—in No. 78 he says very little for it is not in controversy. About the second, he has much to say—about the duration of, support for and checks on the office. He praises “good behavior” as “certainly one of the most valuable modern improvements in the practice of government,” which “in a republic . . . is [an] excellent barrier to the encroachments and oppressions of the representative body” (433).

Having only hinted at what great power this check implies and entails, Hamilton maintains that the judiciary is the “least dangerous” branch, which “has no influence over either the sword [executive] or the purse [legislature],” possessing “merely judgment,” and which “depends upon the executive arm even for the efficacy of its judgments” (433). This makes the judiciary the “weakest” department, “so long as the judiciary remains truly distinct from both the legislature and the executive.” But “nothing can contribute so much to its firmness and independence as permanency in office. . .” (435).

The most stunning assertion follows, viz. that the federal courts have the “duty . . . to declare all acts contrary to the manifest tenor of the Constitution void” (436). Hamilton’s argument for life tenure for federal justices at the federal convention here takes on the greatest importance, and which, unlike his similar plea for the life tenure of senators and presidents, finds solid ground in the finished document. That is, “Permanent tenure” is “essential to the faithful performance of so arduous a duty” (437).

And like the Senate and the President, an independent judiciary “is equally requisite to guard the Constitution and the rights of individuals from the effects of those ill humors which the arts of designing men . . . sometimes disseminate among the people themselves. . .” (437).

Moreover, the “voluminous code of law [which] is one of the inconveniences necessarily connected with the advantages of free government,” requires “long and laborious study to acquire competent knowledge,” which only a few persons can offer to the country. Such individuals retain their “deliberating and comparing faculties” far into their old age, on which basis Hamilton dismisses mandatory retirement at age 60 or older. The Constitution’s ban on decreasing the judges’ salaries enables them to afford their many years of service.

Finally, the judiciary’s obligation to uphold the supremacy of the federal constitution, federal laws and federal treaties depends on the justices’ independence. Hamilton saw that this challenge would confront the federal courts for many years as the judges were obliged to restrain the confederal impulse no less than the democratic.

VII

That the citizens of our democratic republic should be suspicious of political authority is not surprising. The security of equal rights for all is central to its character and key to its perpetuation, but the success of this long-term project depends upon the faithful labor of
its most capable citizens. Long ago the Greek philosopher Plato taught through his Socratic dialogues that ruling is an art requiring a liberal education and long experience to bring to full fruition. Aristotle used the treatise to teach men of good upbringing to perfect their characters and learn the advantages and disadvantages of the various forms of government. Whatever differences America’s founders may have had with specific aspects of these ancient philosophers’ teachings, they agreed with them that the best form of government in each set of circumstances is the one which blends wisdom and consent as much as possible. If politics is an art, it requires considerable time to perfect, as is the case with the other human arts of making, maintaining and beautifying things in our world.

Thus, it is not surprising that the American founders labored to form a government that would attract, encourage and reward good characters who would devote their lives to its service. No society can exist without government, which, if it is to be limited to its proper (and practicable) objects, depends on the wisdom and virtue of those who occupy its offices. Institutional checks and balances can do much to restrain improper objects and especially despotic impulses. But government is not a machine; it is the rule of some men over others, with the stipulation that no one is unchallengeable for either selection to, or retention in, office.

It is not an historical accident that America has had the services of many, many “career politicians” who looked upon public service as a noble calling. Their accomplishments are recorded in history books. Of course, we have had our share of bad politicians along with the good ones. Human nature always imposes limits. Plato soberly pointed out that public office can be a burden, especially for the wise and virtuous, so no effort should be spared to make public service attractive to that class of persons as much as possible. “We still have judgment here,” said Macbeth as he contemplated murdering his king. Those without such terrible things in mind but rather the public good should never hesitate to use their best judgment in the perpetuation of the remarkable form of government bequeathed to us by our ancestors. Thus, we should always welcome career politicians, albeit of the right kind. John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, Henry Clay, Daniel Webster and Abraham Lincoln served their nation most of their adult lives, and we were better for it. So did Franklin Roosevelt, Lyndon Johnson, Sam Rayburn, Carl Albert, Tip O’Neill, Richard Nixon and Gerald Ford. The reader must judge whether long service by itself discredits politicians or whether the ends they seek make all the difference.

*PROPOSED ARTICLE 28 of the U.S. Constitution

SECTION 1. No person who has served 3 terms as a Representative shall be eligible for election to the House of Representatives. For purposes of this section, the election of a person to fill a vacancy in the House of Representatives shall be included as 1 term in determining the number of terms that such person has served as a Representative if the person fills the vacancy for more than 1 year.

SECTION 2. No person who has served 2 terms as a Senator shall be eligible for election or appointment to the Senate. For purposes of this section, the election or appointment of a person to fill a vacancy in the Senate shall be included as 1 term in determining the
number of terms that such person has served as a Senator if the person fills the vacancy for more than 3 years.

SECTION 3. No term beginning before the date of the ratification of this article shall be taken into account in determining eligibility for election or appointment under this article.

(Citizens for Constitutional Liberty, Inc. Warrenton, Virginia)

Footnotes


4. Ibid.

5. Ibid, 103.

6. Ibid.

Understanding How Three Key Events Impacted the Presidential Legacy of Andrew Johnson

Darrial Reynolds
South Texas College
Introduction

This paper discusses the three key events that impacted the presidential legacy of Andrew Johnson who became the 17th president on April 15, 1865 after the death of Abraham Lincoln. First, this paper takes a closer look at a key domestic policy event by focusing on the Presidential Reconstruction Actions of Andrew Johnson from 1865 to 1867. Second, this paper takes a closer look at a key foreign policy event by focusing on the Purchase of Alaska Treaty in 1867. Third, this paper takes a closer look at the National Democratic Party Convention of 1868 by focusing on why the 317 voting convention delegates did not nominate President Andrew Johnson as their presidential candidate. Lastly, this paper concludes with an analysis of how the Presidential Reconstruction of Andrew Johnson, the Purchase of Alaska Treaty in 1867, and the National Democratic Party Convention of 1868 impacted the presidential legacy of Andrew Johnson.

Presidential Reconstruction Actions of Andrew Johnson

Reconstruction or the rebuilding of the southern states after the Civil War became the responsibility of President Johnson on April 15, 1865. According to the article, Andrew Johnson: Domestic Affairs (2015), Presidential Reconstruction required that President Johnson take on the responsibility of providing solutions to the social, economic, and political problems in the South. Some key social problems in the South were that many formerly wealthy people had no funds to rebuild, many people were homeless and unemployed, and among the homeless and the unemployed were the former slaves who had to find a way to support themselves. Some key economic problems in the South were that the many farms and plantations were ruined, Confederate money was useless, many banks were closed, and many roads, bridges, and railroads were damaged. Some key political problems in the South were that the South had few police, no judges, no courts, and no state had an established government.

Presidential Reconstruction by President Johnson called for a majority of white voters in all 11 of the former Confederate states to pledge loyalty to the United States. According to the article, Andrew Johnson: Domestic Affairs (2015), President Andrew Johnson required that all 11 of the former Confederate states (1) write new state constitutions and (2) ratify the Thirteenth Amendment, which banned slavery throughout the nation. President Johnson allowed the former Confederate officials to vote and hold office. By December of 1865, all 11 of the former Confederate states (1) had met the requirements of Presidential Reconstruction and (2) were accepted by President Andrew Johnson as 1 of the 36 states of the United States of America. Voters in all 11 of the former Confederate states were allowed to elect representatives to Congress and many of the elected representatives had held office in the Confederacy.

Reconstruction Presidential Reconstruction carried out by President Andrew Johnson was opposed by many Republicans in Congress because (1) the men who had led the South out of the Union were being elected to the House and Senate and (2) the
11 former Confederate States did not allow Blacks to vote or to hold public office. The 11 former Confederate States passed Black Codes to deny Blacks (freedmen) the right to vote, own guns and land, serve on juries, work skilled jobs, or hold public office. When Congress met in December of 1865, Republicans (1) refused to recognize the 11 former Confederate states, (2) refused to let the representatives elected in the 11 former Confederate states take their Congressional seats, and (3) set up a Joint Committee on Reconstruction to draw up a new Congressional Reconstruction plan for the South (Nash, 1971).

Presidential Vetoes of Congressional Reconstruction

December of 1865 was the last month of Presidential Reconstruction and January of 1866 was the first month of Congressional Reconstruction. Four key congressional statutes representing Congressional Reconstruction that were vetoed by President Andrew Johnson were the Freedmen’s Bureau Bill of 1866, the Civil Right Act of 1866, the Reconstruction Act of 1867, and the Tenure of Office Act of 1867. According to the article, Andrew Johnson: The Veto President (2015), all four of these presidential vetoes were overridden by Congress.

The purpose of the Freedmen’s Bureau Bill of 1866 was to help formerly enslaved people get opportunities to go to school and find jobs, and to give them food, clothing, and shelter until they found jobs. According to the article, Andrew Johnson: The Veto President (2015), Johnson offered the following explanation for vetoing the Freedmen’s Bureau Bill of 1866.

- Johnson was opposed to the use of the military during peacetime.
- Johnson felt the Freedmen’s Bureau Bill was a Federal encroachment into state matters.
- Johnson felt this was “class legislation” for a particular segment of society that would keep the ex-slaves from being self-sustaining, and that had not been done for struggling Whites.
- Johnson did not feel that Congress should be making these decisions for unrepresented states.

The purpose of the Civil Right Act of 1866 (1st civil rights law) was to end the restrictive Black Codes, to give citizenship to Blacks, and to secure basic rights for Blacks such as the right to testify in court, file lawsuits, marry legally, own property, make contracts, equal protection of all laws, and due process. According to the article, Andrew Johnson: The Veto President (2015), Johnson offered the following explanation for vetoing the Civil Right Act of 1866.

- Johnson felt that Congress had no right to make legislation for areas that were not represented.
- Johnson felt that this legislation violated constitutionally accepted state powers.

The purpose of the Reconstruction Act of 1867 was to officially put an end to the state governments formed under President Johnson’s plan in 1865. In order for these states to be readmitted to the Union they had to write state constitutions, Congress had to approve the state constitutions, and states had to accept the Fourteenth Amendment,
which guaranteed due process of law to all Americans. According to the article, *Andrew Johnson: The Veto President* (2015), Johnson offered the following explanation for vetoing the Reconstruction Act of 1867.

- Johnson felt the Military Reconstruction Act was an “unconstitutional extension of federal power into areas of state jurisdiction.”
- Johnson felt that despotism would occur when the army had authority over elected civil officials.
- Johnson felt that the Civil War had proven that the Union was indivisible, and that the Military Reconstruction Act was treating the southern states as though they were conquered territories.

The purpose of the Tenure of Office Act of 1867 was to require approval from the Senate before the President could fire an appointee. According to the article, *Andrew Johnson: The Veto President* (2015), Johnson offered the following explanation for vetoing the Tenure of Office Act of 1867.

- Johnson vetoed the Tenure of Office Act because he felt the United States Constitution gave the President the right to remove officials when necessary.

**Impact on the Presidential Legacy of Johnson**

Since President Andrew Johnson handled Reconstruction so very lenient the way that he did, he gets credit for allowing the South to (1) maintain white supremacy in the South, (2) deny Blacks in the South the protections of civil rights, (3) deny Blacks in the South the right to vote, and (4) deny Blacks in the South the right to hold public office. President Andrew Johnson vetoed the Freedmen’s Bureau Bill of 1866, the Civil Right Act of 1866, the Reconstruction Act of 1867, and the Tenure of Office Act of 1867. It is true that these four congressional statutes were efforts by Congressional Reconstruction to help provide solutions to the social, economic, and political problems in the South. Presidential Reconstruction did not provide civil rights because President Andrew Johnson thought (1) that it was the responsibility of the states to decide who should vote and hold office, and (2) that it was not the responsibility of the federal government to provide civil rights to Blacks in the South. Essentially, the leadership style and actions of President Andrew Johnson did not help solve the social, economic, and political problems that existed in the South after the Civil War.

**Purchase of Alaska Treaty in 1867**

According to the article, *Andrew Johnson: Foreign Affairs* (2015), in 1866 Russian Czar Alexander II was willing to sell the 586,000 square miles of land named Alaska. Also in 1866, United States Secretary of State William Seward offered the Russian Government $7.2 million for the land and the Russian Government agreed to sale the land to the United States for the price of $7.2 million (about two cents per acre). On March 30, 1867 in Washington D.C., Secretary of State William Seward and Russian Minister (Edouard de Stoeckl) signed the Purchase of Alaska Treaty. Because the land of Alaska was so cold many people in the United States of America called Alaska “Seward’s Icebox” without knowing the true value of Alaska. The purchase of Alaska increased the area of the United States by almost one fifth. When President
Andrew Johnson and Secretary of State William Seward took the signed Purchase of Alaska Treaty to the President's Room in the Capitol, they were told there was no time to deal with the matter before adjournment. President Andrew Johnson then called a special session that summoned the Senate into session to meet on April 1, 1867 and the Senate approved the Purchase of Alaska Treaty on April 9, 1867. President Andrew Johnson signed the Purchase of Alaska Treaty on May 28, 1867 and Alaska was formally transferred to the United States on October 18, 1867.

Purpose of Purchase of Alaska Treaty in 1867

The main purpose of the Purchase of Alaska Treaty in 1867 was to expand activities of the United States such as trade, exploration, social settlements, and military posts to the northern rim of the Pacific Ocean. The Purchase of Alaska Treaty in 1867 allowed the United States to put the ideas of Manifest Destiny and westward expansion into action. According to the article, *Purchase of Alaska, 1867* (2015), the Purchase of Alaska Treaty did not guarantee statehood to the Alaska Territory, but Alaska did become the 49th state of the United States on January 3, 1959. The Purchase of Alaska Treaty in 1867 did guarantee immediate American citizenship to all the people living on the land of Alaska, except for the Indians. Essentially, prospectors discovered gold in 1880 at Juneau, Alaska and wildcatters discovered oil in 1968 at Prudhoe Bay, Alaska. The great discoveries of gold and oil in Alaska have facilitated the expansion of trade, exploration, social settlements, and military posts of the United States westward to Alaska. The land of Alaska is valuable today because the (1) lowlands of southern Alaska are well suited to farming, (2) state of Alaska is a very important source of timber, copper, gold, petroleum, and natural gas, and (3) state of Alaska is home to some very important strategic military posts.

Impact on the Presidential Legacy of Johnson

Since President Andrew Johnson worked to negotiate and make the Purchase of Alaska Treaty in 1867, he gets credit for helping the United States expand activities such as trade, exploration, social settlements, and military posts to the northern rim of the Pacific Ocean. It is so true that President Andrew Johnson helped the United States put the ideas of Manifest Destiny and westward expansion to the northern rim of the Pacific Ocean into action by making the Purchase of Alaska Treaty in 1867.

National Democratic Party Convention of 1868

The 1868 National Democratic Party Convention was the 4th National Democratic Party Convention and it was held from July 4, 1868 to July 9, 1868 in New York City, New York. There were 317 party delegates from the 37 states in attendance at the National Democratic Party Convention of 1868 because each state was awarded the number of party delegates equal to its number of electoral votes in the Electoral College. The 317 party delegates at the National Democratic Party Convention of 1868 adopted their party's platform and nominated their party's candidates for President and Vice-President. According to the article, *Democratic Party Platform of 1868* (2015), the following statements are summaries of nine key positions of the Democratic Party Platform of 1868.
Immediate restoration of all the States to their rights in the Union.
Amnesty for all past political offenses.
The regulation of the voting rights by the States.
Payment of the public debt of the United States from tax moneys drawn from the people.
Equal taxation of every species of property, according to its real value.
One currency for the United States of America.
The reduction of the standing army and navy.
Abolition of the Freedmen’s Bureau and other agencies designed to secure Negro supremacy.
Equal rights and protection for naturalized and native-born citizens at home and abroad.

Nomination of a Candidate for President

According to the article, Democratic National Convention of 1868 (2015), the delegates at the National Democratic Party Convention of 1868 were split on their party’s candidate for President because no candidate could win the 212 votes (two-thirds majority) needed for nomination until the 23rd Ballot. Most of the 205 delegates of the key 22 States (16 Former Union States and 6 New States) voted for United States Representative George Pendleton (OH) or United States Senator Thomas Hendricks (IN). Most of the 112 delegates of the 15 Former Slave States (11 Former Confederate States and 4 Non-Confederate States) voted for United States Army General Winfield Hancock (PA). United States Representative George Pendleton (OH) was in first place on each and every ballot from the 1st Ballot to the 15th Ballot. United States Army General Winfield Hancock (PA) was in first place on each and every ballot from the 16th Ballot to the 21st Ballot. United States Senator Thomas Hendricks (IN) was in first place on the 22nd Ballot. The 23rd Ballot was the compromise ballot because all of the 317 delegates decided to vote unanimously for Governor Horatio Seymour (NY) to be their party’s candidate for President. After picking their nominee for President, the 317 delegates decided to vote unanimously for United States Army General Francis Blair (MO) to be their party’s candidate for Vice-President.

Impact on the Presidential Legacy of Johnson

Since Andrew Johnson (TN) was not nominated to be the candidate for president by the Democratic Party in 1868, he gets credit for being just the third incumbent president to try and fail to win the nomination to be their party’s candidate for president. The best that President Andrew Johnson could do was finish in 2nd place (65 votes or 20.5% votes) on the 1st Ballot and finish in 2nd place (52 votes or 16.4% votes) on the 2nd Ballot. The 317 convention delegates at the National Democratic Party Convention of 1868 nominated Governor Horatio Seymour (NY) to be the Democratic Party’s candidate for President. Basically, it is a fact that President Andrew Johnson tried and failed to win the nomination to be his party’s candidate for president in 1868 because (1) he never did have the support of the key 22 States (16 Former Union States and 6 New States), and (2) he lost the support of the 15 Former Slave States (11 Former Confederate States and 4 Non-Confederate States).
Conclusion

It is a fact that the Presidential Reconstruction Actions of Andrew Johnson, the Purchase of Alaska Treaty in 1867, and the National Democratic Party Convention of 1868 impacted the presidential legacy of Andrew Johnson in the following ways. Since President Andrew Johnson handled Reconstruction so very lenient the way that he did, he gets credit for allowing the South to (1) maintain white supremacy in the South, (2) deny Blacks in the South the protections of civil rights, (3) deny Blacks in the South the right to vote, and (4) deny Blacks in the South the right to hold public office. Essentially, the leadership style and actions of President Andrew Johnson did not help solve the social, economic, and political problems that existed in the South after the Civil War.

Since President Andrew Johnson made the Purchase of Alaska Treaty in 1867, he gets credit for helping the United States expand activities such as trade, exploration, social settlements, and military posts to the northern rim of the Pacific Ocean. It is so true that President Andrew Johnson helped the United States put the ideas of Manifest Destiny and westward expansion to the northern rim of the Pacific Ocean into action by making the Purchase of Alaska Treaty in 1867. Since Andrew Johnson (TN) was not nominated to be the candidate for president by the Democratic Party in 1868, he gets credit for being just the third incumbent president to try and fail to win the nomination to be their party's candidate for president. Basically, it is a fact that President Andrew Johnson tried and failed to win the nomination to be his party's candidate for president in 1868 because (1) he never did have the support of the key 22 States (16 Former Union States and 6 New States), and (2) he lost the support of the 15 Former Slave States (11 Former Confederate States and 4 Non-Confederate States).

References

Developmentally Appropriate Practices in the Early Childhood Classroom: Are They Walking the Talk?

Jana M. Sanders, EdD  
Texas A&M University-Corpus Christi  
Melissa Fahey, MS/ECED  
Houston Independent School District
Abstract

While the students are in school, the teachers should be confident that students are learning physically, socially, emotionally, and cognitively. Teachers have a responsibility to their students and to the families of their students, to create high quality standards and to use those in their classroom. A tool for achieving this balance is the implementation of developmentally appropriate practices (DAP). Developmentally appropriate practice promotes an active learning environment and encompasses the whole child.

This study sought to assess teacher’s beliefs about DAP and to determine if beliefs about DAP transferred into classroom environments. Results of a survey given to early childhood teachers showed that beliefs about DAP were rated significantly higher than beliefs about inappropriate practices. Further, data collected from observations of classrooms both with and without the teacher’s knowledge and interview with teachers were coded and analyzed. This data revealed that beliefs do not necessarily align with actual classroom situations.

Introduction

Students in a classroom may have many things in common however, they may differ developmentally. Developmentally appropriate practices (DAP) are strategies which address these developmental differences. DAPs are those that serve the whole child including cultural and family factors. DAP lessons are supportive to the child’s learning and the style of learning suits the individual student (DAP http://www.naeyc.org/dap/faq).

In a developmentally appropriate classroom, a teacher creates an environment where social, emotional, physical, cognitive, and cultural needs are further developed and met. Developmentally appropriate practice is based upon a child’s community, family, structure, assessment, and individuality (Buchanan & Burts, 2007).

Teachers in a developmentally appropriate environment use strategies that go beyond traditional whole group instruction. Developmentally appropriate practices include small groups, one-on-one, and pairs. In a developmentally appropriate classroom, children are encouraged to learn by doing through hands on tasks and through collaboration. Developmentally appropriate practice promotes an active learning environment (Copple & Bredekamp, 2009).

It is important that teachers use DAP. Early childhood teachers have a responsibility to create high quality standards and implement them in their classrooms. The standards used must be tailored to each child and should be based on the most up to date knowledge of what is developmentally appropriate (Copple & Bredekamp, 2009). Research has shown a correlation of developmentally appropriate curriculum and lasting increases in children’s social, emotional and cognitive skills (as cited in Kostelnik, et al., 2014).

Problem to be Studied

Teachers need to know developmentally appropriate practice approaches and expectations for children. Teachers should be able to explain developmentally appropriate practice to families. “By attending to the multiple domains of development and the individual needs of those in care, early childhood professionals who employ developmentally appropriate practices engage young children in rich out-of-home early learning experiences.” (Bredekamp & Copple, 2009).
Families have expectations that are realistic for age and grade level and their expectations of children that may differ from the expectations of teachers (Kostelnik, et al., 2014). In addition, administration should have appropriate expectations of children. Further, administration should also have appropriate expectations of teachers. The administration should have an understanding and ability to use developmentally appropriate practices and they should be able to explain developmentally appropriate practice to families (West, 2001).

**Purpose of the Study**

The purpose of this study was to determine the knowledge level of teachers and pre-service teachers about what developmentally appropriate practice is. The study also attempted to determine if teachers are using DAP practices in their classrooms.

**Review of Literature**

The concept of DAP has existed for a long time and a strong foundation has been established for incorporating DAP in classrooms. This foundation continued to be built upon and expanded to better educate students and to foster more effective learning. However, at its advent DAP was not as clearly defined as it is presently nor were its implications as clearly understood. In the 1980s, National Association for the Education of Young Children (NAEYC) sought to recognize programs that gave care and education to children. The recognition required programs “to provide developmentally appropriate activities…materials…or expectations” (http://www.naeyc.org/dap/faq#idea). This initial recognition needed revision but set a foundation for DAP and its future.

**Developmentally Appropriate Practice.**

Although DAP has existed as a concept for several decades, the specific practices that DAP involves were not clearly outlined. It became necessary to clearly define what DAP was in formal and more concrete terms. NAEYC released the first formal position paper in 1986, which defined DAP and what it required for real application. The position paper has gone through several revisions, the most recent in 2009 (http://www.naeyc.org/dap/faq#idea). By more clearly defining DAP, NAEYC invited challenges from educators who disagree about the specific definition. Despite the controversies as to what defines or is included in DAP, most educators agree with the principles upon which DAP was created.

Just as learning is a lifelong process, the adaptation of DAP guidelines is constantly evolving. DAP guidelines respond to changes in student and teacher needs as well as societal and environmental changes. Students benefit greatly from these revisions and changes with adapt to their needs. Not only do students receive benefits from DAP environments but also, “early learning practitioners will benefit from exploring the breadth of DAP in nurturing children’s overall development (social/emotional, physical, cognitive/intellectual, and cultural) and its role in guiding approaches to teaching” (Bredekamp & Copple, 1997). DAPs enrich students with tailored learning and provide practitioners with a favorable working environment.

A primary investigation into DAP raises several questions about why teachers should include developmentally appropriate materials in their classrooms. Ultimately, do the practices show true benefits? Additionally, questions are raised about what it is that makes these materials appropriate. Further, this raises subsequent questions about how to distinguish between what is developmentally appropriate and what is not.
Including developmentally appropriate materials helps set the stage for a DAP environment which will assist students in learning in “all areas- physical, social, creative, emotional, and cognitive”. As all of these areas are of equal importance in the early stages of learning, it is important to strike a balance between them and to be sure that students fully learn in all areas (http://pods.dasnr.okstate.edu/docushare/dsweb/Get/Document-2429/T-2304web.pdf).

In terms of evaluating the appropriateness of materials several criterion do exist. One such criterion is simply that “they support a specific interest or goal” in the classroom (Gestwicki, 2010). Additionally, the materials provided are related to the appropriate classroom environment (Gestwicki, 2010). The environment and materials provided should also relation to the student’s development and “help them create their own sensor motor understandings, preoperational learning, and concrete concepts” (Gestwicki, 2010). The overall theme of the environment and material in the environment must be one of open learning. As Bredekamp and Rosengrant stated in their 1992 work, ‘the goal [of developmentally appropriate practice] is to open up the curriculum and teaching practices and move away from the narrow emphasis on isolated academic skills and the drill-and practice approach to instruction” (Gestwicki, 2010).

One study, conducted by Belskya & Shiakoua, examined DAP in early childhood classrooms took a holistic approach in its interviews by taking into account the knowledge of teachers, parents, and children. The children participating ranged from age 4-7 and all of the teachers were veterans in their grade level, having at least 8 years of experience. Data was collected by surveys of children, parents, and teachers. Additionally, the investigators observed the classrooms. Data collected reflected what the current knowledge on DAP is among children, parents, and teachers in a learning community. Results of this study were difficult to interpret because many extraneous variables were present such as temperature of room, attendance of students, desired versus actual teaching results, and student participation from lesson to lesson. This study illustrated that the benefits of DAP can be difficult to study because of confounding factors. Additionally, DAP must be looked at holistically because examining isolated learning outcomes can yield misleading data (Shiakoua & Belskya, 2009).

Another study conducted though the Department of Educational Psychology at the University of Georgia, Athens analyzed teacher education level and beliefs about DAP and developmentally inappropriate practices (DIP). The study took place in pre-kindergarten classrooms for early literacy in 4-year-olds, which included lead teachers and teacher aides. Teachers were required to have at least an associate’s degree and assistants had to have an associate’s degree or have reached age 21 and possess previous experience in early childhood. This study hoped to learn about beliefs of teacher assistants in terms of DAP which has largely been over looked in previous research. Both levels of teachers (35 lead teachers and 27 assistants) were given surveys to determine their beliefs on 26 distinct items. Overall, the results of the study revealed that the teacher assistants were far more likely than the lead teachers to support developmentally inappropriate practices. Although this difference in the self-report measures between the two education groups was found, it should be stated that education level of the teacher is not the only factor which contributes to the use of DAP or DIP in classrooms. Rather, education level is one factor among many which leads to
the use of DAP or DIP. Education level may be related to other factors such as racial background or socioeconomic status (Tomlinson, Gould, Schroth, & Jarvis, 2006). In this study, self report data revealed a strong racial difference between the lead teachers and assistants. Thus, many factors must be considered before we can state that education level contributes to beliefs about DAP. This is particularly true given that in the study researchers found a general trend for both lead teachers and assistants to agree with DAP (Hana & Neuharth-Pritchett, 2010).

A review of the literature on DAP reveals how difficult it is to design research studies to study DAP with accuracy and validity. Many factors must be addressed when researching DAP. Because of the nature of classrooms and learning environments, introducing researchers for any period of time can be disruptive to learning. Additionally, longitudinal designs can be costly and difficult to execute. For these reasons, many studies involve only short observation periods. These short observation periods dramatically limit the amount of data, which can be collected from classrooms.

An additional complication of studying DAP in classrooms is the wide range approach which must be taken. DAP includes many factors in classrooms such as the materials and resources available. Classrooms with insufficient resources may be rated lower on DAP scales (in accordance NAEYC guidelines) despite the teacher’s best efforts to incorporate DAP into their curriculum. Further, DAP is difficult to study because of the holistic approach which must often be taken by researchers. Teachers, students, parents, and administrators must be observed and surveyed in order to obtain a complete picture of the learning environment. These methods take time and resources and the survey research is likely to be based completely on self-report.

Other challenges in studying DAP include the many dimensions of DAP which exist. Classrooms may score high in some areas and low in others. These differences in scores may be due to any of the above mentioned factors but determining which factor in isolation is responsible can be difficult. Additionally, one trend in research may exist such as a correlation between the level of teacher education and beliefs about DAP. However, this trend alone is not a complete explanation for how DAP is incorporated in classrooms as other underlying factors may truly be responsible for the difference. In light of all of the difficulties with researching DAP; it is important to be familiar with related educational theories and concepts. This familiarity with concepts can serve as a pathway to greater ease in interpreting research data on DAP in classrooms.

Study Participants

Teachers observed in this study taught at a public elementary school located in a large urban public school district. The public elementary school selected is a lab school located on a university campus in the southwest region of the United States. The university students surveyed in the study were enrolled in one of two different undergraduate courses. The first undergraduate course was an introduction to DAP. The second undergrad course was a senior level course generally taken the semester before student teaching.

Methods and Procedures

A survey was developed for teachers of three-year-olds through kindergarten and pre-service Early Childhood Education undergraduate students from 2009 NAEYC guidelines. The survey was piloted at an elementary school in a large urban public
school located in the southwest region of the United States. No changes were made in the original survey based on the pilot study.

A checklist was developed, based on the surveys created and the 2009 NAEYC book *Developmentally Appropriate Practice in Early Childhood Programs: Serving Children from Birth through Age 8*. The checklist included items to determine if classrooms utilize DAP in terms of materials, instruction style, etc. Observations took place under two conditions: with the teachers’ knowledge (C1) and without the teachers’ knowledge (C2).

Pre-kindergarten and kindergarten teachers as well as pre-service teachers answered a 15 question survey which included questions about curriculum structure and class materials. For example, “When explaining patterns in math children use art, music, objects in nature, peg boards, blocks, etc.” and “Teacher uses observation to assess children’s progress, examine children’s work samples, and document the child’s development and learning needs”. This survey included 10 statements which reflected developmentally appropriate practices and 5 statements which reflected developmentally inappropriate practices.

For each survey, two indices of data were created using the survey items. The means of all the questions reflecting developmentally appropriated practices were combined to compute the DAP index. The means of all the developmentally inappropriate practiced were combined to compute the DIP index.

The mean of the survey (on a 5-point scale) of the DAP index was relatively high ($M = 3.90$). The mean of the DIP index was comparatively low ($M = 2.27$). DAP Statement 9 (pertaining to class materials which promote equality) had the highest individual mean of all the DAP questions ($M= 4.63$, $SD =.58$). DAP statement 1 (pertaining to writing skills) had the lowest individual mean of all the dap questions ($M= 2.47$, $SD =.96$). DIP statement 10 (pertaining to letter identification instruction) had the highest individual mean of all the DIP questions ($M= 3.58$, $SD =1.11$). DIP statement 5 (pertaining to use of worksheets and flashcards) had the lowest individual mean of all the DIP questions ($M = 2.22$, $SD =.84$). Table 1.0 displays all of the means and standard deviations of the survey items.

A correlated samples t-test was conducted to compare the means of the DAP index and the DIP index for the survey given to pre-kindergarten and kindergarten teachers and pre-service teachers. Consistent with predictions, the mean of the mean of the DAP index was significantly higher than the DIP index ($M = 1.18$, $P <.05$). Table 3.0 displays the results of the t-test.

**Qualitative Methods**

The qualitative portion of this study involved data collected from interviews with teachers as well as observations of teacher student interactions.

**Interview**

The author interview teachers from a pre-determined question list. The question list included items assessing how the teacher did or did not implement DAP into his or her classroom. This question list differed from the quantitatively analyzed survey in that it allowed for further elaboration on the part of the teacher on each main point of DAP in the classroom. This method of data collection provided opportunity for the teachers to give rationale for their choices and to explain the circumstances which effected the implementation of DAP into their classrooms. The interviews took place in private
settings where only the interviewer and the teacher were present. The teachers were informed that only the interviewer would hear their responses and all notes and recordings of the interview would have no identifying factors connected to them. This anonymity was built in as a confidentiality protection for the teachers as well as a check for accuracy in responses.

**Observations**

Two types of observations took place in this study. One observation type was with the teacher's knowledge. In this setting, the observer sat in the classroom with the teacher's permission during a lesson. Using a DAP checklist, the observer assessed and rated the DAP components present or absent in the learning environment, teaching style, and lesson. The second type of observation was without the teacher's knowledge. In these instances, consenting teachers were observed from a private observation deck which allowed the classroom activities to be seen and heard by the observer but did not allow for the teacher to know about the observation. The same DAP checklist was used in these observations to assessing the learning environment, teaching style, and lesson. These two types of observation were included to avoid any special efforts made by the teacher because they knew they were being observed.

**Interviews**

Responses of the interviews were read once through by the author for overall content. During the second reading, the interviews were placed into 3 general categories: teacher typically embodies a DAP profession, teacher is striving to be but occasionally falls short of being a DAP professional, teacher does not embody a DAP professional. All teachers interviewed fell into the teacher typically embodies a DAP profession, teacher is striving to be but occasionally falls short of being a DAP professional categories. Those interviewed who fell into the "striving" category often fell short because of excessive use of worksheets and didactic style. However, these instances were usually isolated to one subject (for example math) and were not present during other subjects taught.

**Observations**

The observation checklists were read through for content and overall trends. After the initial reading, with the knowledge checklists were coded into 2 general categories: DAP and DIP. The same procedure was followed for the without knowledge checklists. While there were slightly more with knowledge checklists that reflected DAP, both categories yielded high amount of DAP in the learning environment, teaching style, and lesson. The most common reason checklists with placed in the DIP coded category was due to time constraints.

**Conclusions**

The results of this study suggest that teachers and pre-service teachers do hold beliefs about developmentally appropriate practices higher than beliefs about developmentally inappropriate practices. Although DAP is something that most teachers believe in, not every teacher actually practices DAP in their classroom.

Overall, this study is useful to teachers, administrators, student teachers, college professors in education, and state assessment committees. Teachers who are attempting to implement DAP in their classrooms will benefit from the information that DAP is highly valued by other educators but is often difficult to implement.
Administrators will benefit from this information because they play a key role in obtaining materials and facilitating curriculum plans that make implementing DAP possible. Student teachers will benefit from this research because they will be able to identify DAP and DIP in classrooms they observe and work in. College professors in education will benefit from this research because of the role they play in teaching methods for implementing DAP to future generations of teachers. State assessment committees can use this research to improve standards based testing programs. For example, in Texas the TEKS are set for each grade level, however these standards may or may not be developmentally appropriate. By analyzing teacher beliefs on specific TEKS, teacher beliefs on DAP, and NAYCE guidelines, the gap between TEKS standards and true developmentally appropriate standards can be closed.

It is the combination of all these roles, which must change in response to research. Having a classroom or school that merely conforms to DAP standards is not enough. A teacher…. has to understand how to properly use the materials available and how to properly teach with them. Without this deeper understanding of DAP and its importance to education, DAP cannot be used to its fullest extent to benefit students.

References
Community College Students’ Self-Reported Potential Career Benefits of Taking a Social Science Course Online: A Case Study

Jeffrey T. Schulz
Central Community College—Grand Island, NE

Allen Francis Ketcham
Professor Emeritus
Texas A&M University---Kingsville, TX
Abstract: This case study of community college students examines their self-reported perceptions of potential career benefits by having taken a social science course or a few social science courses online. There is no prior literature on this topic. This case study takes place in the state of Nebraska. This research examines how 110 rural community college students responded to a series of 13 demographic questions and an open-ended question related to perceived career benefits of taking a social science class online. Data were collected for this project from the fall semester of 2014 through the fall semester of 2015, which included the summer semester of 2015. The online social science courses used in this research included the following courses: Introduction to Sociology, Social Problems, and Gerontology. The purpose of this study is to discover whether or not rural community college students at this Midwestern community college see any future career benefits of taking social science courses online, no matter what their proposed field of study may be.

Introduction

Perhaps one of the toughest tasks a community college instructor may endure during his or her career in academia is to get students to “buy-in” to the class he or she is teaching, especially if a student is not interested in taking their course. There are several reasons a student may not want to take a course. He or she may feel it is irrelevant to their course of study. For example, a student who is majoring in welding at a community college may not see the intrinsic value of a social science course as it pertains to their major. However, what that student may not realize is that he or she will be working with people in their everyday lives, and will need certain skills, perhaps soft skills, that could benefit them in their career.

So what is social science? According to www.worldwidelearn.com/online-education (2015) “Social Science studies humanity’s impact on our world. Once considered elements of the humanities, many disciplines like communication, history or anthropology gained their social sciences categorization in the early 20th century. After World War I social science academics challenged themselves to apply statistics and mathematical measurements to areas they previously studied by observation alone. Today’s social science academics analyze how our human behavior creates ripple effects in everything from economics to the environment” (p. 2).

In a recent article from http://www.collegeatlas.org/community-college-benefits.html (June 1, 2015) it is stated “Professors at most community colleges love teaching, consequently, they are able to simplify otherwise complicated subjects in a way that students are better able to understand, internalize, and reapply them in the real world” (p. 2). Oftentimes, however, as a social science educator at a community college, it is still a struggle to get students’ whose majors are outside of the social sciences or life sciences, to “buy-in” to the content of the curriculum of the class, its value to their future careers, and what you want them to learn from the class you are teaching. Interestingly, recent research suggests that nontraditional students (those aged over 25) in a specific program at a community college appear to be more motivated to learn at a community college (Boyington 2014; Cummins 2014; Nitecki
than their younger peers. In fact, Boyington (2014) posits “Community colleges are made up of students from a variety of backgrounds, academic histories and ages, and are often more diverse than four-year institutions and more accurately represent the world. That diverse student body at community colleges can help nontraditional students make a smoother transition into a formal learning environment” (p. 2).

This case study attempts to address the research question: “How is taking a social science class online going to benefit you in your future career?” There were 110 respondents in our study. Most of the students felt there was a strong, inherent value to their current or future careers by taking social science classes online; however, not all respondents answered the question and not all of them felt there was any value at all. This case study is the first of its kind related to this topic. It proposes to open the door for future research on this topic, hopefully on a grander scale, and to examine two issues. First, address the issue of student “buy in” for taking social science courses online. Second, for those students who do value taking social science courses online, address the question, “Why do they see value in taking these courses online for their future career?” Below are a few general student responses as to what they felt they would gain from taking a social science course and how it could help them in their future careers.

Student 1: “It helps me have a better understanding of the cultures and way of life of people.” Student 2: “Social Science classes will benefit me in my career because it will give me the opportunity to empathize and reach out to a wider variety of populations.” Student 3: “I think the social sciences greatly affect people’s careers. It helps a person understand where they are in the social hierarchy. There are some people that are poor and rich and have different values when it comes to their beliefs.” Student 4: “This class gives you a better understanding of the world around you. It also gives you a better understanding of how other cultures live. Also, it gives you a better understanding about how other social classes live.”

Demographics

During the 2013-2014 and 2014-2015 academic years, this rural, Midwestern community college served a total of 22,103 students (9,454 were full time or part-time, credit seeking students); 86.9% or 19,212 of those students were in the primary 25 county area this college serves in rural Nebraska (Enrollment Report, Central Community College, 2014-2015). The five most popular majors on campus as of the 2014-2015 academic year were Academic Transfer, Business Administration, Nursing, Early Childhood Education, and Human Services (Enrollment Report, Central Community College, 2014-2015).

College-wide, approximately 61.6% were women and 38.4% of the students were male. Approximately 9,454 were credit-seeking students. College-wide, approximately 77.33% were White Non-Hispanic; 16.35% Hispanic/Latino; 2.09% claimed two or more races; 2% were Black/African American; 1.06% Asian/Pacific Islander; and 0.5% were American Indian/Alaska Native. This college has three primary campuses and several
smaller satellite campus sites in the 25 county region of central Nebraska it serves (Enrollment Report, Central Community College, 2014-2015).

Review of Literature

According to a 2015 article from the American Community Colleges Journal, “The beauty of the community college system is that not only does it offer affordable education, when compared to four-year universities, but it also provides a high quality education” (p. 1). There are so many benefits that community college students have over their four-year counterparts. In a recent news article, Boyington (2015), reports the following: “The quality of instruction at many community colleges is on par with the courses taught at four-year universities.” (p. 1). Boyington (2015) also suggests four key benefits for students attending community colleges. First, students can move at their own pace. Second, community colleges can help students address their academic and personal needs. Third, students can start their education and then transfer to their dream school. Fourth, students can benefit from personalized attention.

Randolph (2014) cites three other key benefits community college students have going for them. First, is the cost of tuition. She states that the average tuition and fees are less than $3,150 per year. Further, half of all community college students hold a part-or full-time job. Second, housing is cheaper because many community colleges don’t have dorms. As a result, many students live at home or rent an apartment. Third, community college students enter the workforce sooner than their four-year counterparts, which means they earn real income sooner due to the focused academics the community colleges provide.

This case study research focuses specifically on community college students seeing value in taking social science courses. Recent research suggests since the student-to-faculty ratio at most community colleges is lower than at most four-year colleges and universities, community college students often spend more time working directly with their professors (www.collegeatlas.org) June 1st, 2015. Further, professors at community colleges utilize teaching methods that focus on teaching rather than research, which may facilitate a more conducive learning environment and experience for students. Professors at most community colleges also love teaching, so it is suggested they are able to simplify complicated subjects in a way that students are better able to understand, internalize and reapply them in the real world (www.collegeatlas.org) June 1st, 2015.

There is no specific literature that addresses our research objective. Our research is exploratory in nature and is meant to be a starting point for addressing the question: “How is taking a social science class online going to benefit you in your future career?”

Method

This is an exploratory case study examining rural community college students’ perceptions of potential career benefits by taking social science classes online. Data for this research were collected from students in the fall semester of 2014 through the fall
semester of 2015. Students were administered a 23-item survey instrument in which they were asked to answer 13 demographic questions and then ten open-ended questions. This instrument was only administered to online social science students at the 100 and 200 level.

This instrument asked the students questions such as highest level of education they had completed, area of study, gender, age, race, mother and father’s level of education, mother and father’s occupation, political affiliation, and income. The ten open-ended questions included questions related to attitudes toward taking classes online at this community college, perceptions of level of difficulty of taking social science classes online versus a lecture, benefits of taking a social science class for one’s major, benefits of taking a social science class for one’s career, other online classes students were taking at this community college, other online classes students were taking at other colleges, and whether or not a student ever planned on taking another online class at our community college.

The focus of this study, however, hinges on the question: “How is taking a social science course(s) online going to benefit you in your career?”

Findings

The focus of this case study is to examine a rural community college’s students’ self-reported future career benefits by having taken a social science course(s) online. The primary question for this study is: How is taking a social science course(s) online going to benefit you in your career? There were 110 participants over the course of the calendar year. We broke down the student respondents' answers into four different categories, which included: Nursing majors, Human Services/Social Work majors, Business Administration majors, and the General Student Population which represented a wide array of majors.

This section will summarize the most common responses provided by the student respondents for three of the most popular majors represented in this research: Nurses (30.0%), Human Services majors (18.2%), and Business Administration majors (12.7%). In the latter part of this section, a summary of comments made by the general student population in this case study who are either Academic Transfer students or in another major will be examined. The way students responded will be typed out exactly as they responded to the questions. There may be some grammatical errors. Below is how the students responded by major, beginning with nursing students.

Nurses

The nursing majors represented the largest number of respondents in this case study. That is most likely due to the fact that it is mandatory for them to take an Introduction to Sociology course as part of their curriculum. In this study, 33 out of the 110 respondents were nursing majors. It must be noted that not one nursing major had a negative comment when discussing how a social science class would benefit them in their future career. In fact, most nursing students discussed the numerous benefits of taking such a class. The majority of their answers centered around learning about
people from various ethnic, racial, and religious backgrounds, how to interact with those same people once they complete their nursing program, how to gain a deeper understanding of how society operates, understand work behavior, and understand group behavior. Below, is a sampling of some of the nursing students’ responses to the value of taking a social science class in their curriculum. The student respondent responses are typed out exactly as they appeared on the questionnaire. Any misspellings or grammatical errors have come from the direct quotes of the student respondent. The researchers believed that typing out the responses exactly as they appear would offer more “effect” to the reader.

Student 1: “It’s going to better prepare me to take care of my patients to the best of my ability.” Student 2: “I will be better equipped to provide safe and efficient care to patients in my practice by better understanding the problems that we are facing in society.” Student 3: “It will teach me how people think and why they act the way they do. It will also help me in my current career at the hospital since I work with patients all day.” Student 4: “This will help build in my social aspects of nursing. Also will help within communicating and understanding different poverty levels and cultures.” Student 5: “This social science course will benefit me in many ways in my profession as an RN. It will provide understanding and knowledge about how people are the way they are, and allow me to care for my patients better as I will be more educated. I think this course taken online can also benefit me in my major by understanding the patients I am assigned to during my clinical rotation.”

Student 6: “This class is chosen so that we know how to communicate with people; understand their different ethnic and cultural views; and so we can learn how to best treat people. This class was also chosen so that we can learn about the society around us. I also think this class will give me a view of the whole world beyond my community in a global perspective. I want to be a medical missions nurse so this will be very helpful to learn how other people respond to their environment and how I can adapt to meet their physical and mental needs.”

Student 7: “Taking sociology will benefit me in my career in many ways. As humans we all come from some social class; knowing and better understanding those classes will help me to understand different views of health care amongst specific classes. I will also have some understanding of how others might accept education, how financial classes affect health care as well as cultural background.” Student 8: In order to graduate from the ADN (Associate Degree of Nursing) program, this is a required class. Taking sociology online will require me to learn more about the social world which will benefit my career because I will be working directly with people.” Student 9: “This helps me understand individuals and different situations that can come up while I am a nurse. It is also helping me be more rounded and have a deep connection to all individuals.” Student 10: “It will help me be able to better relate to my patients.”

Student 11: “Working in a professional medical establishment, I will have to work with patients that come from all walks of life. Taking social science classes prepares me for this by introducing several ways of processing social differences and opinions in
the world.” Student 12: “I think it will help me understand people a lot more and what they think since I will be talking to many of my patients every day.” Student 13: “It will help because sociology helps a nurse understand what makes people the way they are. By better understanding people and groups of people, it can help me to become a more compassionate, gentle, kind nurse.” Student 14: “Nurses deal with society 100% of the time in their career. It helps us to understand people in general.”

Student 15: “I’m already a Licensed Practical Nurse (LPN) and want to further my education. This class is already beneficial because it gave me a wider perspective towards different social issues we are facing here in the U.S. and globally as well. Taking this social science course online is going to benefit me to broaden my general knowledge about my surroundings and the society I live with.” Student 16: “Taking a social science course online is going to benefit me in my career because by taking sociology I understand what society is like and the different types and it will help me understand when I am working with patients in the medical field.” Student 17: “It helps nurses understand their clients better and understand why they do the things they do. Also, it helps understand different people’s cultures and attitudes to every day situation.”

Student 18: “Helps me understand how people relate to health care. Also helps me understand the disease process in different cultures and societies. This class helps me relate to people of other ethnic groups, helps me understand their beliefs. Showed me more on how people interact with one another; from large groups to the individual. Student 19: “This social science course is going to benefit my career because I am going into nursing and I will be working with all different types of people with different backgrounds who speak only a certain language or who might do things a little different than we do. It will help me get a better understanding of why some people might come across into the hospital the way they do and choose to have the attitude they have when they come in.” Student 20: “This is a very good question. My guess would be that in nursing, I am going to run into all kinds of people and different cultures, so sociology helps with that area. This class is also teaching me about what I need to know and how things are perceived in the world. This class is also very beneficial in understanding a lot that I was not even aware of.”

**Human Services/Social Work**

Human Services majors represented the second largest major of study in this study. As of the 2014-2015 academic year, it is the fifth most popular major on campus. The Human Services majors offered commentary related to the sociology or gerontology classes they had taken online. Both Human Services and Social Work majors were put together in this category. The two majors are very similar, and many of the Human Services majors transfer from the community college to a four year college, to study Social Work. Between the two majors, they represented 23 of the 110 student respondents in this study. A sampling of the student responses are below.

**Student 1:** “Knowing more about the world can help everyone. Maybe I want to go in to social work and I’ll need to know how to find out what is happening out there in my category.” **Student 2:** “Social Work takes discipline and taking an online course
helps me be intentional about meeting what is expected of me.”  Student 3:  “My major is Social Services, so knowing what is going on in the world will help me help my clients. There are different difficulties that go on in different cultures, so I can apply that to helping them. I can use what I learned in Introduction to Sociology online, and in this class, Social Problems online, to make helping them easier. Once I begin my career, I will be able to understand what the children’s parents are going through. I will hopefully be working in an elementary school; understanding their parents will help me understand the children.

Student 4:  “I will have social problems every day in my field of work and being aware of them, understanding some of their causes, will be very helpful. I think I will be able to be more open-minded.”  Student 5:  “I will have to work with society every day.”  Student 6:  “The reason that taking this course will benefit me in my career is because if I do choose to work with the elderly population with human services, I have learned a lot of information about different aspects related to the elderly population throughout this course. I will be able to incorporate the information I have gained from taking this course into my professional life.”

Student 7:  “It has given me insight as to how the senior population works and how to deal with them.”  Student 8:  “Working in a nursing home I can have a better understanding of how things can work as you age and know how to handle other situations.”  Student 9:  “Since I am working toward a degree in Human Services, this will provide background knowledge to help me in my chosen field. It also eliminates my need to commute and gives me an opportunity to use that commute time to study and complete assignments. Less stressful because there is less financial burden when there is less commute.  Student 10:  “Social Science is a major part of human services as human services deals with a variety of populations from every social class. The information learned can be used to better help those who are different than myself.”

Student 11:  “I am working on a degree in social work, so the classes I am taking will directly affect my career as a CPS worker, which is my ultimate goal.  Student 12:  “As a Human Services major, it required an understanding of how social environments factor into a person’s behavior. Hopefully, I may be able to assist people that I may not have understood where they were coming from if not for this course.”  Student 13:  “I am going into Human Services to work with families that have children with behavioral, mental, and etc. to help their families to become well, and to help them find resources etc.”

Business Administration

Business Administration represents the third most popular major in this study. Approximately 14 out of the 110 student respondents reported being a Business Administration student. However, Business Administration is the second most popular major on campus for the 2014-2015 academic year. A sampling of some of the Business Administration students’ responses are below.

Student 1:  “My ultimate career goal is to own my own business, a bakery. Sociology would allow me to be a better business leader. If I could predict what my
customers need and want, then I would be able to better supply that. Social Science also comes into play with employees when dealing with potential problems. To be that successful business leader, you have to be able to understand people.” Student 2: “By taking sociology, it will get me started in how business works and how politics and law works, which I will need when I am going to be the manager of a company.” Student 3: “My major is BSN/Associates of Science. This class will give insight to the community and society around me, which creates lots of topics to discuss and debate. Having an understanding of the society around me gives me knowledge about the people I want to be of a service to.”

Student 4: “I have found that a cursory knowledge in how our species tends to function is at the very least, great for conversation, and can be advantageous when in leadership roles.” Student 5: “I am going into Business Management, so it may be helpful to know information about other cultures.” Student 6: “As a business major, it'll help me know what's going on in the world and how to handle people because I'll be dealing with people on a daily basis and it'll help me understand what they want/need.” Student 7: “My career will deal with people and society (it will actually depend on it). It will be critical for me to identify and respond to social problems and adjust my work accordingly. This information will also be used to plan and prevent the conditions of the problems from damaging my business and livelihood.”

General Student Population
Out of 110 respondents, the remaining 40 student respondents participating in this case study represented a variety of majors ranging from Occupational Therapy Assistant, Teaching, Radiology Technician, Academic Transfer, Psychology, Criminal Justice, and other popular majors on campus. Below, is a sampling of how some of the general student population outside of the three most popular majors on campus answered.

Student 1: “Well, I want to try to continue on to maybe someday be a teacher. Therefore, social science courses are useful on helping me understand how people think and operate.” Student 2: “It will help me gain an understanding of society more, where Psychology is more dealing with the individual person.” Student 3: “It helps me to have self-control and self-awareness of due dates; it teaches me to work hard and be determined; and it also allows me to set goals for myself.” Student 4: “For me, it will give me a better understanding of people and cultural diversity.” Student 5: “In many work place settings, there are many different kinds of people that I will have to deal with. Learning about all of the different kinds of people, cultures, and issues in the world will help when dealing with daily situations.”

Student 6: “It will benefit me in my career because it’s going to teach me how our society works, and how I even work at times. It shows me how to react to things properly and how other people may react to things as well. It helps show that even though many people may have different personalities and different religions, deep down, we're all very similar to each other and I can use to the best of my abilities when working with patients.”
Student 7: “Understanding how and why people related to each other the way they do is helpful in just about every aspect of life.” Student 8: “My career to this point and into the future has been in retail management. The better I understand the behavior of people as they interact with others will help me make better decisions in my field. These decisions will include advertising decisions, merchandising decisions, or just decisions on how to get customers to buy what I want. This course will also help me understand my employees and the way they interact in certain situations.”

Student 9: “In the education field, social science is very important. You have to look at the bigger picture than yourself. I can understand how I best learn and how I would interact with the other children, but as they teacher it is now your role to know these things for more than just yourself. Society is all around us and we act in all the time, the way I see it, learning as much as I can about relationships and how we interact can help prepare me to interact in a classroom with 25 different cultures.”

Student 10: “It will educate me on how our society works. It will teach me what problems occur in today’s society, and how they are resolved. It might help me be able to interact better with people, and teach myself how to interact better with people.”

Student 11: “In an Occupational Therapy major, having more social science knowledge will allow me to apply my learning in occupational therapy to more aspects and areas. I feel I will know more about what to expect in the real world when I am practicing in my career. It will be helpful to know about social aspects, in particular social problems. The things I learn in this course should help me benefit my future patients even more by opening my eyes to a more diverse curriculum.”

Student 12: “Working in Healthcare Administration Management, I will work with not only employees, but patients on a daily basis, being aware of current issues will help me to be better prepared to make decisions that affect the daily routine of the business where I will be working. Also, knowledge of current issues will help me to understand diversity and different points of view better. I think that being aware of social problems that people are facing today helps me to become a better, more compassionate person.”

Student 13: “It’s going to give me some insight on some of the cultural problems that have to do with society. It’s going to help me with understanding different people in the workplace or people I encounter there.”

Student 14: “It is going to benefit my career because there may be situations where I only communicate with someone over the computer and never see them face to face so this course online helps me to becoming familiar with communication over the computer and how to properly and appropriately communicate over the computer.”

Student 15: “It will allow me to have broader awareness of all types of people from different cultures and backgrounds.”

Student 16: “I will learn to better understand how different people act differently, which will help me know the best way to handle the person.”

Student 17: “I will better understand people and their behaviors because I can reflect on the possible social causes.”

Student 18: “I want to be an elementary school teacher and this class is going to benefit me because it has taught me about the social
issues so many people face. It’s given me a new understanding of people and our differences.”

**Student 19:** “I work in a regulatory agency for the government. I have to deal with all sorts of people on a daily basis and it’s not always to deliver the information they want to hear. I am not always sure whom I will be discussing information with whether my own management or industry’s. I think dealing with people socially is something that can always be improved upon. This course will not only help me sharpen my skills with communication, but adds to a résumé for promotion purposes.”

**Student 20:** “It will help me learn better than taking it in class. I feel like social science classes require more time to learn the information than say like a math class.”

### No Answer/Negative/Unsure

Out of the 110 student respondents of this study, only eight students are represented in this category. Of the eight student respondents, only three students did not answer the guiding question for this research study: “How is taking a social science course going to benefit you in your career?” There were five student respondents who answered either negatively or with an unsure response. Their responses are below.

**Student 1:** “I am really unable to tell at this point how this class is going to benefit my career. I’m almost certain it will benefit me in the long run though. Being able to understand the social problems of the world can always come in handy.”

**Student 2:** “I’m not really sure, this is my first online course.” **Student 3:** “It helped me understand that I didn’t want to work in geriatrics.” **Student 4:** “Hopefully it’ll help me deal with people in a way I guess. I’ll have to learn more about this course before I can completely answer this question but I bet it’ll benefit me majorly.” **Student 5:** “I’m not real sure……Who knows what the future holds?”

### Limitations

There are several limitations to this case study. First, we only focused on our community college and community college students in general. We are hopeful that our study will generate dialogue for future, larger studies pertaining to student perceived “value” of taking social sciences courses online and the benefits they will gain for their future careers. This study could have been strengthened by having more community colleges from around the Midwest participate or have other community colleges from other regions of the country represented.

Second, more female respondents (86%) participated in the study than male respondents (14%). Future studies related to this topic will need to be more aggressive in obtaining male respondents.

Third, racial bias was evident in this study as well. Approximately 82.7% of the respondents were white; 10.9% of the respondents were Hispanic/Latino; 2.7% of the respondents were Black; 2.7% did not answer the question related to race; and only 1%
of the respondents were Asian American. Future studies related to this topic need to be mindful of collecting data that is more representative of the community college as a whole.

A fourth issue was the number of respondents in our case study. Only 110 participants over the course of the 2014-2015 year agreed to participate in the study. Fifth, and finally, another limitation to the study is the fact that only three social science courses were used for this study. It must be noted that these were the only courses approved to be used for this study. However, if more social science courses were used, it may have affected some of the outcomes of this study. Future studies conducted at this community college or at other community colleges should take this into consideration and survey students in a wider array of social science courses.

Conclusion

This research attempts to study whether or not community college students perceived any future career benefits of taking social sciences courses online. The study endeavors to go beyond simple, surface-level answers. Only eight out of the 110 respondents either refused to answer the question or had a negative comment to offer. The remaining 102 student respondents offered commentary to the question that was very positive.

Clearly three of the five most popular majors at this community college were well-represented in this study: Nursing, Business Administration, and Human Services. It is also evident that when compared to their peers in other majors on the various campuses, the students from these three majors see more inherent value in taking social science courses online in terms of cultural understanding, understanding how people think, understanding group dynamics in the workplace, and understanding the importance of communication and sensitivity to others in the workplace than students from the other majors.

In sum, it was the Nursing majors, Business majors, and Human Services majors who agree the most that online social science courses would benefit them in their future careers. This finding falls in line with the research of Stuart, Rios-Aguilar, and Deil-Amen (2014); Baldwin, Bensimon, Dowd, and Kleiman (2011); and Nitecki (2011). In these prior research studies, the authors state that students in the health sciences, business, and other specific program majors at community colleges face different job market incentives. These incentive structures affect students’ decisions to enroll, persist, and succeed. They also found that models of student persistence in classes need to consider not only the potential benefits of the various labor markets but also the costs that community college students incur while attending class and attempting to complete their degrees. Finally, the general student population overall in our study found some value to taking online social science courses, but not to the same degree as our program students did.

Perhaps another key finding to this study was the community college students' perception of how not only the content of the social science courses would benefit them, i.e., understanding problems in society, learning about diverse and disenfranchised
populations within our society, understanding how different cultures operate, and learning about different social classes; but also how to be better communicators by having taken an online social science course. Essentially, the students are reporting the understanding of culture and problems within society as one would expect, but they are also reporting on how these online social science courses are also going to make them better communicators in their future professions. As one nursing major reported: “This will help build in my social aspects of nursing. Also will help within communicating and understanding different poverty levels and cultures. Another student reported: “I am going to be working on people’s computers, so I am going to need to know the behavior and problems they are going through.” Finally, another student reported: “It is going to benefit my career because there are situations where I only communicate with someone over the computer and never see them face to face so this course online helps me to becoming familiar with communication over the computer and how to properly and appropriately communicate over the computer.”

Future studies need to examine this topic in greater depth. This could be accomplished using a variety of methods. First, more student respondents to fill out the questionnaire. Second, conduct a larger study which would include students from a variety of majors. Third, conduct a large study of all community colleges at the state level or national level using the instrument from this study. Finally, perhaps another approach, would be to focus on one specific major area of study at a time within the student population when administering this survey instrument to online students.

The researchers would like to thank those 110 strong, hard-working independent students from our community college system for their participation in this study. Without their candidness and candor in their responses, this research would not have been possible.

References
Community Colleges vs. Universities: Class Size and Student-Teacher Interaction.


Gender of Respondents

Class Level
Uniting by Excluding: Shifting Patterns of Social Identity in Italian Discourse

Dr. Elizabeth Self

Dr. Daniel Acheson-Brown

Eastern New Mexico University
For some time now, we have pursued a joint research program focusing on two questions: how people psychologically identify themselves as members of groups, and what are the political implications of that psychological identification (Self & Acheson Brown, 2008).

This research is based in the social identity theory of Tajfel and Turner (1986), who found that even a minimal group assignment was enough to create ingroup favoritism and outgroup hostility, at least in English schoolboys. For those who hope that social science can provide guidance for intergroup tolerance, this discouraging finding gave rise to a host of studies investigating its possible ramifications and limitations.

Turner and his colleagues re-configured social identity theory as self-categorization theory (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987), a more dynamic approach that postulates that people will change their level of self-categorization (and thus, their social identity). At times, people think of themselves only as individuals, distinct from their social group membership. But they can then identify as social group members, focusing on the self’s similarities to others in the group. “This is who I am, this is what makes me a member of my group.”

Of course, it is this ingroup identification that can lead to intolerance of the other, who is, by definition, not like me and therefore not in my group. But self-categorization theory also includes the possibility of a larger group identification, in a superordinate group that includes not only my own ingroup, but other subgroups in a larger whole, such as national citizenship. As people move from ingroup identification to more inclusive identification, one would expect that hostility towards former outgroups would diminish, because the focus would now be on the common citizenship that all group members share.

This is what we found when we investigated group identity in South Africa, as the citizens tried to move toward a more inclusive national identity after the end of apartheid (Self & Acheson-Brown, 2008). There, the historic Black-White conflicts were complicated by English versus Afrikaaner animosity, and tribal distrust among the several different tribes. Still, there were embryonic elements of national identification in the people we interviewed. We found that it was not a simple process of deciding once and for all not to be prejudiced against others. In our interviews, our respondents moved back and forth between superordinate, national identification and lower-level ingroup identification. This dynamism supports the predictions of self-categorization theory, and is also in line with findings by Wetherell and Potter (1992). These researchers used the method of discourse analysis to show that while speaking of the indigenous Maori people, white New Zealanders used prejudiced language sporadically, when it had specific conversational functions, rather than consistently.

The promise of this dynamic, shifting form of social identification lies in the idea that at least sometimes, people can view members of other subgroups in a more inclusive way, and thus regard them favorably. In fact, Gaertner and Dovidio’s common ingroup identity model (2005) has examined the circumstances under which this “recategorization” might occur. They found that “evaluations of former outgroups became more positive” when research subjects were all wearing identical t-shirts, were given a unifying group name, and were seated in an integrated manner, rather than
wearing different group t-shirts, labeled with different group names, and seated separately.

These manipulations may seem artificial and the results ephemeral, but they do provide evidence that it is possible to recategorize groups by recognizing the commonalities they share, so that “us” and “them” become “we.” However, although this might lead to improved relations between formerly hostile groups, increased inclusiveness through recategorization does not necessarily generalize to a benevolent attitude towards all groups. Searching for commonalities may instead result in finding ways that the newly created “we” have a common antipathy for a newly discovered “them.”

Our current research applies this hypothesis to Italian politics, a case study in recategorization inspired by the changed rhetoric of the right-wing party called the “Lega Nord,” or “Northern League.”

The Lega Nord was established in 1991 in northern Italy as a coalition of several smaller parties sympathetic to the idea of a regional political force. Most prominent among these pre-existing parties was the Lega Lombardi, founded by Umberto Bossi. The discourse of the Lega Nord complained about “Thieving Rome” taking the taxes from the wealthier North and redistributing them to the South. At times characterizing Southerners as lazy, the League has also argued that it is only objecting to this redistribution for their own good: they have become dependent upon handouts and would do much better without them.

According to scholar Benito Giordano, writing in 2000, “the South is consistently portrayed by the Lega Nord as an area in which the people have no real desire to work and are only interested in claiming state benefits whereas the North of Italy, the Lega Nord argues, has a strong work ethic, which explains the dynamism of the economy” That this completely ignored historic and geographic realities was not an issue: the league was founded on resentment and needed an outgroup to resent. Giordano went on to say “it is only in recent years with the slowing of the economic growth rates of the North of Italy that the resentments towards the South of Italy and the central Italian state have been translated into real political protest.”

Nonetheless, these resentments have been brewing for a long time, even if it took the Lega Nord’s political skills to put them into action. Italy has a long history of criticizing its south. We should remember that the unification of Italy into a nation state took place only relatively recently, in 1861. Before that, regional powers ruled, and even city states, which feuded with each other. In 1882 Pasquale Turiello published a critique of the South which lamented its clientelism and familism. Others defended the South, saying that it was the feudalistic agricultural system that was to blame. These intellectuals argued that the new Italian state actually redistributed the wealth of the South to the North, rather than the more current complaint that the opposite is occurring. The North was viewed as exploiting the South in a type of colonialism. Ironically, years later the Lega Nord would characterize the “northern regions as colonies of the Italian state” (Huysseune, 2006, p. 170).

According to Frank Viviano, writing in 1993 about the booming North in the 1980’s, “everybody understood that there were two Italys--two Europes--and that the one above a line drawn from Rome to the port city of Bari was the only one that merited attention.”
Soon after the formation of the Northern League, then party secretary Umberto Bossi argued that secession from Italy was the logical solution to the alleged problem of Rome draining the wealth of the North to give to the South. In 1996, it gained 10 percent of the vote in the national elections, making it the largest party in the North with 4 million votes. This prompted a media event in which *Lega Nord* proclaimed the new, sovereign state of “Padania.” This territory did not in fact include everything above Bari and Rome, but it definitely did not include Rome. The geographic basis for Padania was the Po valley, but, possibly for political expediency, the League’s declaration included 11 regions (administratively similar to states in the U.S.), in northern Italy. Padania was to extend from Aosta and Piemonte in the Northwest to Friuli in the Northeast, down to Tuscany, Umbria and Marche, cutting off Lazio, the region where Rome is located. Importantly, this also included Veneto. The president of this region is a *Lega Nord* politician, Luca Zaia. As recently as 2014 he was still calling for secession of Veneto. However, the party line of the *Lega Nord* has changed from outright secession to federalism, that is, delegating more powers to the regions that were once held by the centralized state in Rome.

It has also changed from disparaging the South. In 2012, 70-year-old Bossi was forced to resign as party secretary after revelations that he had used party funds for his own family. Although some had predicted the demise of the League, by the end of 2013 the dynamic, media-savvy 40-year-old Matteo Salvini had taken over. He immediately cultivated alliances with extreme right parties in France and in The Netherlands, unlike Bossi, who whatever his faults, scorned them as fascists.

Roberto Biorcio, a sociologist at the University of Milan, has stated that the *Lega Nord* has become “always less secessionist and anti-Roman and has substituted the regionalist populism of the nineties with a form of nationalist populism” (Biorcio, quoted in Madron, 2015, own translation). The motto of the *Lega Nord* changed from “the North first!” to “Italians first!”

In the South, Salvini founded a “sister” party to the Northern League. Was it named the “Southern League?” Hardly. In a nod to a slogan from the fascist era that crowds shouted to Mussolini, “tu sei tutti noi!” (“you are all of us”), Salvini named the party “Noi con Salvini” (“Us with Salvini.”) The new party was established in Rome during December 2014, and in February 2015 Salvini inaugurated a branch of the party in Sicily. At that time he offered an apology to the Southerners “if I have offended them.” He added, “I have not attacked the Sicilians, I always attacked the bad policy” (*La Stampa*, 2015, own translation).

It is interesting, for students of identity, to observe this transformation of what was once a group, that is, the *Lega Nord*. Salvini has succeeded in portraying the group as *himself*. What was once the outgroup, from the point of view of the harassed Southerners, has now gone down one level of categorization to the personal, individual level: “I have not attacked the Sicilians, I always attacked the bad policy.” At this personal level, there is no history of animosity, and therefore no reason not to forgive the individual Salvini for past actions that were not his.

What is more, psychologically the Southerners are being offered a chance to shed the “*terrone*” (lazy peasant) identity label so long applied to them by Northerners. Instead, now they can identify with the energetic, young Salvini.
To quote the sociologist Borcio again: “[the] twin of the league, presented in the southern regions, was constructed according to a logic completely different from the past: one does not make any reference to the territorial areas involved, but only to the leading figure, in the name and in the symbol: “Us with Salvini” (Borcio, quoted in Madron, 2015, own translation).

So, there is an opportunity for former outgroup members (the southern Italians) to be welcomed into the ingroup (the northern Italians). What was once “them” and “us” has become “we,” a new national group. No longer is the motto “first the North,” now it is “first the Italians.” A common ingroup identity is available. But where Gaertner and Dovidio theorized that this would reduce hostility between the formerly distinct groups, it is necessary, in their model, to find and focus on commonalities shared by the members of the newly unified group.

What do the members of the *Lega Nord* and the members of its sister party, Us with Salvini, have in common? A common hostility towards members of a third group—immigrants.

Statements by members of the *Lega Nord* regarding immigrants have been both forceful and fearful. In 2003, then party leader Umberto Bossi told Italian newspaper *Corriere della Sera* that cannons should be used to shoot illegal immigrants out of the water. (BBC News, 2003). A campaign poster in 2008 showed a Native American with the words, “they suffered immigration, now they live in reserves,” playing on a fear that Italians would lose their land to the immigrants (Lewis, 2008).

In February 2015 the *Lega Nord* held a rally in Rome, which thousands attended. Salvini described the massive immigration from North Africa and elsewhere as “an invasion.” In fact, Salvini has even taken on Pope Francis over this issue. The Pope stated in August 2015 that to turn away refugees who arrive by sea was essentially murder. Salvini tweeted that to repel “illegals” was not a crime, but a duty (*Corriere della Sera*, 2015).

Meanwhile, in June 2015 the party gained voters in regional elections in central Italy and in Tuscany. Luca Zaia, the president of Veneto who held on to the idea of secession even after the *Lega Nord* abandoned it, was re-elected. A few days later he announced that the presence of African immigrants would deter tourists, so they must be moved out of their housing or out of any reception centers, especially along the coast. (Kirchgaessner, 2015). Where to send them was not clear.

This idea of “cleansing” an area of immigrants is not unprecedented. In January 2010, in the southern town of Rossarno, migrant citrus workers were shot by locals with an air rifle. Angered by this and by their inhuman living conditions in shacks and an abandoned warehouse, the workers, who had protested peacefully against a similar incident in 2008, took to the streets and rioted. In response, they were beaten with metal bars and clubs by the citizens of Rossarno. After two days the local authorities bussed over 1,000 of them to reception centers elsewhere in Calabria and in Naples, “for their own protection” (Hooper, 2010).

Most recently, Bulgaria closed its border with Greece, causing some to wonder if the thousands of refugees passing through Greece would now attempt to cross the Adriatic and land in Puglia, in southern Italy. This possibility has increased the xenophobic discourse there. Always alert to the inflammatory political uses of social
media, Salvini tweeted “we’re bringing human bombs in the house… we are importing slaves ready to destroy the community that receives them.”

Referring again to Gaertner and Dovidio’s common ingroup identity model, remember that the outcome of recategorization by finding commonalities was that a more inclusive, overarching group was formed, reducing hostility between members of the former subgroups. However, it appears that our hypothesis was correct. Despite the desirability of reduced conflict between former enemies, the unwelcome byproduct of this unity can lead to the exclusion of a new group. In Italy there is increasingly a xenophobic demonizing of non-Italians, specifically those who are clamoring to be granted asylum in Italy.

How widespread is this anti-immigrant sentiment? In November 2015, polls of voting intentions for the next general election, still to be scheduled, showed that the Lega Nord had surpassed Berlusconi’s Forza Italia, with 14.4% of the vote to the Forza’s 11.2 %. Another extreme right party, the Brothers of Italy, had 4.2% (Albertazzi, 2015). On its own the Lega Nord (including Noi con Salvini supporters) would not be enough to win, but combined in a coalition these three parties would have 29.8%, posing a real challenge to the Democratic Party currently in power.

Such a coalition has already formed, in fact, although in the past it was the Lega Nord that was the junior partner. In June 2016 Rome will elect a new mayor. Last month, in February, the coalition of the three parties endorsed Guido Bertolaso. Berlusconi’s pick for mayor. But in early March, Salvini announced that “the candidate of all the center-right in Rome is not named Guido Bertolaso. At least, he isn’t mine.” (Il Fatto Quotidiano, 2016). Note the confusion once again between the group, that is the center-right, and the individual. Salvini followed this up by endorsing the leader of the Brothers of Italy, Giorgia Meloni, for mayor.

Berlusconi, infuriated, said that Salvini was unreliable and cared only about his own party. He was quoted as saying “I am not going to be treated like this.” Although one might think this spells the end of the coalition, it may reflect only that Salvini knows he has the votes to lead the coalition. And Berlusconi, another politician who confuses himself with his party, may be surprised to find that the Forza Italia voters do not abandon Salvini.

According to political scientist Daniele Albertazzi (2015), “at present a relative majority of those who identify with the centre-right would choose Salvini as their prime ministerial candidate.” Can Salvini create a nationalist Italy based on hate? So far, he seems to be making headway. If immigration across the Adriatic increases as predicted, we may see the violent, rather than the harmonious, result of a common ingroup identity.

References


Using Mini-Dramas and Simulations to Enhance Cultural Competence in Foreign Language Classroom

Virginia Shen
Chicago State University
As the global communications among nations have increased at a high rate, foreign language acquisition has become an important task in modern society. An internationally acclaimed professional organization noted for its leadership role in the creation of national proficiency standards, the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL) has identified culture as one of the five ACTFL World-Readiness for Learning Languages, which establishes an inextricable link between communication and cultural. ACTFL advocates instructors to facilitate student to develop ability to communicate effectively and interact with cultural competence to participate in multilingual communities and around the world. Garza re-affirms culture as the “fifth skill” that emphasizes the learner’s ability to perceive, recognize, accept, appreciate, and value cultural differences in addition to the four language skills of listening, speaking, reading, and writing. (Garza 2014)

Over the years scholars have affirmed the role of culture as an integral component in the foreign language acquisition process. Makita-Discekici (1999) stressed that the second language teacher’s main role is to facilitate the development of students’ language and communication skills by providing as many enjoyable learning experiences as possible according to their needs and interests. Kippel (1984) advocates that foreign language instruction is more effective if students actively participate in the process of learning. Taylor (1980) emphasizes that learners are often expected to be active and to use the target language before they have learned it.

In recent decades the teaching of culture has assumed an increasingly important role in the foreign language classroom. The integration of culture in the language curriculum has consequently become a main concern of many teachers and scholars as to how much culture should be integrated and how to teach it. The most frequently suggested approach to the teaching of culture in American foreign language programs calls for a maximum degree of integration of linguistic and cultural topics. Currently, the most often implemented curriculum is to integrate culture into a language-based textbook, that is, the text is based primarily on language features, and a variety of cultural information and activities are added. The overwhelming majority of language textbooks, especially at the introductory level, integrate culture throughout the chapters, fusing culture and language as twofold components in vocabulary, sentence structures, and the four language skills.

In order to effectively develop students’ cultural competency, instructors are compelled to have the twofold of cultural teaching in mind: 1. Teaching students to recognize and/or interpret major geographical features, historical events, and aesthetic components of the target culture, including architecture, literature, and the arts. 2. Teaching students to interpret active everyday cultural patterns such as greetings, eating, shopping, and to act appropriately in everyday situations. The choices to select cultural materials range from supplying students with identifiable cognitive facts about a culture to bringing about changes in their desire or ability to value people who think, dress or act differently from them.
In the foreign language classroom culture should not be treated exclusively in English, and cultural presentations should not be limited to the lecture method. Cultural learning can be easily integrated in the reading, writing, listening, and speaking activities, and should be presented in conjunction with related thematic units and/or closely related vocabulary and grammar content. For example, shopping habits might be discussed following a unit that introduces clothing vocabulary, or the metric system examined following a unit in which numbers are taught. Many cultural topics lend themselves readily to role playing and/or simulation. S. L. Stern (1983) affirms that dramatic activity increases self-confidence by demonstrating to learners that they are indeed capable of expressing themselves in the target language in real-life settings. Through dramatization or simulation, students can practice the target language in a low-anxiety environment, learn responsibility through active participating in the cooperative learning process, learn interpersonal skills through the project, actively participate in the learning process, and enhance oral skills through memorization of lines.

Prior to students' dramatization of a particular lesson or theme, the instructor must specify the purpose and requirements of the activity and bear in mind that, cultural learning activities should be planned as carefully as language learning activities. Culture components should also be evaluated as rigorously as language components. For this purpose, an evaluation rubric should be generated which may include, but not limited to: originality/creativity, preparedness, cultural connections, language usage, and audience appeal/comprehensibility. Evaluation components and the rating scales (if any) need to be explained. Other important factors to be taken into consideration include the time allocated for the activity, students' language proficiency, interest, and resources. Each student should be assigned a role, depending on their personality, interest and language proficiency. Faster learners can be paired with slower-learners to cultivate peer support and interpersonal skills. Most importantly, the instructor needs to foster an enjoyable learning experience for students.

Cultural dramatization can be accomplished by themes. The following mini-drama reflects cultural and linguistic conflicts among an abuelita (grandmother) and her two U.S. born college grandchildren in Miami.

**Scene:** La abuelita, Tomás and Ana are watching a soap opera in Spanish in the living room.

-Abuelita: (Nervously, keeps asking): “¿Lo van a matar?” “¿Lo van a matar?”
  (Are they going to kill him? Are they going to kill him?)

-Tomás: Pero abuelita, ¿Cómo vamos a poder ver la televisión si usted constantemente está interrumpiendo? (But grandma, how are we going to watch the T.V. if you are constantly interrupting?)

-Ana: Por favor, déjenos ver el programa, abuelita. Usted está haciendo demasiados ruidos que no nos dejan concentrar. (Please, let us watch the program, grandma. You are making too much noise that doesn’t let us concentrate).
Narrator: Hurt by the scolds of the grandchildren, *la abuelita* walked away silently. Seeing that, the grandchildren realized that they had hurt *la abuelita*’s feelings. They felt sorry about it and tried to remedy the situation.

-Tomás: Ana, why don’t we take *la abuelita* to an outing tomorrow?
-Ana: That’s a good idea. Since *la abuelita* likes plants, how about taking her to a nursery?

Conflict: Overhearing the word “nursery”, *la abuelita* misunderstood it for “nursing home” and thought the grandchildren were planning on putting her in a nursing home the next day.

Climax: Frightened, *la abuelita* ran away from home.

Resolution: The family finally found *la abuelita* in a café where she used to have coffee with her *amiguitas* (girlfriends). After clarification, tears, and hugs, *la abuelita* finally agrees to come home.

After the mini drama, teachers then can invite students to discuss the concept and importance of *La Familia Extendida* (Extended Family) in the Hispanic society as reflected in this mini-drama, and the generational gap as a result of the linguistic and cultural differences between the first and third generations of immigrant families. In order to ensure major student participation, cultural discussion can be done in either English or Spanish, depending on students’ language proficiency although communication in the target language should always be the priority.

Students can be encouraged to dramatize various aspects of *La familia extendida*. The following two activities enhance students’ creativity, critical thinking, and participation through role-playing:

Cultural Connection: In spite of the fact that *La familia extendida* is generally valued and practiced in the Hispanic society, having an extended family member living in the same household often creates stress and tension to the nuclear family.

Classroom activity: Students can be asked to create a dialog between a husband, who is complaining about his mother-in-law who lives with the nuclear family, and his wife, who is defending her mother saying the contrary.

Cultural Connection: Nowadays it is common in many Spanish speaking countries to see male family members doing the household chores traditionally assigned to women, such as shopping for groceries, cooking, cleaning, and taking care of the children.

Classroom Activity: Ask students to act out the reaction of a traditional Hispanic mother who is visiting her son’s nuclear family in the U.S. where the young couple shares house chores.
Another theme that solicits major participation in the language classroom deals with the linguistic, social, and cultural challenges many immigrants have faced in the United States.

**Cultural Connection:** To many, immigration to a different country represents linguistic challenge, cultural dislocation and efforts in adopting the social patterns of the mainstream society.

**Classroom Activity:** Ask students to act out a dialogue that reflects cultural and generational gaps between immigrant parents and their children born in the U.S.

After the role-playing, it is critically important for instructors to ensure that all the students take part in the discussion of the issues as reflected in the dramatization to develop students’ critical thinking and analytical ability as well as language skills.

Dramatization and simulations can be implemented in all the foreign language classrooms to expose students to cultural insights of the target language. The following mini-drama exhibits cultural differences at a farmer’s market in France.

Narrator: Two study abroad students from China pass by an open-air farmer’s market in Toulouse, France, where farmers are selling fresh fruits and vegetables.

Mei-Li: Look at the table of fruits over there. The vendor has some fresh fruits. Let’s go over and take a closer look.

Shu-Chin: Wao, look at these fresh grapes here. I bet they must be very sweet! (She starts to move the grapes around. She picks one, and put it in her mouth to try it).

Vendor: (Offended) *Eh bien, mesdemoiselles, allez-vous acheter tous les raisins?* (Well, Miss, are you planning on buying all the grapes?)

Shu-chin: Mine, isn’t she really rude? How would I buy any grapes that I don’t even know if they are sweet or sour if I don’t taste them first?

Mei-Li: You are absolutely right! Let’s go to other booths!

After the mini-drama, the instructor can then invite students to discuss cultural differences by explaining that in France one does not touch the fruit in a display while in most of the Chinese speaking countries, touching, sneezing, and picking of the produce are often permissible, and moreover, customers are often invited to taste fruits before purchasing. Vendors in France select the fruits for the buyers, and it is not customary for clients to taste the fruits without prior consent of the vendor.

In the introductory Chinese classroom, students can act out Chinese etiquette of business card exchange with simple language exchange. Instructors need to inform students of the Chinese etiquette prior to the simulation, to name a few, stand up when being introduced and remain standing throughout the introductions, and handshaking is the accepted form of greeting among Chinese people although some may nod or slightly bow. Unlike the Japanese, the Chinese bow from the shoulders rather than the...
waist. Remind students to use both hands when presenting business cards, and make sure the writing faces the person to whom the card is presented. Inform students that “I am pleased to meet you/how are you?” is the protocol immediately following the exchange of card. Also remind students not to put the card in a pocket or bag as this is considered rude, and never put a card in one’s back pants pocket as this is considered the same as sitting on someone’s face. Placing cards on the table is a gesture of respect and also an excellent way to remember names. It is considered rude to “deal out” cards across the table like a game of cards. Same as in the Western world, in the Chinese society the highest-ranking person enters the meeting room first, followed by the next ranking official and so on. The interpreter, if available, should stay with the leader of the group at all time. 

After informing students of the Chinese etiquette, then students are ready to do follow up activity of the cultural information acquired. Ask students to dress in semi-formal attire, and bring business cards and small gifts as it is customary for Chinese to exchange gifts at the first encounter.

**Cultural Connection**: Greetings to know each other at a business meeting in Shanghai.

**Classroom Activity**: Ask students to simulate a business card presentation and exchange, as well as exchange of gifts at a business meeting. Have students act out proper etiquette and produce functional verbal exchange.

Unlike the individualism and eccentricity perceived by many as characteristic American cultural traits, Chinese culture is marked by conformity and conventionality. It is considered acceptable and customary for Chinese people to ask personal questions to someone whom they have just meet. The following dramatization prompts discussion on American and Chinese cultural differences.

**Cultural Connections**: Chinese tend to seek common ground by asking personal questions regarding age, marital status, children, family, income, job, etc.

**Classroom Activity**: Simulate a situation where a Chinese meets an American at a social gathering and asks him/her the abovementioned questions which contain personal information.

In conclusion, culture is multi-faceted and dynamic. As we are living in a metalinguistic society with different cultural norms, it is critically important for students to develop global awareness and understanding of other cultures during the foreign language learning process. For this purpose, students should have the opportunity to take an active part in the search for meaning with the aid of authentic materials and effective classroom activities facilitated by the instructors. Through dramatization and simulations instructors may enhance an effective learning process by creating a learning environment where contextualization, research, analysis, critical-thinking, peer-learning, discussion and technology are paramount. Learning about different cultures can help
both students and instructors explore new ideas and prospect. It is always a pleasure to
learn that students have learned more than the language structures and appreciate the
“otherness” beyond the classroom.

Notes

1. “World-Readiness Standards for Learning Languages”.
Since its founding in 1967, ACTFL has been noted for its innovation, quality, and
reliability in meeting the changing needs of language educators and their
students. From the development of Proficiency Guidelines, which are highly
regarded as instrumental resources to assess language proficiency by
institutions nationwide, to its leadership role in the creation of national standards,
ACTFL focuses on issues that are critical to the growth of both the profession
and the individual teacher. An individual professional organization with over
12,000 members, ACTFL provides an invaluable platform for language
professionals to exchange effective instructional strategies and research
outcomes through its annual convention.

www.http://www.culturalsavvy.com/chineseculture.htm) . This is article is an in
valuable resource for foreign nationals to learn about Chinese cultural etiquette and
protocol.

References

ACTFL. “World-Readiness Standards for Learning Languages”.
Retrieved February 5, 2016.

Conference, 137-166.

Garza, Thomas Jesús (2014). “Foreign Language Teaching Methods,
2016.

New York: Cambridge University Press.


SafeZONE Online:

Creating and Serving as Safe Spaces on Campus

Santos Torres, Jr.
California State University, Sacramento

Debra L. Welkley
California State University, Sacramento

Chris Kent
California State University, Sacramento
Abstract
SafeZONE Online is an innovative training program designed to increase understanding among allies regarding the LGBTQ community. Designed to create safe spaces for LGBTQ students, faculty and staff and the community at large. Creating safe spaces is instrumental in advancing equality and social justice on college/university campuses. Training online provides a critically important means for educating LGBTQ allies. Likely, the first such program of its kind, SafeZONE Online could serve as the template for the entire California State University system.

SafeZONE Online: Creating and Serving as Safe Spaces on Campus

Safe zone is a term used when referencing trainings and the support for environments that have the aim of providing an “inclusive and accepting campus climate” to the LGBT community. Safe Zone training is aimed at creating safe spaces/zones that enable learning communities to create and serve as safe spaces for LGBT students, staff, and faculty. At the end of the training, participants receive a “Safe Zone” logo sticker, to make visible their status as a trained community member. The PRIDE Center at CSUS began offering Safe Zone training for students, faculty, and staff in 2006. From 2006 to Spring 2014 approximately 600 people participated in these trainings. In the summer of 2014, the Center revised its training materials and trained approximately 200 people during the 2014/2015 academic year. Overarching goals of Safe Zone trainings include: (1) increased awareness of LGBT concerns on campus, and (2) increased support for the LGBT community and its allies. Diversity is at the heart of the California State University, Sacramento’s mission and commitment to the community. With nearly 30,000 students, about 1,400 faculty, and 1,300 staff, part of the diversity is the LGBT community and its allies.

Over the past several years, the two faculty authors regularly invited PRIDE Center Panels to present to their classes (a group of volunteers, comprised of faculty, staff, students and community members, who share their coming-out story and various experiences that can lend insight to others regarding the LGBT experience). Additionally, they have worked with other colleagues to create and host the Pride Film Series during the 2012/2013 academic year. Both took part in Safe Zone Training and the inaugural Safe Zone Train-the-Trainer sessions during the Fall 2014. These experiences served to positively augment their instructional approaches and broadened the knowledge and learning opportunities they are able to bring to students and colleagues in and out of the classroom.

This project, SafeZONE Online, created online modules for delivering educational training to faculty, staff, and students at CSUS. Combined the three project partners have over six decades of experience teaching, serving in administrative roles, nonprofit work, and activism, and during the past decade both faculty have attended many different online course development and teaching workshops and trainings. Offering these modules online creates an accessible vehicle for educating LGBT allies while also cultivating a supportive environment for the LGBT community at Sacramento State. These efforts complement existing PRIDE Center approaches to create accessibility to those who seek to participate in Safe Zone training and other ongoing center activities. Learning objectives/outcomes for participants who engage in these
online modules include: 1) to understand the experiences of the LGBT community; 2) to build a sense of solidarity with the LGBT community; 3) to learn about heterosexual and cisgender privilege and its impact; 4) to apply learning directly to real world settings and interactions; and, to self-assess one’s capacity as an LGBT ally.

Launching the Project

Strategic planning meetings with the PRIDE Center occurred to explore how to best lend andragogical/pedagogical instructional and course development expertise with on-ground, hybrid, and fully online teaching formats to the Center’s service, education, and training mission. Upon receiving the Pedagogy Enhancement Award (PEA) from the Center for Teaching and Learning (CTL), CSUS, the two faculty authors partnered with the PRIDE Center Coordinator, and gained support from SacCT staff, which is housed within Academic Technology and Creative Services (ATCS), to obtain assistance toward development of multimedia resources for use in the training modules. The PEA Program, funded through the CTL, is “a competitive grant program that supports faculty to develop expertise, curriculum, and programs that improve the quality of teaching and learning at Sacramento State” (http://www.csus.edu/ctl/Funding/Pedagogy%20Enhancement%20Awards.html). Sacramento State’s learning management system is called SacCT, which includes professional staff who support faculty with their on-line course and materials development for on-line delivery and access. These services are a segment of ATCS, which provide technological assistance to faculty and departments throughout the university. The support provided by these programs served to undergird the collaboration of these authors in development of SafeZONE Online.

Project Target Goals

This innovative SafeZONE Online instruction resource serves to greatly strengthen the Center’s capacity and efficacy in preparing the campus’ many constituents as the campus increases its understanding and inclusivity of the LGBT community. Along with the many other services already provided by the Center, this new resource allows for an on-demand user-ready capacity that was not previously available. This project represents an important means of integrating LGBT content into the classes taught by the two involved faculty members (i.e., classes in social work and sociology) and will prove to be an indispensible resource as the authors seek to support students in their understanding and empathy for the LGBT community. As other faculty complete the training they too will be able to utilize selected modules to complement course content, instructional and institutional goals, and learning objectives. Additionally, CSUS faculty and staff are able to include this as part of their professional development achievements.

The core work for this project involved the time needed to generate the content modules and integrative materials to support learning and knowledge application. This entailed the modification of content materials (i.e., articles, handouts), inclusion of short videos, and the creation of application exercises to assist in higher-level learning. Additionally, development of the modules included the editing and preparation of streaming video, interactive discussions, and interrelated learning assessments. The SafeZONE Online training modules are administered through the PRIDE Center as part of the services they offer to the campus community.
The authors believe that individuals who utilize the SafeZONE Online training will not only attain the learning goals established by the PRIDE Center but will also report an increased understanding of the LGBT community and how to be a supportive ally. As Vacarro, August and Kennedy (2012) write, people “who understand the scope of discrimination for all LGBT people are best posed to support youth in their communities” (p. 9). Therefore, safe zone trainings seek to increase the knowledge and understanding of those who are committed to supporting students on campus. Since this project will work in tandem with Center services, a central means of evaluation will be feedback from Center leadership relative to its utility in complementing and advancing its mission.

Accessibility & Diversity

In order to ensure that all applicable multimedia resources included as part of the online modules are accessible, ADA compliance guidelines were applied (i.e., captioning; text to speech). The project was guided by the expertise in the office of ATCS and SacCT to ensure compliance wherever possible.

This project, at its core, is driven by one of the most important emerging perspectives in the area of diversity, that of intersectionality. "Intersectionality" is the name that is now given to the complex of reciprocal attachments and sometimes polarizing conflicts that confront both individuals and movements as they seek to "navigate" among the raced, gendered, and class-based dimensions of social and political life. Both as individuals seeking to make a socially just and fulfilling "everyday life," and as collectivities seeking to "make history" through political action and social movements, we struggle with the unstable connections between race, gender, and class. (Retrieved from University of California Center for New Racial Studies http://www.uccnrs.ucsb.edu/intersectionality)

Therefore, the modules were conceptually framed to be culturally and gender representative, considerate of varied LGBT statuses, intergenerational, as well as responsive to the varied professional statuses of those who might participate in SafeZONE Online training. Individuals from varied backgrounds should be able to connect through this resource as well as help construct an empathic understanding for the LGBT community. This project provides a dynamic interactive mechanism for the user while delivering essential information relative to the creation of “safe places”.

Time and Resources

This project required the fall semester 2015 and part of the spring semester to develop and set up the content, multimedia, and SacCT modules. Preliminary work began during the Summer 2015, which included developing an outline for the specific curricular modules the PRIDE Center would find useful to have available online. Simultaneously, development of a materials list and useful videos was created. During Fall 2015 the three authors worked on creating the online modules to ensure consistency and interactive content was included. Then during Spring 2016 the focus shifted to finalizing the modules while having some Center staff move through the coursework on line so that any modifications that are needed can be executed with the final product completed mid-Spring 2016. The Center is now able to roll out the use of SafeZONE Online.
Funds to purchase materials (books and videos) that can be used in any face-to-face, online, and hybrid trainings. Additionally, these resources complement the resources the PRIDE Center currently houses for continued access and use by SafeZONE Online training participants.

**Conclusion, Broader Dissemination, & Recommendations**

The final online modules provide the PRIDE Center the ability to support the LGBT community through a broader range of trained student leaders, staff, and faculty throughout the campus. The audience for this project included the entire CSUS campus community. However, as the authors collaborated on this effort exploration began regarding how this might be used by organizations outside of CSUS (e.g., other college/university campuses; organizations or community groups in Sacramento). Finally, it is the authors’ contention that this might well be the first program with its particular focus and scope; the project is cutting edge. Working together the authors seek to “showcase” this to other campuses throughout California and beyond. The authors continue to work support the PRIDE Center’s efforts in the development of evaluation tools to assess the impact of SafeZONE Online, as well media and print resources for use at the Center.

**References**


The Challenges for Global Communication in the 21st Century

Binh Vo
Central Washington University
The growth of global communication has been significant. Within couple decades after the invention of information technology, people are now able to connect to each other even though they are on two different sides of the globe. "Global communication cuts across national boundaries and, to varying degrees, sweeps through cultures" (Hager & Scheiber, pp. 21, 2013). Indeed, the internet contributes the most to the process of globalizing communication. The tremendous number of internet users create the enormous phenomenon for the new political, economic, and cultural mechanism of contemporary societies. Correspondingly, the global communication network became a valuable commodity for corporations and a strategic ownership for a governments' political advancement. In particular, beginning early in the twentieth century, the United States government recognized "the importance of controlling the means of global communications as a key element in both domestic and global expansion" (Hills, pp. 134, 2002). Also, the raise of international communication causes all stakeholders to react distinctively which, for example, the Arab Spring was the visible outcome of the digital world (Phillip Howard & Muzammil Hussain, 2013). Today’s global communication vastly impacts different cultures, governments, cybersecurity, international relations, and information technology. Interchangeably, these impacted elements create problems for global communication and bring challenges to its expansion. There are a lot of communities around the world desperate for the reach of global connection and unfortunately, they are prevented from being connected. This study reveals how social identities, authoritarian governments, cybersecurity, international relations, and incompatible information technology are the massive challenges for the growth of the worldwide communication network.

**Literature Review**

More than ever before, the world is now interconnected. A massive global communication network makes such interconnectivity possible. As the network expands, global connections encounters various resistances. It is important to understand the challenges for global communication so that we, the new generation, can be the foundation for the near future which countries come closer and disparate societies become more cohesive. That vision is setback by multiple hurdles that are getting more complicated. The significant hurdles are cultural differences, authoritarian governments, cybersecurity threats, tough international relations, and incompatible information technology (Inglehart & Norris, 2009; Kalathil & Boas, 2003; McPhail, 2013; National Academies Press, 2010; Wilkin, 2001). The upcoming five sources attempt to identify, describe, and analyze the massive challenges for the growth of global communication.

Inglehart and Norries (2009) noted that the clash between the expansion of global communication and cultural differences of diverse nations is inevitable. The foreseeable problem is created by the uniformity of the global network which cannot be absorbed by local customs and beliefs. Their book points out that the moral standard in value, sexuality, gender equality and religiosity are distinct from country to country. The wider of the access to the globalized communication, the more feeling of cultural imperialism develops in the local’s mentality. That mentality is the root for the cultural resistance to the universal connection. Nevertheless, the common perspective about expanding the mass communication is that there will be a cultural convergence around
the world. Unfortunately, in reality, the one-size-fit-all approach systematically generates dire consequences. The communication flows from core to semi-periphery to periphery countries generate the greatest impact, since the following factor usually is the integration into world trade, accepting foreign values, freedom of press and religion. Many countries and cultures are not yet ready for those shocks which encourage them to fight back. The aggressive expansion of global communication partly contributes to the “organized resistance as diverse as that of the Zapatistas in Chiapas, the right-wing militia in the United States, and Al Qaeda in Afghanistan” (Inglehart & Norris, pp. 175, 2009). Furthermore, the given solution is to have an enormous reform for the cosmopolitan communications to minimize barriers from cultural differences. As a final point, the literature underlines that the implicit benefit of global communication is the boost of international free trade, the rise of cosmopolitan interdependence, and the increase of cross-cultural understandings. These factors create and sustain the world’s political and economy stability.

Global communication offends the eye of authoritarian regimes because of the massive amount of unfavorable information transmitted into their countries. For this reason, the international network is stopped at the firewall of dictatorship countries. As the main focus of the findings by Kalathil & Boas (2003), the use of communication networks in the eight authoritarian and semi-authoritarian countries is thoroughly examined. These eight countries – China, Singapore, Vietnam, Burma, Cuba, the United Arab Emirates, Saudi Arabia, and Egypt - are from different regions and varied in cultures and beliefs. However, they share the same manner of governance. Particularly, the internet is the spotlight for the examination and the authors focus on how it affects the connection between and within the country, economy, and society. It is a common assumption amongst experts and politicians that the internet will lead to the process of democratization or at least the changes in the authoritarianism. To name a few, they are President George W. Bush, Secretary of State Colin Powell, Citicorp chair Walter Wriston. Nevertheless, Kalathil & Boas argued that would not be the case since these authoritarian regimes alter the content of the messages provided by the internet to portray a friendly image of the governments. Indeed, they chose to influence the information from the global communication because it is too powerful to be censored. Therefore, authoritarian governments pose a challenge for the process of globalized communication by preventing the true information to the people.

As the global communication network reaches out to every corner of the world, so does cybersecurity threats. The National Research Council (2010) reported the alarming increase of cyber threats which become an international emergency. The article breaks this emergency into two categories which are cyber-attack and cyber-exploitation. With valuable information transmitting through the massive network, the jackpot for cybercriminal starts to emerge as the target is exploited with lower risks of getting caught than committing conventional crimes. In addition to cyber exploitation with financial motivation, these hi-tech criminals can degrade information and communication technology and damage critical infrastructure. The loss from the breach of cybersecurity is tremendous since the assets are highly valuable and the system restoration process is extremely costly. As a result, there are three current cybersecurity measures which are private, national, and international measures. At the private level, companies, corporations, and entities enhance security through passive
and defensive method such as software and hardware. While on the national level, governments adopt laws as a preventive method in combination with federal institutions to enforce those laws. Unfortunately, cyber laws have little or no effect since the global communication network runs through multiple jurisdictions. Last of all, the international measure requires states to voluntarily cooperate by exchanging information, sharing responsibility, and providing resources to prevent and solve cybercrime through multiple treaties. Cybersecurity threats are the formidable challenge for global communication by weakening its structure and delaying its development.

International relations play a major role in the expansion of global communication since the worldwide connection involves multiple countries. Therefore, the tough relationship between states impacts adversely the global network. In addition, Wilkin (2001) stressed that the extent of global communication can either enhance or undermine autonomy which countries react accordingly. Also, the advancement in information and communication technology forces states and societies to adapt to changes that can create cultural shocks since the dissemination of information is largely West-inspired. In the like manner, the newly emerged modern nation-states use the means of communication to promote their ideas of national cultures and beliefs and international media corporations strive to reach as many cosmopolitan populations as possible. As a result, the aggressiveness of rapid IT expansion, the promulgation of foreign ideologies, and the commercially-driven stretch of media companies provoke the antagonist international relations which pose challenges to the global communication. As a solution to the problem, Wilkin stated that the advancing cosmopolitan communication should be gradual to minimize the resistance and the element of national autonomy need to be respected. This literature scrutinizes the link between the powerful globalized communication and the conservative nation-states.

The common expectation about global communication is everyone has access to the network. Nevertheless, McPhail (2013) proved that is not true since there are nations have the lack of information technology. These countries are mostly classified as periphery nations. There are two crucial factors that contribute to their inaccessibility. First, the cost to fully equip these countries to reach the information and communication technologies of the global connection is enormous. The Middle Africa region has the most underdeveloped technology nations. The dilemma is that they do not have the financial resources or support from first-world countries to be modernized. Also, the rough geography contributes even more to the dilemma as it takes more manpower and time for the technology advancement. Second, there are countries refuse to the usage of communication technology due to religious beliefs and local customs. They are mostly from the Middle East regions. From author’s observation, the countries, with the lack of global communication, has the least-trade, vulnerable economy, and primitive infrastructure. This literature also focus on the world system theory which the central mechanism is global communication.

There are many other profound challenges to global communication in the twenty first century, however, the five mention above by various authors are the most relevant to the current circumstance. As information and communication technologies develop rapidly, the tendency of threats to the global connection may change. This literature review has done a great job of examining theories and reality, however, it seems to miss the current world events such as Arab Spring, the raise of ISIS, or recent conflicts.
Also, there is not much mention of information technology which is the vehicle for the process of connecting the world. The obstacles for the growth of worldwide communication network will be examined thoroughly in the following research.

Discussion

The Expansion of the Global Network on Local Cultures:

Social identity constrains horrendously the growth of global communication as the local norms and values are different in countries. In fact, the globalizing process is being viewed as a drive of neocolonialism. This new form of colonization establishes invisible control without the use of military power or the creation of colonies. Described as “cultural colonialism”, Sarah Amsler (2008) defined it as “the extension of colonial power through cultural activities and institutions (particularly education and media) or the asymmetrical influence of one culture on another”. Particularly, Western beliefs are promoted by the easy access to information technologies of predominantly young users. These users then incorporate gradually those Westernized values and norms into their lives, which creates a clash in conception with the conservative elders. In Vietnam, having tattoos was stigmatized due to cultural restrictions, however, there are even more tattooed people nowadays because of the popularity of Hollywood movies and Western media. Meanwhile, there is a part of the population composed of traditional believers opposing this new trend. In the same way, religion obstructs formidably the expansion of global communication as the information content goes against religious guidelines. The backlashes are usually political instability and religious-motivated demonstrations. Some of the furious contemporary reactions are the creation of Boko Haram or “Western education is forbidden” and the Benghazi attack in 2012 in response to an amateur film “The Innocence of Muslims”. Different Muslim communities view Western media as “attempts at imposing its essentially secular worldview” (El-Aswad, p. 6, 2012). Also, as a peaceful response to the invasion of global communication, Muslim communities established a large number of forums and religious websites called Ummah which provide everyone the opportunity to engage to Islamic cultures, perceptions, and values (El-Aswad, pp. 24, 2012). In brief, it is a silent communication war between the reservation of Islam and the globalization of communication. By the same token, the news channel Russia Today (RT) was founded and is funded purely by the Russian government. With the similar mechanism as Ummah, RT is perceived as a weapon for Russia to fight against global communication, which predominantly is spreading Westernized conception and American perspectives. Also, RT’s creation is an attempt to gain Russia’s soft-power and to counter the anti-Russia bias which has been imposing upon by Western media. There are many implicit benefit of global communication since it is the mean for the prosperous international trade, cosmopolitan interdependence, and the opportunities of economic development. Unfortunately, the global communication network is being taken advantage of by different governments and interest groups to achieve their selfish purposes. That results in the social and cultural challenges to the network’s expansion. Furthermore, Inglehart and Norries (2009) offered a solution that the global connection should have an enormous revolution and incorporate gradually into countries to reduce the social and cultural barriers. Hopefully, within decades, countries will have no communication border, and nations will rejoice in a cosmopolitan culture.
Reactions of the Authoritarian to the Worldwide Network:

Due to the nature of global communication, the obstacles posed by the authoritarian government to the worldwide connection are inevitable and expected. Since the global communication equals to the free flow of information, this factor shakes the dictatorship of all authoritarian governments. In response, they put up preventive measures and restrictive methods to contain as much as possible of the political criticism. As a popular implication, when it comes to communication censorship, people usually think of China even though Iran and Cuba are ranked higher according to Freedom House’s 2014 report. Therefore, the People’s Republic of China will be used as a typical model for an authoritarian government controlling the growth of the global communication. China “has developed a variety of restrictive measures for control and containment [which] include blocking Web sites, monitoring chat rooms and online content, selective arrests and crackdowns, and promoting self-censorship” (Kalathil & Boas, 2003). According to Harvard’s School of Law, There are five technical tools serving as the preemptive method for the Chinese government: IP blocking, DNS filtering and redirecting, URL filtering, VPN blocking, TCP connection reset, Man-in-the-middle attack, and Packet filtering. In addition, the Chinese government organizes groups of internet polemicists whose job is to solely attack and alter unfavorable cyber-information. In Vietnam, internet polemicists are funded and well-structured by Hanoi. They are the forefront of the dictatorship fighting the information war, since Vietnam has a lack of technology to crack opposing political ideas technically. Kalathil & Boas (2003) argued that the democratization process would not happen because dictatorial countries influence the incoming information from the global network. Nevertheless, the Arab spring proved that statement is wrong. Even though authentic messages were filtered and altered in Middle Eastern countries that were a part of the Arab Spring, the vast population was still able to obtain the information from the free world. Al Jazeera was the most notable news network that contributed to the spark of the Arab Spring. Called the “Al Jazeera effect”, “the powerful role played by Al Jazeera in reshaping the Arab media landscape has undoubtedly influence, to varying degrees, the internal politics in a number of countries and affected interstate relations in the Arab world as a whole” (Abdelmoula, pp. 124, 2015). Regarding the democratic uprising, the fundamental motivation is social demands, however, the communication network ignited freedom lovers and connected them to revolutionize. Authoritarian governments are frightened by the tremendous power of the global communication, because of its ability to encourage the population for liberalization. Also, the cosmopolitan connection makes people rethink and strive for democratization. As a result, we will not have a truly global communication if dictatorial regimes prevent information to their nations.

The Rising Threats of Information Assurance:

The emerging threats in cybersecurity constrains the growth of global communication. Indeed, the incentive factor for the expanding process of the global connectivity is the economic prosperity, which is brought about by international trades and enterprises. Therefore, the business information travels with the speed of light across countries through cyberspace, thus becomes the most valuable target for high-tech criminals. Cybercrime has become an industry where the investments and the risk are low, while the returns are great. As a result, the annual cost of cybercrime has exceeded the income of many countries and the number is still increasing without an
ending point. As reported by McAfee (2014), forty million Americans, fifty four million Turkish, 20 million Koreans, 16 million Germans, and 20 million Chinese have become cyber victims with the total cost of $160 billion. The report also stated that “the losses from cybercrime could cost as many as 200,000 American jobs, roughly a third of 1% decrease in employment for the U.S.” (pp.3). The consequences cannot be estimated solely with monetary value but also with other factors such as innovation, allocation of resources, and the will of trading internationally. This emerging white-collar crime abducts countless innovation and motivation of entrepreneurs. For example, a software company will be less likely to further develop an application when their product’s code is stolen by hackers, and it is accessible easily on the market. Also, with the rise of unethical hackers, businesses and countries have to put aside an enormous amount of resources to cope with cybercrime. Instead of spending time, money, and effort to invest in the communication infrastructure in underdeveloped nations, these resources are allocated to fight crimes. Moreover, it is difficult for government agencies and private institutions to strengthen cybersecurity since criminals use many sophisticated means. These means are divided into two categories: technical methods and human methods. An example of technical methods is the use of malicious software while social engineering is an example of human methods. From the cyber defenders’ point of view, there are four major challenges that they are facing to defend the network: tracing the origin of crime, the rise of the underground cybercrime economy, the lack of cybercrime fighters, and the increasing violation of copyright software. First of all, tracking the origin of cybercrime is nearly impossible due to the massive connectivity network. A hacker can sit comfortably at a location to attack the network of a company on the other side of the globe, while the server involved in the attack is located at a third country. The borderless nature of information technology hinders the investigation. Second of all, the underground cyber market incentivizes cybercrime by offering lucrative transactions. The dark web is where these transactions begin to take place. The untraceability gives both sellers and buyers the comfort of being unlawful. Tor browser, for example, provides deals such as hacking services, hitmen, illegal drugs, and counterfeit services. Third of all, the lack of cybercrime fighters makes it even harder for cyber defense. Like any conventional battle, manpower is the decisive element for victory. Unfortunately, trained and skilled cyber professionals are in shortage to take down the criminals. Last of all, the increasing violation of pirated software makes the condition even worse. Many users in Asia and South America prefer the cheaper price of pirated software. Nevertheless, cheap comes with risk, as these applications are filled with digital vulnerabilities. The solution stated by the National Research Council (2010) is accurate, however, it is not effective enough for the dreadful cybercrime. In comparison, as the comprehensive resolution for this threat to the global communication, Herrington & Aldrich (2013) proposed that cybersecurity can only be assured through a complex international system which consists of forceful treaties and international cyber warriors. This matter cannot simply be taken care of by a few countries since it is a global problem. For the sake of global communication, these cyber thugs must face justice.

The Relationships between International Affairs and the Global Network:

The growth of global communication requires the cooperation of multiple states which the international relations is the decisive element for the expansion of the network. It is difficult to define whether a foreign affair of state is good or bad due to the
constantly changing issues of economy, national security, politics, culture and many other areas. Nevertheless, governments are more likely to prevent the flow of global communication as their countries are in diplomatic crises. The global communication places two opposite effects on the international relations. The international interaction benefits countries by facilitating the exchange of science, information, and technology. However, at the same time, these countries are being imposed by a new cultural hegemony through global news, advertisement, and entertainment. As a result, states are always trying to balance the two factors. The launch of Russia Today (RT) in 2005 for example, was an effort to counter bias from Western media corporations such as Time Warner and News-Corp. Furthermore, the global communication revolutionizes the mechanism of international relations. In the 20th century, countries communicated politically by series of conferences, such as the Paris Peace Conference and the Yalta Conference. Nowadays, the communication network creates other diplomatic channels as non-governmental and intergovernmental organizations and transnational media corporations have a voice in the international relation. A few decades ago, not many people believed that an organization would have the power to pressure and influence the way a government acts. Like we see today, Amnesty International or Human Right Watch has an effect in countries’ foreign affairs. As a result, the emerging cosmopolitan communication redefines the whole international system. On the other hand, international relations determines the extension of a state’s communication network. The extreme case is the relation between the United States and North Korea, where their national level of communication needs the involvement of a third country. Also, foreign affairs of countries are indicated in the map of submarine fiber optic. The cable seems to exclude North Korea, Cuba, Russia, and Central African countries. As outlined by Wilkin (2001), the global network has immediate effects on the international relation and vice versa. Nevertheless, that idea is not covered thoroughly the big picture of these two areas. With the advancement of information communication and technologies, humanity has a media war in addition to a cyberwar. The media cannot kill people, but it can influence public policy to hostility, instill fear and hatred, and boost social discriminations (Balabanova, pp. 146, 2013). The global communication comes with the revolution of international relation which sometimes conceives national resistances. The ultimate solution is to emerge the connectivity network gradually so that all stakeholders have time to adapt.

Effects of Incompatible Information Technology:

The fundamental condition for a cosmopolitan communication networks is the basic infrastructure of information connection and technologies. Unfortunately, there are regions in the world that countries have incompatible technology and none of the digital framework. The most grievous parts are Central Africa and the Middle East countries. These countries are in the peripheral category. As a result, their population is the least informed compared to others. Provided that, the situation is even worse when these states look undesirable for US IT cooperation’s investment (McPhail, p. 144, 2013). This also poses another dilemma to their economy when economic growth requires a strong cyber infrastructure and sufficient communication. Speaking of the relationship between economy and IT, underdeveloped communication network countries cannot participate in the global finance, in which they miss the opportunities to rise out of destitution (Sandoval, 2014). Moreover, the inadequate communication network leads to the dire
humanitarian crises in these peripheral countries. As a matter of fact, news anchors and the local population do not have technology to make the catastrophe to the headline. The Rwanda genocide in the 1990s, for example, was a desolate event that could have been prevented if there was an effective communication channel. Within the first four days of the genocide, it was impossible to send out reports since telephones and mobile phone would not work and sending mail was equivalent to two-day travel back to Uganda (Downden, pp. 250, 2007). As a result, news outlets promised to try to keep the cosmopolitan population well informed with future similar events. Nevertheless, in 2003, the Darfur genocide happened and went unnoticed for months as Western reporters were prevented from entering Sudan and it was impossible to access the Sudanese government for information (Bacon, 2004). At the same time, the news of a tsunami hit multiple Asian countries got to the front page of major media corporations. The two crises happened simultaneously but the world focused on them unfairly. As an important point, the incompatible communication technologies contributes partly to the humanitarian crises as catastrophes could have been prevented in advance. McPhail (2013) gave the accurate conclusion of the relationship between the incompatible communication technologies and the social and political status of underdeveloped countries. The solution for this challenge to the global communication is not simply the investment of technology. Indeed, it requires states and organizations to strive for political and economies stability in these peripheral countries.

**Conclusion**

There are many other substantial challenges that abduct the expansion of the global communication. Notably, the social identities, authoritarian governments, cybersecurity issues, international relations, and the incompatible information technology are contemporary massive threats. Unfortunately, this is not a concern of the American public since their freedom and liberty are taken for granted. To make the global network advances, we need the involvement of all cosmopolitan citizens. With that being said, the five challenges can only be overcome with the time, effort, and resources from all countries, not just the developed countries. After intensively reviewing academic literature, the general remedy proposed by all authors is that we need to slow down the expansion of the communication network. That may be true since information technology is changing at an unmeasurable pace. In less than a generation, people can communicate in real time while they are on the different side of the globe. It certainly brings benefits to mankind, however, a human’s mindset are not adjusted quickly enough for the shocking changes. The weakest point of this paper is that it uncovers only the smallest portion of a massive pool of a problem. It is important to acknowledge that, it is impossible to lay out every detail of challenges globally. All factors considered, human beings are responsible for the global communication network and its condition determines the fate of mankind.

**Reference**


American outreach and the Liuzhou Association of Overseas & Returned Scholars (LAORS)

Qiwen Wang
Central Washington University and
Liuzhou City Vocational College
Liuzhou Association of Overseas & Returned Scholars (LAORS) was founded on December, 2009. It is one of the subordinate units of Guangxi Association of Overseas Returned & Returned Scholars. Liuzhou Municipal Government has a cooperative agreement with Central Washington University to cultivate the administrative, engineering and accounting talents of selected city personnel since 2009. Central Washington University has adapted and adopted several Master’s programs to cultivate high-level technical Talent for Liuzhou Municipal Government for six years.

Western Returned Scholars Association is also called Chinese Association of Overseas & Returned Scholars (CAORS) which is comprise of Chinese overseas and returned scholars’ voluntary mass organization.

CAORS was established on October 1913.

CAORS is led by the Secretariat of the CPC Central Committee and in the custody of United Front Department of Chinese Committee of the CPC

Liuzhou Association of Overseas& Returned Scholars (LAORS) was founded on December, 2009. It is one of the subordinate units of Guangxi Association of Overseas Returned & Returned Scholars (GSORS).

LAORS is conducted by United Front Department of Liuzhou Committee of CPC. There are 300 members in LAORS and it is the largest and the most sound non-profit organization in Liuzhou Municipality.
CAORS was located at original Pusheng Temple

CAORS was founded by Weijun Gu and other scholars who were in Beijing and Tanjing to establish the association. It had stopped activities during the Great Cultural Revolution and it was reactivated in 1982.

Hu Shi (Chinese: 胡適, 17 December 1891 – 24 February 1962) was a Chinese philosopher, essayist and diplomat.

Hu is widely recognized today as a key contributor to Chinese liberalism and language reform in his advocacy for the use of written vernacular Chinese.

He was the president of Peking University, and in 1939 was nominated for a Nobel Prize in literature.
LAORS takes a variety of approaches to strengthen the expertise of the scholars from China who study abroad: connecting with business people, enhancing mutual understanding, promoting more extensive exchanges and continuing cooperation in areas of science, technology, culture, education, economy between China and in the United States of America.

Liuzhou Municipal government reached an agreement with Central Washington University to help develop the talents of it administrators since 2009.

The Central Washington University has been cultivating high-level managerial and technical talents for Liuzhou Municipal government for six years.

According to the contract, Liuzhou Municipal government has been sending some twenty (20) senior administrators from governmental agencies and municipal enterprises each year.
They have all been awarded Master’s Degrees in Engineering Technical Management, Public Administration, Accountancy or English.
LAORS relays on internal and external context which facilitates the development of LAORS. United Front Work Department of Liuzhou Committee of CPC(UFW) conducts the work of LAORS which LAORS follows the regulation of the UFW. All of the interest groups of Liuzhou City has direct or indirect working relationship with LAORS.

As a member of LAORS, learning from our predecessors’ gritty spirit and continue to peruse the Chinese Dream. Never of forget about what we carry on our shoulders and overcome the difficulties to contribute the development of Liuzhou City.
Educational Attainment and Website Usage: A National Look at Education and Its Influence on Educational Website Usage

Brad C. Wedlock, M.S.
The University of Louisiana at Lafayette
ABSTRACT

The relationship between educational attainment and website usage is examined using data from the National Opinion Research Center’s General Social Survey (GSS). The relationship between educational attainment and educational website use was found to be moderate to strong and statistically significant. The results of this study found that respondents with the highest level of education (graduate degrees) were 14 percentage points more likely to use the web more frequently for educational purposes than Americans with less than a high school degree. When controlling for gender, highly educated males were 15 percentage points higher than their counterparts just as highly educated females were 12 percentage points higher than their counterparts. The implications of this study suggest that educational attainment plays a major role in the use of web technology for educational purposes.

Keywords: Education, Leadership, Higher Education, Websites, Attainment
Problem Statement

Technology has been an integral part of modern society for the past few years, and recently has started to be heavily incorporated into higher education (i.e. Distance learning, hybrid courses, blended learning, online courses). Through the use of the Internet, two and four year institutions are able to manage larger classrooms, disseminate information through varied forms of instruction (i.e. Lectures, videos, online quizzes) and have alternative forms of educational material available to them. Technology enables the average individual to access information quickly and enlighten oneself without formal education or classroom presence. Lindsay (2013) asserts that the basis of a liberal education is to offer the individual the chance to liberate oneself from conformist ideals. One facet of human nature is to understand one’s passion and pursue natural curiosity. Through the use of the Internet, one can inform themselves on topics they perceive to be stimulating.

Now that the world has become one of instant gratification, scholarly investigation into online phenomena has become more prevalent. Research on information technology and its impact on society do exist, but it is still in its infancy partial due to its rapid advancement in terms of power, sophistication and application (Pascarella, 2006). Therefore this study seeks to understand the relationship between educational attainment and the use of the web for educational purposes. In other words, is it the case that people who have more education are more likely to use the Internet for educational purposes?

Significance of the Study

The question of this study is relevant for several reasons as the use of the Web are important, especially in a forward thinking society. We no longer live in a world where books, although important, are the only source of valuable knowledge. Higher education institutions are now expanding in the areas of online and distance learning education so insight to what American citizens are using the web for is valuable. If used correctly, websites can offer a variety of ways to reach diverse learning styles and keep the American citizen engaged with current and relevant events.

Education is not only important to the individual for personalized standards, but in turn benefits the nation they reside in. At the turn of the 21st century, researchers have held education to be a critical determinant of a nation’s economic progress. An increase in well-educated individuals leads to greater output in goods and services that in turn, expedite the absorption of advanced technology (Barro & Lee, 2001). Accordingly, website traffic is constantly being monitored as traffic is one of the best indicators for e-commerce practitioners (Van der Heijden, 2003).

Therefore, not only is it important to determine if education has an impact on website use, but to determine its strength and predict the direction it is headed. Depending on the strength and direction of the relationship found, findings could provide insight to where the general population’s interests lie based on educational level.

Research Hypothesis

Consequently, this study tests the following directional hypothesis:

1. The higher a person’s education, the more frequent the use of the web for educational purposes.
Delimitations of the Study

Many factors could influence the use of educational website usage such as personal curiosity and/or professional requirements. Such factors will not be examined in this study as the researcher is merely interested in the relationship between educational attainment and educational website usage.

Limitations of the Study

Mass amounts of scholarly work, both empirical and theoretical, have been done on the concept of website usage. However, this study is limited to data obtained from the National Opinion Research Center’s General Social Survey. This data set allows for the exploration of educational attainment in its relation to website usage.

Review of the Literature

Web Use

With the rapid development of the World Wide Web, it has easily become one, if not the only mainstream medium for the collecting, sharing, and distribution of information. In terms of direct educational use, these web-based applications and environments are now home to various forms of distance learning, on-line collaboration between colleagues, news, etc., and are considered common practice among its users. Now, it is typical to see web pages for university instructed courses providing notes and study related materials, regardless if the class was taught traditionally, online or a hybrid version of both.

However, little research has been done on what drives particular website usage since the early 21st century (Van der Heijden, 2003). It is reasonable to assume that United States citizens have access to the Internet today in some form, via laptop or mobile device. Still, with all of the Internet traffic today, e-commerce practitioners have a hard time retaining visitors on their corporate sites (Van der Heijden, 2003). Currently, one theoretical model such as the Technology Acceptance Model 2, suggests that the “subjective norm can influence intention indirectly through perceived usefulness” (Venkatesh & Davis, 2000, p. 189). In other words, regardless of an individual’s behavior conducted out of preference, their technology usage behavior will be affected by the attitudes of others in the group to which they belong. This is not to say that websites are not being looked at, but rather certain sites are catered to different categories of people.

Other than for the use of entertainment, what is the purpose of a website? An individual who visits health sites searches for new recipes or exercises, sport sites for information on athletes and organizations, news sites for current events, etc. One facet that all of these sites have in common is that these searches are for one purpose, to engage themselves with a particular topic. Through engagement, an individual is able to become involved and therefore actively learns the material they are in contact with. A number of previous studies have found that there is a direct relationship between the use of technology and engagement (Junco, Heiberger & Loken, 2011). Noel-Levitz (2006, 2007) found that 67% of African American students prefer websites over brochures and 68% of Hispanics consider the Internet to be the best source of information to make decisions. These findings support that the Internet is one of the best channels to educate oneself about an interest.

The use of the Internet is not limited to any one person as a matter of fact; people from all genders, race, education level and age have access to this digital
landscape. Historically, most of these factors have been looked at in scholarly investigation, particularly gender, due to their behavioral differences (Sanchez-Franco, 2006). For example, previous studies note that males are more likely to be task-oriented than females (Minton & Schneider, 1985; Venkatesh, Morris, Davis & Davis, 2003). When it comes to use of the Internet for educational purposes, gender could be a primary factor in determining where each particular sex spends their time. Roy and Chi (2003) found that males performed better with target specific information and target related information than females with identical web search tasks. Additionally, it was found that females are more concerned with interrelationships, consensus building and harmony, which suggest they prefer collaborating and synchronous experiences (Jazwinski, 2001). Not only is there a need for research for unexplained phenomena, but also the incorporation of intrinsic motives to identify their influence provides great insight. In comparison of environments, the World Wide Web is a relatively new area of study for research when it comes to informational technology meeting personal needs; therefore understanding the role of these motives in this digital environment is critical (Mun & Hwang, 2003).

**Education**

Since the time of Greeks, education has been highly regarded with the pursuit of happiness. With ideologies such as the Socratic method, Plato’s Republic, and Aristotle’s belief that the quality of education is a determinant of societal quality; education is still grounded in these philosophical pillars (Johnson, Musial, Hall, and Gollnick, 2013). With regard to bettering oneself, education is one of the few factors that contribute to a more involved citizen and the pursuit of knowledge. Education in the United States is not only responsible for building intellect (Rokeach, 1972; Rudolph, 1962; Sloan, 1980), but also more involved citizenship (McBee, 1980). The idea of obtaining a quality education does not only present itself as a staple of growing, but the idea itself is forever empowering. As knowledge is obtained and individual becomes better educated on objects and experiences that will impact day-to-day life. This understanding becomes knowledge and knowledge if used correctly is power.

In the past few years, educational gains have drastically increased over generations partially due to the push for equality among genders and race. According to the Pew Internet Research Center, 27% of women along with 21% of men are more educated than their silent generation counterparts (Patten & Fry, 2015). These gains further validate that education is a cherished ideal among American citizens and society.

**Interpretive Summary**

Researchers have recognized the power of technology and the role it plays in the advancement of the human race. Studies have shown that new innovations have contributed to educational institutions in the form on online learning and better methods of communication, but few have identified what drives the use of websites. High Internet traffic drives website growth in that increased traffic opens opportunity for e-commerce practitioners to advertise digitally providing clients with product and business exposure. In addition, researchers have discovered that education has become more valued over the generations, and that education builds intellect and involved citizenship. Education comes in all shapes and forms, but is not limited to that of a classroom setting. Now, people are a click and a keystroke away from educating themselves on a variety of
topics of their choice, as education is simply engagement with a topic of choice. Engagement, as a type of involvement, allows for a person to become entangled with whatever they are enacting with. Previous researchers asserted that higher levels of involvement stimulate users to be more attentive to presented information (Petty, Cacioppo & Schumann, 1983; Andrews & Shimp, 1990). Concerning the work that does exist on educational attainment and website use, there has not been much research performed and very little manage to use national data sets.

Research Methods

Research Design

The present study utilizes an ex-post facto comparative-causal research design to examine the relationship between the presented variables (Gall, Borg & Gall, 2007, p. 306). The purpose of this study design is to explain phenomena through cause and effect relationships in phenomena that are inherently transpiring. In this study, education (independent variable) has not been manipulated as it and educational website usage (dependent variable) are both naturally occurring.

Overview of Statistical Procedures

Causal-comparative research is designed to compare and test research hypotheses by comparing respondent groups. Subsequently, when ordinal and nominal measures are used, contingency tables are applied, as they are best suited. Hence, this study uses cross-tabulation analysis and extreme groups technique, being they are more likely to reveal differences on the variable of interest (Gall et al., 2007).

Sample Selection and Sampling

For sample selection and additional knowledge on sampling, all information was gathered from the sampling design and weighting section of the General Social Survey website (General Social Survey, 2014).

All surveys found in the GSS from the years of 1972 to 1974 used a probability sample that block and segment level, otherwise known as a block quota design. For the primary sampling unit in NORC Master sample, non-metropolitan counties Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas (SMSAs) were used. All counties were arranged by region, age and race before collection. With quota sampling, quotas are based on sex, age and employment status, and prejudiced is reduced by giving interviewers strict instructions to only interview on holidays and weekends in addition to the standard interviews that were after 3 p.m. on weekdays. The GSS only used an English-speaking sample until the year of 2006, as the GSS asserted that 98% of household inhabitants were English speaking from 1983-1987.

In the second stage, the units of selection were block groups (BGs) and enumeration districts (EDs). These EDs and BGs were organized according to race and income before selection. While the third stage of selection was that of blocks, they were selected with probabilities proportional to size. If block statistics were unavailable in certain areas, measures of size for the blocks were acquired by field counting. Average cluster size is five respondents per cluster, which provided a suitable balance of meticulousness and economy.

At the block or segment level, the interviewer begins a travel pattern at the first dwelling united (DU) from the northwest corner of the block and continues in a specific direction until the quotas has been filled. All quotas call for approximately identical numbers of men and women with the exact proportion in each segment determined by
the 1970 Census tract data. For women, the additional requirement is imposed that there be and equal number of employed and unemployed women in the location. For men, the added requirement is that there be and equal number of men over and under the age of 35 in the location.

It was until the years of 1977, 1978, 1980 and 1982-2014 that the General Social Survey switched to a full probability sample. Once this switch came about, the GSS became the only full-probability and personal interview survey designed to monitor variations in societal characteristics and attitudes in the United States.

Procedures for Human Subjects Protection

The current study will be submitted to the University of Louisiana at Lafayette’s Institutional Review Board (IRB) for approval. The FDA refers to the IRB as a group who purpose is to ensure that research by students and professional researchers do not overstep the rights and wellbeing of the human subjects being looked at in the study. The University of Louisiana at Lafayette policy of research is as follows:

For undergraduate and graduate class research projects that are part of the required assessed work for class credit (this does not include capstone projects) and that involve human subjects, the instructor of record serves as a delegate of the IRB and may certify the project(s) as either exempt or of minimal risk and forego IRB review, unless the research is externally funded…(University of Louisiana, University Research, 2013)

Measures

The following variables and measures will be used in the study:

Dependent Variable

EDUC30. The dependent variable in this study is education website usage. As defined for the study, an education website is one such site used for the sole purpose of gaining information or knowledge opposed to entertainment. The prompt for educational website usage in the GSS is the following question: “In the past 30 days, how often have you visited a web site for: c. Other educational site?”

Independent Variable

DEGREE. The independent variable in this study is the amount of formal schooling as reported by the respondents. The prompt used for this variable in the GSS is “degree” (See Table 2).

Control Variables

One control variable is used in this study: gender. Gender is believed to have an affect on educational website usage as men are more prone to target specific and target related information. The GSS prompt for this variable is “sex” (See Table 3).

Data Analysis and Discussion

Data Analysis and Description of Results

This study examines the variables of education and educational website usage to determine a relationship between the two variables. With that said, do respondents with higher levels of education use the web more frequently for educational purposes?

Using the data from the total sample 1972 to 2014, Table 4 shows the relationship between various levels of educational attainment of Americans and how frequent they use the web for educational purposes. From the table it is shown that 24 percent of Americans with a graduate degree use the web for educational purposes, whereas 10 percent of Americans with less than a high school degree reported they
have visited a website for educational purposes. The highest educated Americans with
a graduate degree are 14 percentage points more likely to use the web more frequently
for education purposes that Americans with less than a high school degree, which is a
statistically significant difference (p = 0.00).

Tables 5 and 6 show the education-web site usage relationship controlling for
gender. In this case the difference between the least educated male and the most
educated male is 15 percentage points, which is one percentage point difference from
the total population. For females, the difference is 12 percentage points. Both are
statistically significant for males (p = 0.01) and females (p = 0.00).

**Discussion and Interpretation of Results**

Education has a significant effect on the use of the web for educational purposes. The
highest educated Americans were 14 percentage points more likely than the least
educated American to use the web more frequently for educational purposes (Table 4).
In addition there is no indication that use of the web for educational purposes are
influenced by gender. Both the highest educated male and female use the web more
frequently in contrast to the least educated male and female.

**Summary, Conclusions and Recommendations**

**Findings and Limitations**

The data used in this study indicates that there is a strong positive correlation
between educational attainment and the use of the web for education purposes. As
individuals obtain more education, the frequency of web use for educational purposes
increase. For example, Americans who were highly educated are 14 percentage points
more likely to use the web more frequently, which is a statistically significant different (p
= 0.00).

While the data suggest that there is a moderate to strong relationship between
educational attainment and education web use, the results of this analysis should be
taken with caution, as further analysis is needed. This ex-post facto, non-experimental
design did not control for other variables that may have influenced education web use
such as curiosity. In modern society, virtually all Americans have access to the Internet
is same shape or form, hence allowing its use for pure curiosity regardless of the level
of education one has. An individual does not need a set level of education to be curious.

**Implications for Future Research**

Future research on educational attainment and web use should investigate the
impact of other variables that have not been controlled for in this study such as race,
age and curiosity. For example, a naturally curious person may choose to investigate
phenomena out of pure interest therefore increasing frequency of educational website
use. Likewise, age could be positively correlated with educational website use as formal
schooling is not the only form of education. Formal education is used to benefit society
as a whole, but education is not limited to the confines of the classroom. For example,
an individual may not have learned how to use the Internet in school, but it does not
mean he/she is not able to learn how to use this form of technology from another
individual. Once and individual obtains the skill of using the Internet, he/she may use it
to find information on whatever topic they choose, hence using the web for educational
purposes.
Implications for Education Policy

Higher education is in transition were technology is changing its landscape to meet the needs of up and coming generations (Alexander, 2006). The following research suggests that educational attainment has a moderate to strong correlation with use of web technology for educational purposes. With new distance learning programs being implemented into education, officials must be aware of how society is using technology in order for distance learning programs to thrive. For higher education to stay relevant, faculty and administration must be aware of on going trends and how these trends can be used to benefit classroom instruction and the students that are being taught. Online education is dependent on technology and if improvements are to be made to the educational system; steps must be taken to thoroughly understand how it is being used regardless of societal popularity.

References


University of Louisiana at Lafayette, University Research (2013). IRB guidelines. Available at http://vpresearch.louisiana.edu/node/396


Table 1. Description of the Variable “EDUC30”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description of the Variable</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>772. In the past 30 days, how often have you visited a web site for: c. Other educational site?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Value</th>
<th>Label</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>46.0</td>
<td>1,073</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>NEVER</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25.6</td>
<td>598</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1-2 TIMES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.9</td>
<td>325</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3-5 TIMES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.5</td>
<td>338</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>MORE THAN 5 TIMES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>57,083</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>IAP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>DK</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>181</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>59,599</td>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Properties
Data type: numeric
Missing-data codes: 0,8,9
Mean: 1.97
Std Dev: 1.09
Record/column: 1/3248

Selected Study: General Social Survey Cumulative Datafile 1972-2014

Table 2. Description of the Variable “DEGREE”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description of the Variable</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>19. If finished 9th-12th grade: Did you ever get a high school diploma or a GED certificate?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Value</th>
<th>Label</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>21.9</td>
<td>12,997</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>LT HIGH SCHOOL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51.4</td>
<td>30,556</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>HIGH SCHOOL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>3,256</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>JUNIOR COLLEGE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>8,474</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>BACHELOR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>4,151</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>GRADUATE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>30</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>DK</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>135</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>59,599</td>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Properties
Data type: numeric
Missing-data codes: 7,8,9
Mean: 1.33
Std Dev: 1.17
Record/column: 1/152

Selected Study: General Social Survey Cumulative Datafile 1972-2014
Table 3. Description of the Variable “SEX”

**Description of the Variable**
23. Code respondent's sex

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Value</th>
<th>Label</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>44.1</td>
<td>26,287</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>MALE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55.9</td>
<td>33,312</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>FEMALE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>59,599</td>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Properties**
- **Data type:** numeric
- **Missing-data codes:** 0
- **Mean:** 1.56
- **Std Dev:** .50
- **Record/column:** 1/192

**Selected Study:** General Social Survey Cumulative Datafile 1972-2014
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>Role</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Label</th>
<th>Range</th>
<th>MD</th>
<th>Dataset</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Row</td>
<td>EDUC30</td>
<td>R USE EDUCATION SITE IN PAST 30 DAYS</td>
<td>1-4</td>
<td>0.8,9</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Column</td>
<td>DEGREE</td>
<td>RS HIGHEST DEGREE</td>
<td>0-4</td>
<td>7,8,9</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Weight</td>
<td>COMPWT</td>
<td>Composite weight = WTSSALL * OVERSAMP * FORMWT</td>
<td>.1913-11.1261</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Frequency Distribution

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cells contain:</th>
<th>EDUC30</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Column percent</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weighted N</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DEGREE</th>
<th>0 LT HIGH SCHOOL</th>
<th>1 HIGH SCHOOL</th>
<th>2 JUNIOR COLLEGE</th>
<th>3 BACHELOR</th>
<th>4 GRADUATE</th>
<th>ROW TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1: NEVER</td>
<td>41.6</td>
<td>52.9</td>
<td>49.9</td>
<td>47.5</td>
<td>39.7</td>
<td>36.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2: 1-2 TIMES</td>
<td>38.4</td>
<td>48.8</td>
<td>25.3</td>
<td>26.8</td>
<td>27.1</td>
<td>22.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3: 3-5 TIMES</td>
<td>10.2</td>
<td>13.0</td>
<td>15.3</td>
<td>13.2</td>
<td>15.6</td>
<td>16.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4: MORE THAN 5 TIMES</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>12.4</td>
<td>11.4</td>
<td>13.5</td>
<td>17.6</td>
<td>24.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COL TOTAL</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Means</td>
<td>1.88</td>
<td>1.86</td>
<td>1.92</td>
<td>2.11</td>
<td>2.28</td>
<td>2.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Std Devs</td>
<td>.95</td>
<td>1.04</td>
<td>1.06</td>
<td>1.12</td>
<td>1.20</td>
<td>1.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unweighted N</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>1,127</td>
<td>223</td>
<td>576</td>
<td>301</td>
<td>2,333</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Color coding:**

-2.0 | -1.0 | <0.0 | >0.0 | >1.0 | >2.0 | Z

**N in each cell:**

- Smaller than expected
- Larger than expected

### Summary Statistics

- Eta* = 0.14  Gamma = 0.15  Rao-Scott-P: F(12,3036) = 4.04 (p= 0.00)
- R = 0.13  Tau-b = 0.10  Rao-Scott-LR: F(12,3036) = 3.85 (p= 0.00)
- Somers’ d* = 0.10  Tau-c = 0.09  Chisq-P(12) = 59.70
- Chisq-LR(12) = 56.85

*Row variable treated as the dependent variable.
Table 5. EDUC30 by Degree for Male Respondents (in percentages, 1972-2014)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>Role</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Label</th>
<th>Range</th>
<th>MD</th>
<th>Dataset</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Row</td>
<td>EDUC30</td>
<td>R USE EDUCATION SITE IN PAST 30 DAYS</td>
<td>1-4</td>
<td>0,8,9</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Column</td>
<td>DEGREE</td>
<td>RS HIGHEST DEGREE</td>
<td>0-4</td>
<td>7,8,9</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Control</td>
<td>SEX</td>
<td>RESPONDENTS SEX</td>
<td>1-2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Weight</td>
<td>COMPWT</td>
<td>Composite weight = WTSSALL * OVERSAMP * FORMWT</td>
<td>.1913-11.1261</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statistics for SEX = 1(MALE)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cells contain:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Column percent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weighted N</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EDUC30</th>
<th>DEGREE</th>
<th>ROW TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0 LT HIGH SCHOOL</td>
<td>1 HIGH SCHOOL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1: NEVER</td>
<td>49.5</td>
<td>32.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2: 1-2 TIMES</td>
<td>28.9</td>
<td>19.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3: 3-5 TIMES</td>
<td>10.1</td>
<td>6.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4: MORE THAN 5 TIMES</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>7.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COL TOTAL</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>66.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Means | 1.84 | 1.87 | 1.93 | 1.98 | 2.35 | 1.97 |
Std Devs | 1.02 | 1.03 | 1.08 | 1.07 | 1.23 | 1.08 |
Unweighted N | 56 | 483 | 93 | 275 | 172 | 1,079 |

Color coding:  
N in each cell: Smaller than expected, Larger than expected

Summary Statistics for SEX = 1(MALE)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statistic</th>
<th>Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Eta*</td>
<td>.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gamma</td>
<td>.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rao-Scott-P: F(12,3036)</td>
<td>2.24 (p= 0.01)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R</td>
<td>.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tau-b</td>
<td>.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rao-Scott-LR: F(12,3036)</td>
<td>2.05 (p= 0.02)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somers' d*</td>
<td>.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tau-c</td>
<td>.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chisq-P(12)</td>
<td>34.91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chisq-LR(12)</td>
<td>32.06</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Row variable treated as the dependent variable.
### Table 6. EDUC30 by Degree for Female Respondents (in percentages, 1972-2014)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EDUC30</th>
<th>DEGREE</th>
<th>0 LT HIGH SCHOOL</th>
<th>1 HIGH SCHOOL</th>
<th>2 JUNIOR COLLEGE</th>
<th>3 BACHELOR</th>
<th>4 GRADUATE</th>
<th>ROW TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>NEVER</td>
<td>33.1</td>
<td>20.1</td>
<td>64.3</td>
<td>36.1</td>
<td>37.8</td>
<td>45.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>51.2</td>
<td>339.5</td>
<td>46.6</td>
<td>106.7</td>
<td>46.8</td>
<td>577.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>1-2 TIMES</td>
<td>48.7</td>
<td>29.6</td>
<td>23.5</td>
<td>30.5</td>
<td>24.7</td>
<td>25.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>155.8</td>
<td>42.1</td>
<td>73.0</td>
<td>31.9</td>
<td>56.0</td>
<td>332.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>3-5 TIMES</td>
<td>10.4</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>18.7</td>
<td>16.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>13.8</td>
<td>91.4</td>
<td>12.0</td>
<td>55.4</td>
<td>20.2</td>
<td>14.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>MORE THAN 5 TIMES</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>14.2</td>
<td>20.5</td>
<td>20.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>76.1</td>
<td>19.6</td>
<td>60.5</td>
<td>24.8</td>
<td>14.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>60.8</td>
<td>662.9</td>
<td>138.0</td>
<td>295.5</td>
<td>123.8</td>
<td>1,280.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COL TOTAL</td>
<td></td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>60.8</td>
<td>662.9</td>
<td>138.0</td>
<td>295.5</td>
<td>123.8</td>
<td>1,280.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Means</td>
<td></td>
<td>1.93</td>
<td>1.86</td>
<td>1.90</td>
<td>2.24</td>
<td>2.19</td>
<td>1.98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Std Devs</td>
<td></td>
<td>.87</td>
<td>1.04</td>
<td>1.06</td>
<td>1.15</td>
<td>1.15</td>
<td>1.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unweighted N</td>
<td></td>
<td>50</td>
<td>644</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>301</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>1,254</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Color coding:**  
- <-2.0: Smaller than expected  
- <-1.0: Larger than expected  
- <0.0: Smaller than expected  
- >0.0: Larger than expected  
- >1.0: Smaller than expected  
- >2.0: Larger than expected  
- Z: Larger than expected

**Summary Statistics for SEX = 2(FEMALE)**

- Eta* = .15  
- Gamma = .16  
- Rao-Scott-P: F(12,3036) = 3.57 (p= 0.00)  
- R = .14  
- Tau-b = .11  
- Rao-Scott-LR: F(12,3036) = 3.42 (p= 0.00)  
- Somers’ d* = .11  
- Tau-c = .10  
- Chisq-P(12) = 52.17  

*Row variable treated as the dependent variable.
Reforming Government Statistics in China

Dongyin Wei
Central Washington University
Abstract

The Luizhou Municipal Bureau of Statistics is responsible for formulating rules to implement national statistical laws and regulations, collection and compilation of information, the analysis of data and publication of results. The statistical system for China’s planned economy established in 1949 was reformed in 1953, suspended in 1966 as a result of the Cultural Revolution and reintroduced in 1978. The transition from a planned economy to a Socialist Market Economy that began in 1993 has required many reforms and adjustments. These reforms: the institute, the statistical system, and the national accounting system of the government statistics were successful. However, as the socialist legality develops to support the new economy the Liuzhou Bureau will have to develop rules and procedures to accommodate the continuing reforms that will be necessary to provide the statistical basis for developing China’s legal system and insuring compliance at the local level. That the old joke, “promotion is determined by the data, but the data is determined by the boss” is still current throughout the government, is an indication of how much is left to do.

Introduction

In order to formulate rules to implement national statistical laws and regulations, collect and compile information, analyze data and publish results. The new unified leadership and graded management statistical system of China is established after the founding of The People’s Republic of China in 1949. This statistical system for China’s planned economy was suspended in 1966 as a result of the Cultural Revolution and reintroduced in 1978. (National Bureau of Statistics of The People’s Public of China 2013). In 1993, China was in a transition from its Planned Economy to a Socialist Market Economy. These changes have required many reforms and adjustments. To adjust such a complex environment and meet the continuing new needs, China has been working on improving governmental statistics, and has made a considerable progress. The statistical indicators and statistical methods are gradually becoming in line with international standards.

However, as the economic globalization is deepening, the government statistics of China is facing new challenges such as a kind of joking that "promotions determine by data, but data determine by officials"(A ji.1997). It is not true, but it shows that the government statistics needs greater progress to meet the various problems existing in China.

The focus of the reforms of government statistics

The reforms would fail without the supports of the reforms of the institute, the Statistical System, and the National Accounting System of the government statistics. The reforms of the institute provided basic conditions for other tow reforms: the reforms of the National Accounting System played an important role in meeting the new demands of the market and conforming to the international standards; and the reforms of the Statistical System provided guarantee for the quality of the data. But it is not enough. In order to insure the reliability and authenticity of the data, China
needs to make more effort on “statistics in according to the law.”

The reforms of statistical institute

After the founding of The People's Republic of China in 1949, China needed a statistical agency to perform government statistics. So the Statistics Office was set up as a dependent part of the Government Finance and Economic Committee of China (National Bureau of Statistics of The People’s Public of China 2013). Then the government statistics started.

In 1953, China adopted its first “five years plan,” and began to vigorously develop industry. In order to meet the new demands of development of large-scale economy, the government established a unified leadership and grade management statistical agency system. The statistical agency system was set up as a component of each level government. Obviously, compared to the Statistics Office, there was more manpower in the new system. So it was possible to carry out nationwide government statistics and local government statistics, as well as to carry out the statistics in different fields separately.

As it showed in the website of the National Bureau of Statistics of The People’s Public of China, the new statistical agency system conducted the first national census, and published a statistical bulletin for the first time in 1953. It provided an important basis for China to establish and inspect the development plan by collecting and analyzing statistical information. It also carried out the total output value of industry and agriculture for the first time, and then calculated the value of the building industry, the transportation industry, and the commerce, etc. It provided so much useful information for the national economic planning and management, and showed the importance of itself.

This agency system was abolished in 1967 because of the “Culture Revolution”, and rebuilt in 1978 (National Bureau of Statistics of The People’s Public of China 2013). However, as the country developed, the situation has changed. This kind of agency system shows its shortcomings. Every level of local government statistics agency, like Liuzhou Municipal Bureau of Statistics, is a component of the local government departments, and at the same time the upper-level government statistical agency is responsible for guiding the lower-level agency in specific business, as well as for examining and verifying the quality of data which come from the lower-level agency.
Actually, local government statistical agency is under dual leadership. As the component of the local government, the officials of statistical agencies are nominated and appointed by the local government. If the promotions of the local government officials are related to the economic data, the local government has opportunities to affect the data by influencing the promotions or interests of the statisticians or officials of statistical agency. This is the risk of this system. However, the leadership of upper-level government statistical agency restricts this risk to some degree. Furthermore, there are some control measures like Data Association Censorship, Spot Check System, and Legal Restriction. But this risk exists, someone can bribe or force the officials of statistical agency to violate the laws and produce false data. So the old joking "promotions determine by data, but data determine by officials" also around the government Statistical System (Aji.1997). So how to exclude the human intervention and make the government statistics become more independent is a new challenge China met.

The reforms of Statistical System

Some study believed that, for the lower-level officials like the deputy officials of the provinces and the ministers, the average economic growth rate in the jurisdiction of the officials has a significant positive effect on their promotions. It means that a good economic record will significantly increase the probability of promotion (Feng 2013). Reviewing the history, we can find there were some peoples or some departments provided false data information, concealed the true data, or tampered with the data because of their interests. Take the case of Shandong for example. The industrial production of village and lower level was RMB487.8 billion base on the data submitted by all relevant departments in 1994, and increased by 94% over 1993. In fact, the industrial production should be RMB317.1 billion which was 35% lower than the report number, because some departments provided false data. In 1993, some
officials of the Anyang county government increased the total production of enterprises to RMB4.85 billion from the true number RMB3.57 billion, just because they did not want to lose face (Aji 1997).

Why does this kind of things happened? After a study of the statistical system China adopted before 2012, some defects of the system were found:

(1)Since 1978, China has adopted a bottom-up data collection system. It means that grassroots units like county statistical agencies conduct a comprehensive survey each month, and then form statistical statements and report to the higher-level agencies, and then the higher-level agencies calculate the data submitted by subordinate and fill into the new statistical statements before reporting to superiors. So the data of every level comes from summing the data submitted by subordinate (Xing 2014:65-65). In this case, it is difficult to supervise and control every level agency. If something goes wrong with the final statistical data, the workload and cost of investigation is relatively high, because we need to check each level of data from the highest level to the grassroots.

(2)The statistical standards are not unified, though the Article 11 of Statistics Law provides that: In order to ensure the standardizations of the meaning of the index, the methods of calculation, the categories, as well as the survey forms and statistical encoding, the nation should establish the unified statistical standards. However, the standardizations of these factors have not been established except the categories and the statistical encoding. As Xing (2014) pointed out, this is one of the important reasons for the conflict between different statistical data.

(3) The government statistics is implemented separately in different fields. So each field has its different statements and surveys. But the indicators in different fields’ statements are overlaid, repeated, and sometimes contradictory. So the total may be suspect when we sum up the data of different fields as the total.

In order to improve the statistical system, get high quality data, and reduce the burden both on the government and its service objects, China implemented the reform called statistical “Four Major Projects” in 2012, one project of which was attempted in 1993. The experimental project in 1993, which was called “enterprise’s a set of table”, was ceased one year later, because there were not enough internet and popular computer applications, so it could not collect, process, and store up intensively, it also could not share the data information.

The statistical “Four Major Projects” refers to: (1) the unified, integral, and timely update unit database with a rule, which provides that only the data of the unit which is included in the unit database can be collected. (2) The integral statistical reporting system with unified standards. (3) The compatible software system of data acquisition and processing. (4) The unified and efficient “reporting directly system online”. So the statistical agencies can collect, check, and process data intensively. This system updated the statistical process which had been implemented for 30 years (Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region Bureau of Statistics 2014). This reform combines multiple-time surveys of enterprise per month into only one survey. This is carried out in a united way by using a set of integrated tables, unified network platform, and criteria of data. By doing so, the data from the enterprises can be read,
checked, and utilized online by the statistical departments at all levels. As of now, this reform proves to be a successful move.

The reform improves the quality of statistical data. It is easier to summarize the data information, supervise the collection of data, track the modification marks, and find out the mistakes. So it reduces the possibilities of providing false data and tampering with the data.

The reform also greatly reduces the burden on both the enterprises and the statistical agencies. Take the annual report as an example. Liuzhou Municipal Bureau of Statistics, has to hold annual meetings as many times as there are fields that we surveyed in the past. However, after the implementation of the "enterprise's a set of tables," we need to hold an annual meeting to assign the tasks, saving our time and statistical funds. Of course, each reform is not easy. The enterprises complained at the beginning because they were not proficient in handling and operating the new network platform, but the number of complaints was significantly reduced when they received various benefits from the reform, on which they set a high value.

This reform also reduces the cost of miscommunication caused by misunderstandings between those being survey and the statisticians, because it unites the principles, the data audit rules, and the explanation of the statistical indicators. As a result, the number of enterprise statisticians' consultations on the survey regarding the indicators and the rate of false reporting decreased.

Meanwhile, the reform realizes a high degree of data sharing. Not only can the enterprises check and retrieve their own data, but also all fields and all level of government agencies can share the same data information in this software system. Also, it is easier to find out the mistakes or problems if there are something wrongs in data.

The reform of National Accounting System
System of Material Product Balances (MPS)

After 1949, matched with the planned economic system, China adopted MPS, which originated from the economic Material Balance System of the former Soviet plan (Xu 2003). This system adopted the view that only the material production sectors create national income. Its accounting scope includes the production activities of five material production sectors such as agriculture, industry, construction, transportation and post industry, as well as commerce (Qiu, Jiang and Yang 2002). As Xu (2003) described, some important accounting tables were formed at that time such as the production of social goods, the balance sheet of accumulation and consumption, as well as the distribution of social goods and national income. These accounting tables played an important role in the national economic planning and management at that time.

However, with the change of economic systems and the deepening of the reform of economic operation system, the market components of Chinese economic system strengthened, while the plan components weakened. The defects of the MPS became more and more obvious. For example, it cannot reflect the development of non material production sectors, especially the development of the service industry; cannot reflect the movement of social capital; and it was prejudicial to the
implementation of the indirect economic management and the control of the overall economic balance. As the service industry developed rapidly, and foreign economic exchanges became more frequent, reforming the irrational accounting methods and introducing System of National Accounts (SNA), which is popular in the market economy countries, is imperative.

System of National Accounts (SNA)

In order to meet the new demands of the new situation, China was in a transition from MPS to SNA from 1985 to 1992, and adopted SNA completely in 1993 (Zhao 2003). The SNA meets the needs of the development of modern big production and commodity economy, because it consists of national income accounts, input-output tables, flows of funds tables, the national balance sheets, and the income balance sheets (Qiu et al. 2002).

Compare to original system, the new system expanded the scope of accounting, it expanded the industry of the national economy from the material production sectors to all sectors of the national economy; enriched the contents of accounting by accounting both the flow of economic activities and the stock of assets accounting; and improved the accounting methods by introducing the circular economy account methods of accounting while preserving the original balance sheet accounting. Take expanding the scope of accounting for example. The service industry was neglected in MPS. However, in SNA, statistics of the service industry was a kind of the general survey, which was implemented first in 1993 and was implemented every 10 years. With the increased development and the changes of the service industry, implementing the service industry general survey plays an important role in improving the statistics of service industry and reflecting accurately national economy.

After 10 years of implementation of SNA, China built a new system which included GDP based on SNA and Chinese situation (Zhao 2003). Although GDP is one of the most important indicators in measuring the development of the national economy, and one of the most popular macroeconomic figures, it is just a measure of the scale of production, so it cannot fully reflect the benefits, the welfare, and other development related indicators. Furthermore, there are some problems in the techniques of GDP accounting such as the theoretical framework, the index system, the scope, the calculation methods, the data sources and other aspects, which also exist in all other countries. But in order to eliminate the non-technique problems such as some people providing false data, or officials interfering statistics process, it is necessary to strengthen statistical legislation and law enforcement (Zhao 2003).

The direction of reform in the future

China has established a relatively complete legal system of statistics. In 1963, the State Council promulgated the "Regulations on statistics." And the “Statistics Law of the People’s Republic of China” was passed in 1983, which is the first statistics law since the founding of the People’s Republic of China. After that, China passed “Detailed Rules for Implementation of Statistics Law of People's Republic of China," " Regulations on National Economic Census," " Regulations on National Agricultural Census," etc.
To eliminate the illegal practice on statistics, it is not enough to have a relatively complete legal system of statistics. Beijing Municipal Bureau of Statistics exposed 16 illegal cases in February 2014. These illegal acts mainly involved providing false statistical data, failing to build the original records in accordance with the relevant provisions, and hiring the employees who had not obtained the statistical qualification certificate to do statistics (Beijing Youth Daily 2014). The law enforcement inspection group of the National Bureau of Statistics of the People’s Republic of China inspected Sichuan province in August 2013. They found that some government departments directly intervene in the independent reporting of statistical data of enterprises (Sichuan daily 2013).

Therefore, the next reform of statistics is “statistics in accordance with the law.” This is the foundation and guarantee of healthy development of statistics, and the way to eliminate human intervention, because the root of these problems is that the “statistics in accordance with the man” replace the “statistics in accordance with the law.”

Conclusion
In conclusion, China made great progress in government statistics by reforming the institute, the Statistical System, and the National Accounting System. It also improved the quality of statistical data. The statistical standards and statistical methods are gradually becoming in line with international standards. However, it needs to pay more effort to ensure the accuracy of the data.

References
Yun Feng. (2013). Are the economic factors important for the promotion of official in China? Journal of Management Sciences in China, 16(11), 55-68


Training Programs for Government Employees: Liuna District Government of Liuzhou city

Nan Wu
Central Washington University

Overview of The Liunan district

The Liunan district is located in southwest of Liuzhou city, the district covers an area of 164.19 square kilometers, has jurisdiction over 1 town and 8 streets, 61 communities, and 21 villages.
In today's world, with the development of the world multi-polarization and the economic globalization, the talents become the strategic focus of comprehensive national strength competition. The importance of civil servant education and training is day by day prominent, as well as puts forward a lot of new topics, new tasks, and new requirements.

The present situation

The concentrated training
District party committee, organization ministry, every year regularly organize all kinds of special ability quality improvement course combined with outside the province colleges and universities, that study topic chosen by students independently.

The "1 + X" education model
In recent years, Lianan District explore the establishment "1 + X" diversified education and training model to build the multi-level, wide-ranging and large-scale civil servant training pattern.
Implement "perception LiNa, wisdom creates the future" the information civil servant education project, using the "guangxi education website" and "wisdom LiNa district website" and so on to carry out network training.

The "1 + X" education model

---------High and new technology guide
This is Quangxi Action Learning Project under Sino-German Management Training Program. Taking the problems in the development as the subject in the research of action learning, and organizing related department personnel form study groups to resolve the development difficult problem in learning. It improved the civil servant's knowledge and ability, and promote the development of the city. These subjects involve police, economic and culture aspect.

Launch "menu point lesson" in return, according to reality needs of area development and civil servant ability enhancement, education organization formulate lesson list for civil servant to choose what content they like. While, the training place is diversified include university, party school, office, and even on-site training.

The "I + X" education model
--- The humanized design course
The present situation

Selection of a batch of a theory, eloquent, experienced, high quality and good moral character of the civil servant in the district civil servant as the urban internal trainers. Through expert training and self-training, classroom practice, etc. Help them master skills training to meet the need of the situation of training curriculum system development.

The "1 + X" education model
Establishing internal trainer fostering system

The problem analysis

Less pertinence
The conflict of study and working
The lack of training continuity

Though the training model have achieved a certain efficiency, but it is not ignore that there some existing problem in the training, as less pertinence, the conversation between study and work, lack of training continuity and career design of civil servant, etc. we need to study further to figure out measure to solve these problem.
Conclusion

In the aspect of training **plan**, the government set up science and detailed training goal to meet the needs of organization and individual. In the aspect of **mechanism**, establishing civil servant training incentive, constraint, and assessment mechanism. In the aspect of training **design**, constantly improve the method and content of teaching. Through the above measures, can make the civil servant training better solve the problems, can make the future civil servant training work more in line with the need of the development, to cultivate more talents for China’s future development.

What should the current civil servant education workers do while local government exactly facing the new situation, new tasks, and new requirements? How to carry out the better civil servant education?

**Plan**  **Design**  **Mechanism**

---

Thank you
Follow the Money:
Liuzhou Bureau of Finance

Zhou Yu

Background

Financial Department

Revenue

Tax Department

Allocation

budget
Regulation and Law

The Government Information Disclosure Ordinance
- Financial budget, final report, financial revenue and expenditure, condition of fund use and management, and credit and debt are the major government information should be disclosed.

Amendment bill of "Budget Law"
- Specific request about budget publicizing.
- Stipulate the publicizing scope, content, time, mode, and the degree of specific.
- Provide legal basis of budget publicizing.

Regulation and Law

All the reports should be publicized after being approved by people's congress within 20 days
- Budget, budget adjustment, final report, and budget implementation are should be publicized
- The important issue such as transform payment, government debt, agency running cost should be interpreted to the public.

No. 14 clause
Regulation and Law

New budget law
If the government or department staff has one of the actions as follow, he/she should modify his/her action. The supervisor would call to account.

- Violate Adjust the budget against the law
- Violate Not interpret the budget according the law
- Violate Get illegal fund revenue

Regulation and Law

All levels budget should make budget plan according to the last year implementation and the forecast of this year

The expenditure should be categorized according to their function and economic nature.

The report submitted should be specific. The record should be compiled to the button terms.
Measure of Liuzhou

2014 budget implementation & 2015 budget plan report

Revenue
- Tax revenue, administrative charge, state capital operation revenue, government fund revenue, etc.

Expenditure
- All the cost of generalized government activities.

Agency structure
Government purchase
Fund management

Content
- Public budget
- Government fund budget
- State capital budget
- Society insurance fund budget
Measure of Liuzhou

Update the financial information according to different phases

- Issue the schedule
- Publicize budget plan
- Implement
- Begin of a new year
- End of last year
- Announce regulations

Measure of Liuzhou

- Hospitality spending
- Going aboard business fund
- Official car purchase and operation maintenance cost

Anti-corruption
These three kinds of cost reflect the government consumption condition.
Conclusion

Transparent information is the foundation demand of democratic political society.

Liuzhou Finance Bureau should take more measures to improve the availability, intelligibility, and serviceability.

It is the opportunity and challenge for Liuzhou bureau of finance to raise its standard of service for the citizens.

Thank you!
Work Place Safety
The Work Safety Bureau of Liuzhou City

By Shuai Zeng
Central Washington University, Ellensburg
The work safety law enforcement detachment, vice chief

March, 2016

The History of Work Safety Administrative System in China

1. The period of ministry of labor (1954-2001)
After the founding of The People’s Republic of China, the duty of work safety and occupational health was undertaken by the ministry of labor (1954-2001). During this period, the ministry of labor issued many laws and regulations, and built the foundation of work safety protection, made a great contribution in the history. However, the key customers are state-owned enterprises, the ministry of labor focused on providing work safety and occupational health training for state-owned enterprises. That made a great influence on the rule-making and decision making.

The work safety administration (WSA) founded in 2001 as a department under the Economy and trading committee, and inherited the rights and obligations from the ministry of labor. In 2003, WSA improved as an independent vice-ministerial level department under the central government (state council) and became a ministerial level department in 2005.

WSB has the similar story, founded in 2002 and became an independent department in 2004.
Question arising

Question arises: why the Chinese government spent almost 5 years to build a new system in work safety area? Let's research the answer in background section.


During those 12 years, the number of work safety death in industry, conflagration and transportation increased sharply from 68,342 in 1990 to 139,393 in 2002 (work safety administration of China). The growth rate was 6.28% per year in average. It had become a serious issue that attracted the attention from the whole society and the central government should solve immediately.
The great change of domestic economy structure (1960-2000)

- According to the statistics (national bureau of statistics of China), in 1960, the state-owned enterprise played a dominating role, occupied 90.6%, in domestic economy. During 1980s and 1990s, because the economy reform and the open door policy, the proportion of state owned enterprise reduced obviously and private occupied the dominant position gradually. When 2000 came, the proportion of state owned and private economy was 71.8% vs 28.2% (national bureau of statistics of China).

The Political Ecology of China

After the private sector became the key customer, the work safety system lose the effective control of its customers. From the political ecology of China we can find the reasons. As a part of the government, the state-owned enterprise has an immediate and stable relationship with government naturally. Moreover, the China communism party also has a solid control on state-owned enterprises, the presidents of enterprises are always designated by the party. So the government (the ordinary system) can do excellent job on work safety area through controlling the state-owned enterprises when they dominated the domestic economy. However, when the private sector became the majority in economy, the environment of work safety area also changed dramatically. Because ordinary system has little control on the private sector, the government could not conduct administration and supervision efficiently and effectively any more. Thus that caused the sharp increasing of the work safety accidents.

Corresponding Solution
- The central government built a totally new ministerial department: WSA, more powerful, more professional, and more specific agency than the ministry of labor. It just focus on work safety and occupational issues. And built WSBs in every city, formed the net system covering the whole country.
- The central government also created a totally new creature: work safety committee (WSC), very powerful, can integrate and coordinate the power of departments which involved in work safety affairs.
The structure of work safety system in Liuzhou City

- Decision making and coordination level:
  - The work safety committee (WSC) is the top position in this structure under the lead of Liuzhou municipal government. A deputy mayor is designated as the chief director of the Committee. The committee focuses on the ideology and coordination function rather than implement in daily work. Most local regulation and executive orders in terms of work safety protection and occupational health were issued in the name of the committee. It was consisted of 38 agencies, and can coordinate and integrate their power and resources when necessary.
  - The municipal executive level:
    - The office of Work safety committee (OWSC for short) is the executive department of WSC inside the WSB, but actually, WSB undertakes the most jobs of OWSC normally.
    - The work safety bureau (WSB) is the most important department in work safety, which has 7 offices and one subordinate department and 40 staffs (I will introduce this organization in details later).
    - Subordinate and county district executive level:
      - The work safety law enforcement detachment (WSLED) is a subordinate organization of WSB, which is in charge of law enforcement affairs under the authority of WSB.
      - In general speaking, work safety system is a typical recursive system. From the central government level down to the township level, it leads the same structure, this presentation will focus on the municipal level.

The function of WSB (simplified)

- Planning and policy making
- Drafting the one year and five year plan of work safety administration and supervision, and providing professional suggestions to municipal government in policy making. Drafting and issuing local work safety protection and occupational laws and regulations.
- Supervision and law enforcement:
  - Keeping close supervision on the production activities of enterprises, and economic entities. Correct the activity which violated the law or regulation of work safety and occupational health. The measures including: imposing a fine, seizure and detaining are delegated by laws to WSB.
  - Education and training:
    - Providing the work safety protection and occupational health education and training to industrial workers and employees. Introducing the work safety knowledge and common sense to the public.
  - Information management and accident investigation:
    - Publishing the information and statistic data, organizing and leading group conduct the accident investigation. Drafting and publishing the accident report when investigation is finished.

You can find 12 items in terms of the function in the WSB's website, but I simplify those function to 4:
Current issues

- shortage of human resource: there are more than 20,000 economic entities and more than 200,000 industrial workers in Liuzhou. But just 40 staffs in the work safety bureau. Therefore, WSB can not conduct the planning, policy making, investigation, supervision, education, and law enforcement obligation cover all economic entities and industrial workers.
- Still focusing on the state-owned enterprises: nowadays, WSB still put the 75 state-own enterprises on the top of the supervision name list.
- So comparing with the ordinary system, the new system is much more powerful, more professional. But why still can not fulfil the demand of the environment?
Comparison

The small government concept

• Decentralized system
• The government and departments of the United States is relatively small, and undertake limited responsibilities.
• Most agencies focus on the obligation of inspection and adjudication.
• Use the self-report system rather than conduct supervision by agencies themselves.
• Leaving many obligations to market and citizens. (e.g.) Some obligations were delegated to NGOs and contractors.

The big government concept

• Centralized system
• The boundary of China government’s responsibility, conventionally, is much broader.
• Agencies were supposed to carry out the obligations even beyond the legislation setting. (e.g.) Some civil disputes prefer to seek help from agencies.
• Conduct the obligations by themselves, lack the participation of the market. (e.g.) WSB does the supervision itself even it is a impossible mission.

It is time to make some change.

Suggestion

• In term of the supervision, Introduce the self-report institution into work safety system, but just in the state-own, thereby WSB can focus on the private sector.

• In term of training and education, further open the training and education market. Let the enterprises undertake the main responsibilities, they can provide or buy the training and education service to their employees. WSB just is in charge of rule-making and standard setting.

• Nonprofit organization and industry association should help enterprises to keep self-discipline and supervision.
THANKS
Force and Firearms in China

Yu Zhao (Zoey)

Central Washington University
Abstract

China started to adopt the firearms-control policy in 1966 since then step by step the control of firearms has become more and more stringent. Chinese laws, regulations, and rules relating to firearms control are shaped by longstanding traditions and that expect law enforcement to reduce use of force and firearms in peace time. Entry into the global economy has changed the public safety situation in China that requires an adjustment of policy if law enforcement is to effectively cope with these changes. So, China stands at crossroad where it must decide how much and what kind of force or other means are required to protect the public.

Traditional understanding of firearm

“武” means military force, armed strength, or valor in China when there is invasion, conflict or war in the country. But in peace time, the character divides in to two words “戈” and “止”, which mean “weapons” and “to stop” respectively. So Chinese consider the characters’ meaning to be people should put down their weapons and stop all violence in peace time. Historically, Chinese do not like weapons in the daily life because they endanger their safety. This is the basic Chinese traditional concept of weapons.

Backgrounds

China has very strict laws, rules, and regulations about firearms and weapons. Firearms-Control Laws of People’s Republic of China (1996), Regulations on the Use of Police Apparatus and Weapons (1996), and Rules of Administration on Guns for Sports Usage (2010) are the principal laws. Other rules and regulations can be found in: Criminal Law (2015) and the Anti-Terrorist Law (2016). Many other laws also have some articles about force and firearms control.
Actually, China did not have the firearms-control policy when the country was founded. Because of the continuing impact of the long civil war many residents and the militias still had their weapons. There were no limitations on the possession of guns since people had to be fully prepared for the battles happened from time to time.

History of Firearms-Control Policy in China

1966, a teenager, shooting at a bird, accidentally shot through a window of the People's Hall. In response to this incident China established a firearms registration system. Under this first vision of firearms-control regulation, citizens could still keep guns, but they had to be registered with the police department.
During the Culture Revolution, people still had easy accessed to the weapons, which led to some tragic results.

After the Culture Revolution, along with the dramatically increasing of the economy, the Chinese domestic security situation rapidly deteriorated. Police were using force and firearms frequently.

In order to control the police officers’ use force and firearms the Ministry of Public Security issued the *Rules on the Use of Police Apparatus and Weapons* in 1980. But the permissiveness of the regulation made it very hard to implement; police officers could even take their guns home after work.
In 1981, with the Firearms-Control Regulations of People’s Republic of China was published to the society: it narrowed down the scope of firearm ownership, in order to better managed the social security and protect wild animals. This law did not require permission to carry a gun so the public could still possess some imitation guns like BB guns and air guns.

There were case records that showed people were accidentally shot with imitation guns by owners, while people were shot intentionally or injured by police officers who abused their weapon power, which means the management of the guns was not restrictive enough at that time.

In order to regulate the ownership of imitation guns and the use of weapons by the law enforcement, the central government decided to issue a much stricter firearms-control law. The most stringent Firearms-Control Law of People’s Republic of China took effect on October 1, 1996, and the newest Amendment was released on April 24, 2015.

This law has a very clear definition of the people and organizations that can possess a gun, and of what qualifies as a gun. Some minorities could possess machetes or hunting guns in accordance with their customs; and the bureau of sports could have weapons based on their requirements.

After several decades of weapons control, imitation guns or weapons were rarely seen in public areas, and most of the public was satisfied with a society without guns. A society that conforms to the traditional concept of ideal peace time society.
The Ministry of Public Security (MPC) continues to issue new *Regulations on the Use of Police Apparatus and Weapons*, and to discipline police officers excessive force particularly where firearms are involved. The MPC issued a new Rule known as “Five Prohibitions” to further regulate the police officers' behaviors in 2003. In addition, the central government also add some new amendments in Criminal Law to further regulate the police officers' behavior.

In the regulations, the apparatus and weapons was defined, and the circumstances which allow the law enforcement to use apparatus or weapons were regulated.

In the prohibitions, one is strictly forbidden from using a gun when drunk and can be expelled from the law enforcement if they violate any gun-related regulations.

The law introduces many strict rules and regulations to prevent the law enforcement from extorting confession by torture, abuse the force and firearms, and other illegal behaviors. The police officers will be sentenced if he was abuse with his powers or uses it careless.

The Current Situation in China
Although these two laws were modified twice during the last 20 years, reforms have failed to respond to new security threats brought on by the tremendous change that has happened in China.

Because of the law is mostly intended to protect the citizens from the police, in order to avoid being falsely accused, the police officers have become overly cautious when they use force and firearms towards the offenders.

Actually, most of the police officers lack weapon training. The police department's daily work is more trivial, so they barely use force and firearms, many officers even do not need to carry a gun.

Recent years, the society has the tendency to humiliate and assault the police officers whenever they believe that they have been treat unfairly by the law enforcement. There are over 3000 police officers injured on duty every year.

On the other hand, the terrorists are rapidly spreading all over the world, China has also become one of the most important targets, yet law enforcement is far from being prepared for responding to this kind of situation.

When the Kunming terrorist attack happened, most of the police officers who arrived only had some self-defense equipment; the criminals were shot down 10 minutes later by SWAT.
And because there is a lot of responsibility the police officers need to take when they carry a gun, some of them consider it is troublesome to have a gun; they are not even willing to apply for the permission to carry guns.

The central government added a new amendment regarding the crime of police assault in the *Criminal Law* and issued the *Law of Anti-Terrorist* to make sure that police have the right to use their weapons. Yet, law enforcement is still not willing to use weapons because the law is still ambiguous and hard to implement.

Last year, two traffic police officers had to kneel to perform their duty when a middle-aged woman knelt to beg the police officers to let her son get away from punishment when they caught her son driving under the influence.

Some citizens said that the police officers were not knelt to the woman, but to the public's opinion; if the police did not kneel back to the woman, then that would be another example of abusive power.

This case truly reflects the awkward environment of police officer when they enforce the law on those who do not want to be punished; therefore, leading the press to advertise a
misunderstanding of the situation.

After the Kunming terrorist attack, Chinese government started to encourage the law enforcement to properly use their guns.

Then, how does one protect and regulate the law enforcement from using force and firearm power?

The body cameras and real-time surveillance, which could record all the things and send the video back to the supervisors’ department now are widely used in police department’s daily work. Because this equipment is considered as measurement to avoid the false accusation by the citizens and it also a great way to fully protect the citizens human right.

These records could be used as a digital evidence when there is any dispute between the citizens and police.

New Choices China Facing

Citizens have two different points of view on police officers carrying weapons:

Some of them agree that they should encourage the law enforcement to use their force and firearms in order to better serve people and protect themselves

Others are afraid that the law enforcement would abuse their power when they receive more authorization.

So, we are facing a significant and complicated choice.