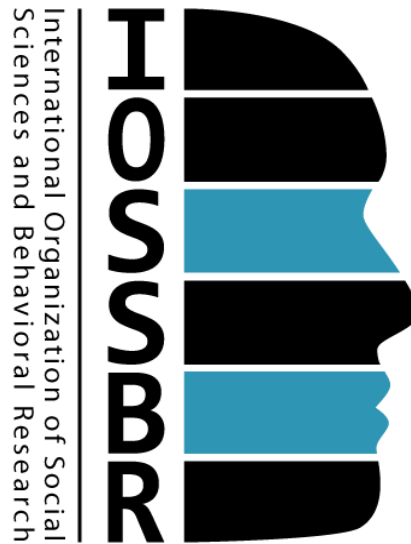


# Journal of Social Sciences Research



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BRAD FORENZA, Montclair State University

# A New Tool for Assessing Community-Based Learning Benefits

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Concordia College

## ABSTRACT

*Beneficial effects of college students' engagement in community-based learning experiences have been identified across several domains. This points to the importance of examining the multiple potential benefits of such experiences, rather than focusing on any single benefit. This paper describes the development and validation of a scale to measure student perceptions of the benefits of community-based learning. 176 students at a liberal arts college in the Midwestern United States responded to the new 38-item rating scale that assessed gains in several domains as a result of engaging in community-based learning. The internal consistency reliability, item-total correlations, and convergent validity of the new scale were assessed. The results indicated that the new scale is a reliable and valid scale for comprehensively assessing the benefits of community-based learning in college students. Students' responses on the new scale revealed differences in the extent of gains in several domains and among different groups of students. Possible explanations for these differences are discussed, and implications for future assessment of the benefits of community-based learning are offered.*

*Keywords:* community-based learning, service learning, college students, assessment

## Introduction

Community-based learning is an active-learning pedagogical strategy that intentionally integrates service to the local community with coursework. Service and learning are integrated through course assignments that involved specific topics for each student to address or overall written reflection journals on the experience of each individual student that tie service experiences to the course topics and theories. The purpose of this strategy is to have students use what they learn in class to better understand and to improve the community they live in, thus enhancing student learning while also benefiting local communities (National Service Learning Clearinghouse, n.d.).

Beneficial effects of college students' engagement in community-based learning experiences have been identified across several domains (Eyler, Giles, Stenson, & Gray, 2001). This points to the importance of examining the multiple potential benefits of such experiences, rather than focusing on any single benefit. One domain of strong beneficial effects is academic development (Cuban & Anderson, 2007; Hart & King, 2007; Hirschinger-Blank & Markowitz, 2006; Jones & Hill, 2003; Lundy, 2007; Strage, 2004). Other domains of beneficial effects include personal

development (Balsano, 2005; Barbee, Scherer, & Combs, 2003; Mueller, 2005; Ngai, 2006; Strain, 2005), intercultural competence (Lundy, 2007; Paoletti, Segal, & Totino, 2007), and commitment to future civic-engagement (Bentley & Ellison, 2005; Buch & Harden, 2011; Deeley, 2010; Miller & Gonzalez, 2009; Prentice, 2007; Sather, Weitz, & Carlson, 2007).

Because of strong evidence of the potential positive impacts that community-based learning has on students, many colleges around the globe now offer it to students (Kenworthy & Fornaciari, 2010; Moser & Rogers, 2005). Several measures have been developed to assess the impact of community-based learning on students, however there is a need for a measure that could singularly assess the various domains of perceived community-based learning's impact. This study involved the development of an instrument to comprehensively measure undergraduate students' perceptions of the benefits of community-based learning.

## Method

### Participants

Data were collected from a sample of 176 students attending a small private liberal arts college in Minnesota, United States. Convenience sampling methods were utilized, with all students engaged in community-based learning in the college being invited to participate. The sample was comprised of mostly American students. The demographic characteristics of the sample are presented in Table 1. A high proportion of students in the sample were first-year students due to the fact that community-based learning is typically incorporated into a course that is required for all first-year students in the college from which our sample was recruited.

**Table 1**

#### Demographic Characteristics of the Main Sample

<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Average Age</i>	<i>Freshman</i>	<i>Sophomore</i>	<i>Junior</i>	<i>Senior</i>
35%	65%	19.3	58%	15%	11%	16%

### Measures

The new scale we developed, entitled the Multidimensional Measure of Community-Based Learning Benefits, aimed to incorporate all potential domains of community-based-learning outcomes while also optimizing the number of questions asked. The new scale was composed of selected, modified items from the following available surveys: the Academic Competence Evaluation Scales (DiPerna & Elliott, 1999), the Civic Attitudes and Skills Questionnaire (Moely, Mercer, Ilustre, Miron, & McFarland, 2002), the Scale of Service Learning Involvement (Olney & Grande, 1995), the Service Learning Benefit Scale (Toncar, Reid, Burns, Anderson, & Nguyen, 2006), and the Student Service-Learning Course Survey (Wang, Ye, Jackson, Rodgers, & Jones, 2005). Additional items were developed based on specific outcomes of community-

based learning that were suggested in the literature (Astin & Sax, 1998; Hirschinger-Blank & Markowitz, 2006; Joseph, Stone, Grantham, Harmancioglu, & Ibrahim, 2007; Moser & Rogers, 2005; Ngai, 2006; Reed, Jernstedt, Hawley, Reber, & DuBois, 2005; Simons & Cleary, 2005).

## **Procedure**

After securing approval to proceed with the study from the Institutional Review Board at the college from which our participants were recruited, a list of instructors who utilize the community-based learning pedagogy was obtained from the campus service learning office. These instructors were contacted for permission to recruit participants from their classrooms. All of the instructors contacted agreed to let the researchers recruit participants from their classrooms. Students engaged in community-based learning in our sample were enrolled in various courses including psychology, sociology, composition, communication, business, and economics. Students who consented to the study filled out the questionnaire in the classroom. Some students who were not in class on the day of data collection or who needed more time to complete the survey returned it to the researcher's mailbox a few days later.

## **Results**

The resulting scale is composed of 38 items, shown in Table 2, that are each answered on a 10-point scale ranging from 1 (community-based learning did not accomplish this goal) to 10 (community-based learning accomplished this goal extremely well). The items were grouped into four different subscales, based on an assessment of the face validity of the items. Each subscale assessed a different domain of impact. Each subscale was computed by averaging the scores on its items:

- (1) Academic Gains (A) subscale, which includes 10 items that assess academic gains in the course that the student is in.
- (2) Local/Global Citizenship (C) subscale, which includes 14 items that assess students' sense of civic responsibility and their global perspectives.
- (3) Personal Skills (P) subscale, which includes seven items that assess critical thinking, communication, and interpersonal skills.
- (4) Intrapersonal Development (I) subscale, which includes seven items that assess development of goals, reflection on values, and cultural identification.

**Table 2*****The Multidimensional Measure of Community-Based Learning Benefits***

Subscale	Item
A	Increased my interest in the course topics
A	Motivated me to stay up to date with readings and course work in this class
A	Enabled me to better learn fundamental principles and theories in this course
A	Helped me understand issues related to this course's content
A	Enabled me to apply course material to real life problem solving and/or decision making
A	Contributed to my participation in class discussion
A	Increased my overall enjoyment of this course
A	Stimulated me to discuss class topics with others outside of class
A	Increased my curiosity about topics related to this course's disciplinary field
A	Motivated me to plan on taking more courses in this disciplinary field
C	Stimulated my interest in other cultures or groups in my community
C	Increased my appreciation of the variety of existing cultural values and practices
I	Stimulated me to reflect on my tendency to think that my group's values and practices are superior to those of other groups
C	Stimulated me to examine some of my own stereotypes and biases
C	Helped me gain a deeper appreciation of cultural diversity as a societal strength
C	Helped me see people as individuals rather than members of stereotyped groups
C	Encouraged me to share experiences with others whose backgrounds or views differ from my own
C	Improved my ability to communicate with people different from myself
P	Enabled me to work more effectively with others
I	Increased my understanding of my own culture/group and its practices
I	Helped me develop a clearer understanding of my personal values and beliefs
I	Helped deepen my commitment to my values and beliefs
I	Inspired me to think about my future career
C	Helped me realize that my actions can make a difference in this world
P	Increased my effectiveness in expressing myself orally
P	Improved my writing skills
P	Increased my ability to analyze information
P	Developed my ability to think critically about the information presented to me
P	Helped me become a more thoughtful reflective person
I	Stimulated me to set more challenging goals for myself
I	Inspired me to think about my purpose in life
C	Strengthened my commitment to work towards a society that respects all people
C	Helped me examine my society more closely
C	Increased my awareness of the need to improve the lives of disadvantaged people in my community
C	Helped me see myself as part of the solution to the problems in my society
C	Stimulated me to think more deeply about my social responsibilities
P	Helped me develop the skills necessary for being an active member of the community
C	Increased my commitment to a life of active service to my community

*Note.* A = Academic Gains; C = Local/Global Citizenship; P = Personal Skills; I = Intrapersonal Development.

To test the reliability and validity of the Multidimensional Measure of Community-Based Learning Benefits, a separate pilot sample of 110 students enrolled in a private college in the Midwestern United States was utilized. Participants had engaged in community-based learning in at least one of their courses. The sample was 80.9% female and 19.1% male, with an average age of 19.6. The sample was composed of 40.9% freshmen, 19.1% sophomores, 12.7% juniors, and 27.3% seniors.

The internal consistency reliability coefficients (Cronbach's alpha) of the measure and its subscales in the pilot sample were computed (see Table 3). The coefficients ranged from .86 to .98, indicating that the measure is reliable. The corrected item-total correlations in the pilot sample were higher than .3 for the whole measure (.46-.87), the Academic Gains subscale (.61-.82), the Local/Global Citizenship subscale (.52-.84), the Personal Skills subscale (.58-.75), and the Intrapersonal Development subscale (.32-.76). The internal consistency reliability coefficients (Cronbach's alpha) for the Multidimensional Measure of Community-Based Learning Benefits and its four subscales were also examined in the main sample. As Table 3 shows, the overall scale as well as its subscales were reliable in the main sample as well as the pilot sample.

**Table 3**

*Alpha Coefficients for the Multidimensional Measure of Community-Based Learning Benefits*

	Pilot sample (N=110)	Main sample (N=176)
A	.94	.95
C	.95	.96
P	.87	.90
I	.86	.91
Overall Benefits	.98	.98

*Note.* A = Academic Gains; C = Local/Global Citizenship; P = Personal Skills; I = Intrapersonal Development.

The convergent validity of the Multidimensional Measure of Community-Based Learning Benefits was tested by administering it to the same pilot sample of 110 students from the United States simultaneously with the Service Learning Benefits Scale, developed by Toncar and his colleagues (2006), which has been established as a valid scale for assessing the outcomes of community-based learning. The Multidimensional Measure of Community-Based Learning Benefits measures perceived academic gains in addition to all the domains that the Service Learning Benefits Scale measures. The two scales were strongly correlated,  $r(108) = .70, p < .001$ , which indicates that the Multidimensional Measure of Community-Based Learning



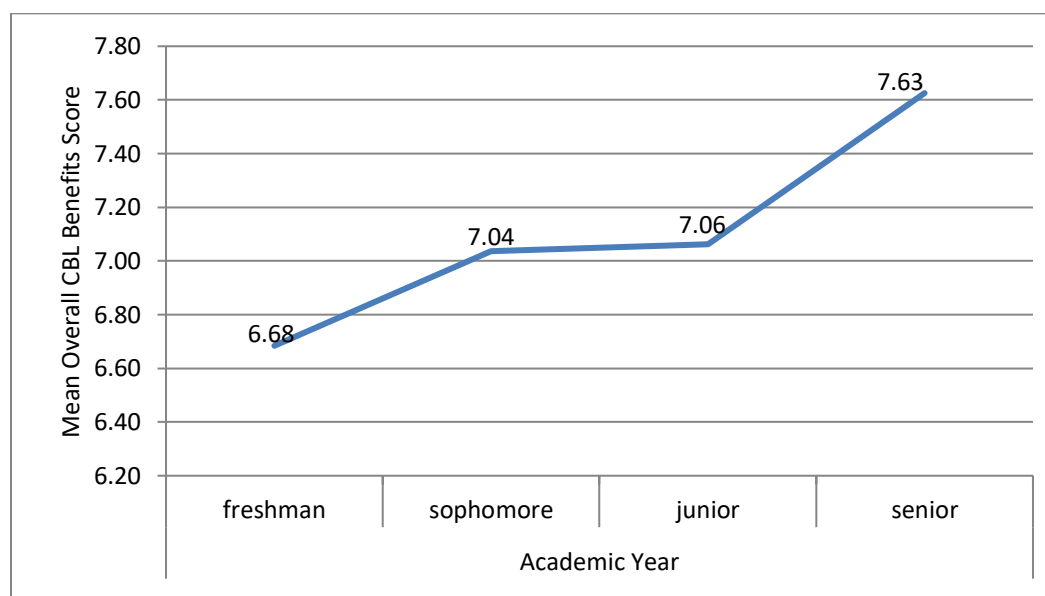
Benefits can be considered a valid measure of student perceptions of community-based learning outcomes.

As can be seen in Table 4, students in our sample reported that community-based learning accomplished each of the 38 outcomes listed on the Multidimensional Measure of Community-Based Learning Benefits, with the mean scores of all the items higher than 6, on a scale of 1-10. Students endorsed items that assessed benefits from community-based learning not only in the domain of academics, but also in the domains of self-examination, reflection on one’s values, and finding meaning in life. As Figure 1 indicates, there was a clear trend toward upper-class students reporting more overall gains from community-based learning than first-year students within our sample.

***Community-Based Learning Benefits***

Domain	<i>N</i>	<i>M (SD)</i>	<i>SEM</i>
A	173	6.35 (1.92)	0.15
C	170	7.49 (1.70)	0.13
P	175	6.55 (1.77)	0.13
I	172	6.83 (1.91)	0.15
Overall Benefits	164	6.93 (1.66)	0.13

*Note.* A = Academic Gains; C = Local/Global Citizenship; P = Personal Skills; I = Intrapersonal Development.



*Figure 1.* Mean community-based learning (CBL) Overall Benefits scores by academic year

## Discussion

This study contributes to the literature on community-based learning by providing a newly-developed measure of student perceptions of the benefits gained from engaging in community-based learning activities. The main advantages of the measure described in this study over other measures of community-based learning are its comprehensiveness and brevity. While comprised of only 38 items, the measure assesses all the various domains of benefits reported in the community-based learning literature. Consistent with the current literature (cited at the beginning of this article), students in our sample endorsed numerous beneficial effects of community-based learning experiences across the multiple domains encompassed in the measure.

It is possible that the gains reported by the students in our study are a function of the academic environment and the growth that students experience within any given semester, rather than the result of engaging in community-based learning in particular. Experimental research that includes a community-based learning condition as well as a control condition would be needed in order to determine whether the gains reported by students are due to community-based learning experiences in particular or not.

Several factors may have contributed to the differences in the extent to which students in our sample endorsed various community-based learning outcomes. The literature reports that community-based learning may be particularly effective when the learning opportunities involve affluent students interacting with less advantaged members of the community (Paoletti et al., 2007) on a genuine, sustained basis (Cuban & Anderson, 2007). Another possible explanation is

that community-based learning experiences were an elective for some students and a requirement for others. Jones and Hill (2003) found that while required service increases the number of participants, it tends to be automatically perceived as undesirable by students. Similarly, Stukas, Snyder, and Clary (1999) report that when community-based learning programs are instituted as a requirement, there is tendency for a reduced interest in them.

In our data, we saw a general trend toward upper-class students reporting more overall gains from community-based learning than first-year students. This difference might reflect differences in the ability of more upper-class students to gain more from engagement in community-based learning experiences compared to freshmen students.

The factor structure of the Multidimensional Measure of Community-Based Learning Benefits that was developed in this study still needs to be assessed. The subscales in our measure were only conceptually developed. It was not possible to perform principal components factor analysis on the measure in our study because our sample size fell short of the recommended minimum subject-to-item ratio of at least 5:1 (Hatcher, 1994), if not 10:1 (Nunnally, 1978). Using a pre-post longitudinal design would also make it possible to control for pre-existing differences between the students and to therefore obtain a clearer picture of the benefits that students perceive gaining as a result of community-based learning experiences.

Notwithstanding the limitations of the current study, it introduces a new potentially useful tool for quantitatively and comprehensively assessing the outcomes of community-based learning in college students. Using the scale developed in this study can help guide colleges and educators in planning and structuring the community-based learning opportunities they offer to their students. The new scale can also be very helpful in assessing the effectiveness of these offerings and refining them to maximize their benefits for students.

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# Changing the Face of Social Studies: Teacher Candidates Perceptions of Social Studies Gets a Lift

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## ABSTRACT

*One of the greatest challenges educators face is marginalizing social studies for the sake of reading and mathematics. Teacher candidates in an elementary teacher preparation program examine their perceptions concerning the social studies discipline and determine the best approaches to teaching elementary social studies. Teacher candidates must address the need for effective social studies instruction in the elementary school setting and be challenged to include social studies in future classrooms. This study focuses on examining teacher candidates' perceptions of elementary social studies instruction and bringing reform to the elementary school setting.*

## Introduction

The aim of this article is twofold: (1) to survey the teacher candidates' perception of the social studies discipline and how interdisciplinary trends may influence their perceptions, (2) to determine the best approaches to teaching elementary social studies and to help teacher candidates understand why social studies is important. In elementary school, generally speaking, teachers only provide social studies instruction if time allows. "Since society is changing rapidly, teaching social studies is even more of a challenge today than it was in the past" (Turner, Russell, & Walters, 2013, p. 1). Social studies is the study of people—how people live, work, get along with others, and solve problems. In today's society, elementary students must learn responsible citizenship by observing how others make choices, by examining different points of view, and by realizing how to treat all people with respect and tolerance.

Teacher candidates must examine all the different approaches to teaching elementary social studies as well as the social trends facing future educators. Turner, Russell and Walters (2013) stated that elementary social studies candidates must begin to ask, "What are the disciplines that comprise social studies?" "Which knowledge is most important in social studies?" "What topics

and themes should be included in an elementary curriculum? Lastly, “What is the curriculum scope and sequence of elementary social studies? Questions such as these are constant and troubling for even the seasoned social studies educator (p.13).

Today’s teacher candidates must learn to effectively work with students who have different cultural backgrounds by determining ways to involve active learning that focuses on solving problems (Turner, Russell, & Walters, 2013, p.1). Students need to study about their own families and become engaged in first-hand research by collecting data through observation, interviewing, reading, and conversing with family members. The tested areas of reading, language arts, and mathematics have allocated times, but there simply must be more attention given to helping students learn about social studies by understanding themselves and their place in society (Turner, Russell, & Walters, 2013, p.3). “When children are empowered by knowledgeable and skillful teachers with the information, ideas, skills, attitudes, and values that compose the social studies curriculum, their judgment is improved” (Parker, 2012, p.3). All teacher candidates must understand that social studies education matters and know they can help students “solve community problems, embrace diversity, fight intolerance and bigotry, protect the environment, and with deep understanding, empathize with the hopes, dreams, and struggles of people everywhere” (Parker, 2012, p.3).

Common Core State Standards for English Language Arts and Literacy (Common Standards Initiative, 2010), refine the nature and delivery of content knowledge that prepares students for college and career, as does the Social Studies for the Next Generation Purposes, Practices, and Implications of the College, Career, and Civic Life (C3) Framework for Social Studies State Standards (2013). Both of these documents have “the unique distinction of preparing students for civic life” (NCSS, 2013, p.vii). Therefore, becoming familiar with the NCSS Themes, the Social Studies C3 Framework, and the CCSS-ELA (2010), teacher candidates will understand the relationship of social studies inquiry, literacy, and preparing students for future civic life.

### **Social Studies Key Trends**

“A social trend is a social force” (Parker, 2012, p.17). Trends carry power, they influence the way people think about customs and beliefs and many times these trends influence teachers who are beginning their career (Parker, 2012, p 17). Today there are five key trends facing teacher candidates. These social studies trends include (1) closing the achievement gap, (2) assessment, accountability, and the global achievement gap, (3) globalization and the 21<sup>st</sup> century skills, (4) democracy, and (5) making the literacy-social studies connection (Parker, 2012, p. 18).

#### **Trend 1: Closing the Achievement Gap**

Closing the achievement gap requires that teacher candidates develop competencies so they can do everything within their power to narrow the gap within the classroom. Teacher candidates “need to be aware of and plan for diversity” (Parker, 2012, p.31). “Today’s teachers are expected to work hard to educate the diverse children of today’s classrooms and to create more successful ways of doing so than have been developed thus far” (Parker, 2012, p.19). With this in mind, teacher candidates are required to take the vision of public education to a higher level



than in previous years by providing high quality education while closing the achievement gap between all the cultures represented in the classroom.

### **Trend 2: Assessment, Accountability, and the Global Achievement Gap**

Teacher candidates must be aware of all the forms of assessment the students will encounter as well as the purposes of testing. Tax dollars fund public schools and various constituencies want to know what educators are doing and how students are performing within and across the United States (Ogle & Beers, 2012, p.34). With so much emphasis on assessment coming from so many quarters, teacher candidates must be prepared to help students succeed on the national, state, and local assessments while ensuring they become effective members of society (Ogle & Beers, p.34).

Therefore, teacher candidates must obtain formative and summative information about student's knowledge, skills, and progress by continually observing, documenting, and reviewing student performance. Equally important is the global achievement gap between students in the United States and our international peers in competitor nations. Teacher candidates must view assessment as a process of gathering information about students in order to help them make informed decisions about their education and decide the path in life they will ultimately pursue.

### **Trend 3: Globalization and the 21<sup>st</sup> Century**

Globalization is not new and it is constantly changing while intensifying with multiple dimensions (Parker, 2012, p. 21). Globalization has multiple dimensions and “one kind is widening the rich—poor gap around the world in the name of new markets, ‘free trade,’ and cheap labor (Parker, 2012, p. 21). Globalization makes our world more connected and many of our economic competitors are only a mouse-click away. “Another kind of globalization—political rather than economics—is thinking about human rights; and viewing the pressure being placed on oppressive governments for liberal reforms such as freedom of speech and religion as well as gender and racial equality (Parker, 2012, p. 21).

Teacher candidates may respond by promoting world language instruction in the elementary grades that include English, Japanese, and Spanish starting in kindergarten. These world languages emphasize the holistic view of the 21<sup>st</sup> century teaching and learning that focuses on information literacy, media literacy, communications and collaboration skills with our nation and beyond (Parker, 2012, p. 22). Social studies instruction in the past, especially in elementary classrooms, marginalized the discipline and focused mostly on history and geography by having students memorize certain people, places, dates, and events in history.

Presently, classrooms are shifting from teacher-directed instruction to student-centered instruction by using methods such as small group work, technology, and media literacy. Teacher candidates must acquire the values that underlie a democratic society by teaching students to respect themselves and others, and accept responsibility in the school community and work together to form new ideas as a collective whole.

## **Trend 4 Democracy**

Democracy holds our society together and teacher candidates must see themselves as democracy educators. “Research has been clear that if we expect democratic behavior from adults—tolerance of diverse religions, for example, and knowing how to participate in government—then we must begin their democratic education in the primary grades and build from there” (Parker, 2012, p. 24). Teacher candidates can help students see themselves as members of a democratic society in which individuals have rights, obligations, and responsibilities to prepare them to become citizens of the world, not just our nation.

## **Trend 5: Making the Literacy-Social Studies Connection**

The newest trend in making the literacy-social studies connection is integrating social studies through reading and writing instruction. Many talented teachers have done this for years calling it the interdisciplinary approach, but now this practice requires all teachers to construct knowledge while using language and reading skills presented in Common Core State Standards (2010).

This era of Common Core Standards (2010) and high stakes testing for reading and mathematics some say is the demise of ‘good’ social studies instruction, but effective social studies instruction was already rare before this age. Others argue that Common Core State Standards (2010) and high stakes testing has given teachers another reason to marginalize the social studies discipline even more in elementary classrooms. In actuality, the literacy-social studies connection makes social studies the core of a good curriculum.

Teacher candidates’ must address their perceptions of social studies and explore ways to make the social studies discipline relevant to students in today’s elementary classroom. Social studies instruction implements hands on, minds on engagement requiring students to actively research relevant themes and topics. Teacher candidates need to engage students in “critical thinking, reflecting, questioning, searching out information, and debating ideas and opinions” (Dodge, Jablon, & Bickart, 1994, p.332). “And by participating in a classroom community, children learn what it means to live in a democratic society” (Dodge, Jablon, & Bickart, 1994, p.332).

Even with these trends facing educators, teacher candidates rarely observe social studies instruction in the elementary classroom. In addition, teacher candidates state that when they do observe social studies, in most classrooms, it involves teacher lectures, students taking notes, coloring maps and globes, reading sections and answering questions from the textbook. Candidates express that many times the last fifteen to twenty minutes of the day is the only time they see social studies instruction. Teachers squeeze in “social studies” that rarely involves researching topics and themes, creating visual presentations, and examining primary source documents.

## Method

### Participants

In a rural college setting, the School of Education prepares teacher candidates for elementary classroom environments. This study surveys the perceptions of 200 elementary teacher candidates using Welton's Social Studies Inventory (2005). Throughout this study, teacher candidates' compiled information about the different social studies methods and approaches used in elementary classrooms today. Ultimately, teacher candidates examined and refined their perception of the social studies discipline. They gained knowledge through course requirements and hands-on activities that would enable them to construct an effective social studies environment.

### Instrument

A Social Studies Inventory developed by David Welton (2005) was adapted for this study. The Social Studies Inventory included categories of Agree, Uncertain, and Disagree. The Social Studies Inventory (2005) consisted of eight statements to survey teacher candidates' perceptions about social studies methodology. Table 1 entitled Social Studies Inventory provides the statements about social studies perceptions.

### Research Design

In an effort to examine the teacher candidates' perception of the social studies discipline and the influence of interdisciplinary trends, the instructors implemented graded course requirements and non-graded in-class activities over the duration of the course. On the first day, the 200 teacher candidates completed the Welton's Social Studies Inventory (2005) as a pre-assessment for the elementary education social studies methodology course before any class discourse occurred. The course instructor stated the general directions and asked each person to place his/her name on the inventory. The researchers verbally read each question on the Social Studies Inventory (2005). Researchers provided blue ink pens for the teacher candidates to complete the pre-inventories. The researchers collected the completed pre-inventories and stored them in a secure location on campus until the post inventory at the end of the course. Next, the teacher candidates reviewed the course requirements for the elementary education social studies methodology course. Graded course requirements included the Historical Artifacts, Best Practices, WebQuest, and Community Encounter.

Non-graded in-class activities allowed teacher candidates to engage in informal discussions. The "Life-Rope Timelines" allowed teacher candidates to introduce themselves to the class, while a "What Is Social Studies" collage also served as a pre-assessment to determine what they knew about the social studies disciplines and how they viewed the content area.

Another non-graded activity required teacher candidates to research and rate trade books appropriate for an effective social studies curriculum. In addition, instructors read, *If the World Was a Village* and teacher candidates presented "Geography of Me" posters. Then, after reading, *Duck for President* (2004), teacher candidates created a campaign as a team and chose a candidate to run for senior block president. Afterwards, they viewed the DVD, *Our Friend*

Martin (1999), to explore the history, geography, and economics during the Civil Rights Movement and discussed how they would use the video with elementary students.

Candidates designed cooperative biographies after reading the Joe Joe (2001) series who explored African American historical figures. Teacher candidates also had the opportunity to interview the author of the Joe Joe (2001) books through Skype.

As a graded course requirement, teacher candidates worked as group to develop an integrated WebQuest where they found a topic of interest appropriate for elementary students and they wrote an integrative lesson plan. Another graded requirement included the Community Encounter. Teacher candidates formed groups, planned a community field trip to a place of their choice and developed lesson plans that included activities prior to, during, and after the trip. Other graded course requirements included researching articles and finding historical artifacts and/or primary sources. They used these artifacts and/or documents to develop lessons that illustrated how they would teach elementary students about a particular period, event, or person in history.

On the last day of the course after the graded and non-graded course assignments were completed, the teacher candidates returned to their Social Studies Inventory (2005). The course instructor reviewed the general directions and then verbally read each question on the Social Studies Inventory. This time course instructor provided black ink pens for the teacher candidates to complete the post inventories. Teacher candidates wrote comments about any attitudes and perceptions that changed from the pre to the post inventory.

The course instructor included Welton's (2005) answers and discussions as a point of reference to frame the class discussion about the statements on the Social Studies Inventory (2005). Welton (2005) agrees that social studies is too often dull and boring. Welton points to three problems that make this statement true.

- 1) Textbooks present information in a boring manner,
- 2) Textbooks include too much information, and
- 3) Textbooks broadly cover the material within a school year and not in an in-depth manner to facilitate understanding for the students.

Next, Welton (2005) continues by stating that he is uncertain if what children learn in social studies is useful to their everyday lives. Welton (2005) emphasizes that how teachers teach social studies determines if the material is relevant to students. Concurrently, Welton (2005) firmly disagrees with the statement that social studies instruction is not as important as teaching reading or mathematics. He argues that thought-provoking social studies lessons include topics and concepts that are just as important as what students learn in reading and mathematics.

Welton (2005) also disagrees with the statement that the main purpose of social studies is to teach history and geography. He states that, "The main purpose for teaching social studies is to produce thoughtful, competent, well-informed, and responsible citizens" (p. 4). Furthermore, Welton (2005) disagrees that social studies teachers put about the right amount of emphasis on teaching thinking skills. He argues that many traditional programs emphasize memorizing

names, dates, etc. versus teaching students to think critically and problem solve using the various social studies topics and concepts.

He does, agree that teachers place too much emphasis on the textbook. He states there are many factors that attribute to teachers over relying on the textbook. Teachers feel pressured to use the textbook due to state or school requirements. Others rely on the textbook mainly unaware there are other resources available. Still others educators feel that they must cover all of the chapters in the textbook to eliminate gaps in the information shared with students.

Welton (2005) is uncertain if social studies instructions involve everyday classroom behaviors, such as lining up properly to walk through the hall or learning to obey classroom rules. Welton is uncertain about the context of how lining up properly and learning to obey rules occurs in schools. If students participate in creating classroom rules and are a part of the decision-making for their classroom, then it could easily address citizenship education. On the other hand, if students only follow rules that have been created for them, is lining up properly or following classroom rules really social studies education?

He ends these statements by agreeing that small-group work in social studies often uses time that could be better-spent learning things that are really important. According to Welton (2005), many times teachers use group work in social studies as a breather and points out that the success of group work depends on how the teacher utilizes the method. The context for small-group work is to help children learn to work effectively with one another. Therefore, meaningful group work fosters critical thinking and discussion among the students building team camaraderie.

#### Findings

A goal of the study was to survey the perceptions of social studies instruction before participating in course requirements. The Welton Social Studies Inventory (2005) served as an avenue to allow teacher candidates to examine their perceptions and reevaluate their perceptions once the social studies methodology course was completed.

At the end the course, instructors recorded the teacher candidates' comments. Katelyn states, "Social studies instruction involves more than just history and geography...it is about time, change, and the reality of what has happened or what is currently happening all around the world today." Amber expresses, "Social studies explicitly remind us how we are interdependent in our world and how we connect socially. The social studies content area and thematic strands are like dots and they all connect together to form the bigger picture." Abby adds, "Social studies instruction gives students an awareness of things outside of their own little bubble or culture, which can lead to respect and appreciation for others and to other places and cultures, so this is extremely important."

Many teacher candidates made the literacy-social studies connection and realized that integrating social studies content into the literacy block involves having map discussions, researching places, and writing about these cultures. Anna states, "It is very important that we as teachers learn how to integrate social studies into our teaching in the "literacy block" because this is such a big portion of the day." Casey states, "Teachers should use current event topics and bring them to life within language arts lesson to make them relevant to their lives.

From the teacher candidates' recorded comments and reflections, three themes emerged. The first theme noted by many teacher candidates was the realization that social studies is not dull and boring if the teacher implements small group activities and uses technology, resources, maps, and the globe rather than relying only on the textbook for information and pictures. The second theme that emerged was teacher candidates realized that the main purpose of social studies is not all about teaching history and geography, but learning how to be a good citizen by looking back at our human past and learning new ways to fit into society as an active global citizen. The third prevalent theme teacher candidates realized was that social studies is an integral part of the daily curriculum and easily integrated with all the disciplines throughout the school day.

## **Conclusion**

Teacher candidates "must develop the creative and adaptive habits of mind that come with interdisciplinary thinking so as to apply those ways of thinking to real world problems" (NCSS, 2013, p.xiv). Through classroom discussions and reflections, teacher candidates developed a much deeper appreciation of social studies and realized the plethora of methods and approaches to the effective teaching of social studies. Teacher candidates reflected on their perceptions of social studies instruction and realized it was up to them to make the literacy-social studies connections come alive in the classroom. Teacher candidate by reevaluating their perception of social studies and social studies instruction found ways to reintroduce the discipline as an integral part of a child's education and development. Teacher candidates concluded that elementary students must investigate their social world in order to develop and grow to be responsible, informed, and engaged citizens in an ever-changing world.

Table 1 Social Studies Inventory

	Agree	Uncertain	Disagree
Social studies is too often dull and boring.			
Teaching social studies is not as important as teaching reading and mathematics.			
What children learn in social studies is useful to their everyday lives.			
The main purpose of social studies is teaching history and geography.			
Most social studies teachers put about the right emphasis on teaching thinking skills.			
Most social studies teachers place too much emphasis on textbooks.			
Social studies involves everyday classroom behaviors, such as lining up properly to walk through the hall or learning to obey the classroom rules.			
Small-group work in social studies often uses time that could be better-spent learning things that are really important.			

Welton, D. A. (2005). *Children and their world: Strategies for teaching social studies* (8<sup>th</sup> Ed.). Boston, New York: Houghton Mifflin Company.

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Critical Thinking Student Preferred Learning Aids: An Experimental Study  
Article Three of a Trilogy

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**ABSTRACT**

*Problem based learning (PBL) is relatively new in the realm of learning, use of learning aids and assessment. PBL requires product design/course, paper completion, and research/citations in support of the student statements and specific parameters of the paper. Teaching and learning theories (inductive and deductive) and critical thinking are the benchmarks in determining the success of teaching techniques in a course. The deductive method includes a preset assessment. The “Table Of Contents” structures student learning. A student’s critical thinking becomes self-directed, self-disciplined, self-monitored and self-corrective. Textbooks and lectures are often barriers to learning for many students. A study, the third of three, was designed to test for (no) preferences of student course aids with respect to critical thinking, learning and assessment. The aids included the text, lectures, subject handouts, specific end of course paper table of contents, and sample (rubric) paper. A survey questionnaire was administered to cohort groups of Social Work students and Nursing Students both in the United States and Europe. A sample of 145 students were surveyed and 104 students responded. The course delivery format was the traditional on ground setting only.*

*Chi Square Goodness of Fit Testing again suggested that a preset Table of Contents (in the shape of a tree flow diagram) for the course midterm, as an assessment, was most preferred by the responders. The five course aids (in student preferred rank order) are:*

- 1. Preset table of contents/tree flow diagram*
- 2. Rubric/sample report*
- 3. Subtopic lectures*
- 4. Student sharing/group work*
- 5. Textbook/specified case study readings*

*There was a statistically significant difference in student learning aid preferences at alpha a priori .05 percent. Many responders reported that the course aid, table of contents/tree diagram, would generally be helpful in their “follow on” courses.*

## Introduction

This paper, the third in a trilogy, presents an overview of student preferences in course aids for Problem Based Learning (PBL) assessments. It looks at a variety of student aids and also references a variety of assessment instruments. The paper focuses on critical thinking and student course papers. Problem based learning (PBL) is relatively new in the realm of learning, use of learning aids, and assessments. PBL supports critical thinking in that it requires product design/course paper completion, research/citations in support of the student statements, and specific parameters of the paper (the minimum of sub topics to be covered). PBL requires that someone, other than the learner, is responsible for both the learning situations and management of the assessments (Thomas, 2003). Teaching and learning are directly tied to educational theories. These theories are benchmarks in determining both the success of teaching techniques and proof of student learning.

The survey findings, as a time series of cohort, online groups, are also applicable to the following learning theories:

Grow's (Grow, 1991) theory of Self Directed Development is closely matched to actual/existing situations. The student must become decisive, resourceful, investigative, critical thinkers based on assigned objectives in the course, self - directed and independent learners. As students gain the skills needed for self - direction, the teacher becomes less directive. Grow, (1991, pp. 125 – 149).

Curriculum Design theory: a similar progression towards self - directed learning can be applied to a course curriculum.

## Approaches

The learning theories are interrelated to two teaching and learning methods. The methods are inductive and deductive. In inductive the teacher exposes the learner to many topic situations. The student will learn by trial and error. This is known as the stimulus – response result in behaviorist habit forming theory. The deductive method includes a preset formula for the assessment. Rules structure student learning. The student's critical thinking becomes a guided and/or self-guided learning process. This is the constructivist pattern process in learning. Thomas, (2003, p. 3).

A survey questionnaire was administered to cohort groups of Social Work and/or Nursing students. A sample of 145 students were surveyed and 104 students responded.

Chi Square Goodness of Fit testing, at alpha a priori .05 results were statistically significant regarding student preferences of learning aids.

Ho: The categories of student materials/work are equally likely to aid student learning  
(Students do not have a clear/significant preference of course learning aids)

Ho:  $p_0 = p_1 = p_2 = p_3 = p_4 = p_5$

H1: (Ha) Students do have a preference of course materials to aid their learning

Chi Square Goodness of Fit Testing Formula =

$$\chi^2 = \frac{\sum (O - E)^2}{E}$$

E

k-1 degrees of freedom

k = number of categories/5 - 1 = 4 df

(This is always a right tailed test.)

## Assessments

Course objectives generally drive the assessments in learning. Assessment is expected by the learner and it is both competitive and non-competitive tools. Criterion testing is non-competitive. Norm referenced tests compare one learner to another in past or current situational events.

PBL is closely matched to actual/existing situations. The students must be decisive, resourceful, investigative, critical thinkers based on assigned objectives, self-directed, and independent learners. They should (will) find solutions. Often the solutions are found by researching online in the topic fields of business, healthcare management, human resources, policy and social sciences.

Multimedia benefits enhance the student's decisive and critical thinking based on assigned objectives of self-directed and independent learners. Evidence suggests that lectures can present barriers to learning for many students. Online multimedia materials could offer many benefits for both teachers and students. Wald (2008).

Furthermore, to support this agreement, Wald cited for example, speech recognition (SR) potentially benefit all learners through automatically and cost-effectively, which provides synchronized captions and transcripts of live or recorded speech (Bain et al., 2005). Even though Bain's research focused on how interacting with multimedia can inform developments in using automatically synchronized speech recognition, any resulting benefits transcend to preferred learning and teaching styles that could influence PBL.

## Catalyst to Learning

Those surveyed preferred ownership and problem solving in learning. Paper/case assessment, to include online research, were the methods of assessments used and often required solutions, selection choices, regarding situational practices/problems.

It is important to nurture these would be health workers through training activities during their program of study (Baker, 1989). The ideal student might become the ideal "professional". They would have a sense of self-worth, respect others, be loyal to their sponsor, maintain the highest of standards in their field, give care that is honest, accurate and gentle, consider the patient on the

whole as body, mind, and spirit and will also, by role modeling, encourage growth of their ranks (Brown-West, 1991); (Carnevale, Villet, and Holland, 1990); (Fauser, 1992); (McMillan & Reed, 1994).

Educators have to address any or all of the following issues: retraining of displaced workers; content expansion; theory and methodology of instruction; increased education in licensed occupations will enhance the image and expand the arena of adult education. Required continuing education will increase development of testing and certification (Bell, 1988); (Buzzell, 1986); (Daggett, 1991); (Dole, 1989); (Gupta & Konrad, 1992); (Schroeder, 1993).

### **Students and Learning Preferences**

A survey questionnaire was administered to cohort groups of Social Work and/or Nursing students. There were 145 students surveyed and 104 responses. The study was designed to test for (no) preferences of student course aids with respect to critical thinking, learning and assessment. The aids included the text, lectures, subject handouts, specific end of course paper table of contents, and a sample (rubric) paper. The expected tally for no preference of course aids was 20% per category. The course delivery format (in this experiment) was to online only cohort groups.

Chi Square Goodness of Fit Testing suggested that a given Table of Contents/Tree flow diagram, as the course Mid Term assessment, was most preferred by more than 96% of the responders. A clear winner for student second choice of aid was a rubric paper.

### **Evaluation Outcomes**

All graduate responders reported that course aids (used in the cohort online courses) were also helpful in their “follow on” courses. All students self-reported grade point averages of “B” or higher.

These five course aids (in preferred rank order) are:

1. Preset/given paper table of contents
2. Rubric/sample report
3. Subtopic lectures
4. Student sharing/group work
5. Text book

The Chi Square results suggest there is a significant difference in student learning aid preferences and assessments at .05 percent.

### **eReading: What Value to Online Education?**

The technology age has ushered in unprecedented information capabilities. This means reading is not exempted from this trend. There are many choices of devices on which to read eBooks.

Readers appear to want easier access to eBooks. For instance, some students make course choices partly based on availability of eBooks to allow them to eRead anywhere. There is a plethora of options as the market searches indicate for best solutions. Many schools are actually part of the pilot program as their students provide feedback along the way. Many of these schools, especially the online (or blended ones) have in some way announced winning solutions tailored to both their schools and students.

## Conclusion

Problem based learning (PBL) is relatively new in the realm of learning, use of learning aids and assessment. The teaching and learning theories (inductive and deductive) and critical thinking are the benchmarks in determining the success of teaching techniques in a course (Thomas, 2003). The “Table of Contents”/Tree flow diagram is the hallmark of preferred learning aids for students. Textbooks and lectures can, and are, barriers to learning for many students. Therefore, they are a hindrance to success. The learning aids included the text, lectures, subject matter handouts, a specific end of course paper table of contents, and sample (rubric) paper. The course delivery format varied to include on line, traditional on ground, blended and or video conferencing (VTT). The text book was definitely considered an outlier. The Chi Square Goodness of Fit test results suggested there is a significant difference in student learning aid preferences and assessments at alpha a priori .05 percent. Future research suggests additional studies, such as a time series, is indicated. eReading should be specifically named as a choice of preferred learning aids to further substantiate that a hard copy text is out of vogue and therefore does not always aid in Problem Based Learning.

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## Appendix

### Saint Leo University

This survey, based on your candid responses, will assist university faculty in the design of course work assignments with respect to course delivery settings.

The survey is brief and will not take much of your time.

1. What is your current student status? Freshman \_\_\_\_\_ Sophomore \_\_\_\_\_  
Junior \_\_\_\_\_ Senior \_\_\_\_\_ Graduate \_\_\_\_\_ GPA \_\_\_\_\_.
2. Have you ever held a health care registry/certification. Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_.
3. If yes, which one(s)? \_\_\_\_\_.
4. Have you taken HCA/HCM 402 HCM/HCA 410 HCA/HCM 498/SWK 331/HCM 590 and/or Nursing. Please circle all that apply.
5. If yes, which delivery setting were you in? List the course number/numbers next to the format named. Traditional in class \_\_\_\_\_ Distance/VTT \_\_\_\_\_  
E - learning \_\_\_\_\_ Blended \_\_\_\_\_ Online \_\_\_\_\_
6. Were the other students at your site helpful? Circle all that apply.  
Encouraging \_\_\_\_\_ Willing to tutor others \_\_\_\_\_ Shared info/show and tell \_\_\_\_\_
7. Rank order (1 to 5), 1 being the most helpful, the student course learning aids with respect to the course papers/course assessment/exams.  
Topic lectures \_\_\_\_\_ Table of Contents/Tree diagram \_\_\_\_\_  
Sample report \_\_\_\_\_ Student group work \_\_\_\_\_ Textbook \_\_\_\_\_
8. Did any of the above named items use aid you in "follow on" courses? Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_  
If so, which aids?  
\_\_\_\_\_.

Thank you for your valued input.



# Transforming Conventional Curative Care into Holistic Wellbeing using mHealth Social Business Models

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## ABSTRACT

*Extreme poverty often leads to poor quality of life with no access to basic human needs like healthcare (Fraizer & Shah, 2015). The lack of quality health care results in poor health outcomes, especially for those living in poverty and remote rural regions. Technology offers a pivotal role in bridging access and creating affordable solutions (Fraizer, 2009; Fraizer & Madjidi, 2012). In particular, technology for accessing mobile health, or mHealth, provides a unique opportunity for people to take an active role in their health care (Andrews, 2016; Andrews, Madjidi, Fraizer, Miramontes & SchmiederRamirez, 2016). This paper examines the global shift in the healthcare paradigm as a result of emerging digital technologies and ubiquitous telecommunication, and whether Social Business models can be successfully used to make healthcare more accessible and financially viable for those living in poverty and remote rural regions, without fundamentally affecting quality of care.*

## Introduction

One of the most basic human instincts (Cziko, 2000) is to sustain optimal health. When physiological needs are not met, people find themselves unable to function at the most basic

mental, physical or emotional levels. For an increasing number of people around the world quality healthcare is out of reach because they lack insurance coverage, are in remote locations, and cannot afford the high cost of health services. For those living in poverty, particularly in remote rural areas, not being able to access affordable, quality health care adds the burden of disease and disability, further exacerbating marginalization.

The prevailing hospital-centered model is expensive as well as inadequate in serving growing populations with declining disposable incomes (OECD, 2016). Because this model requires the patient to physically present themselves at a hospital or clinic, and requires that a physician make all medical decisions, it is a high cost model that doesn't always match the resources with the patient needs. As a result, a large number of individuals choose to go without care, even when they have insurance. Those struggling with poverty, marginalization, and lack of access are even less likely to pursue such services (CDC, 2013).

The hospital-centered way of delivering care has been questioned since the early 1900s for prioritizing acute inpatient care, sometimes at the expense of community-centered wellbeing, creating what is now “a socially insensitive and economically dysfunctional” (Rosenberg, 1987, p. 6) system. In its 2008 hospital guidelines, The Joint Commission acknowledges that while the importance of the hospital is unlikely to diminish as a hub for knowledge creation and expanding the boundaries of cutting edge healthcare, digital technology is poised to shift the focus of care delivery beyond the hospital.

Hospital-centered care models do not sufficiently promote preventative health measures or maintenance and management of chronic illnesses such as diabetes. In addition, they are increasingly unable to meet the financial, medical and technological demands of population based health measures. As a result, providing an affordable way for more people to be able to access quality care is vital to improving health and wellness outcomes.

With today's digital technology (Chase, 2012) and ubiquitous mobile telecommunication coverage, a global shift in the healthcare paradigm is clearly at our threshold. Mobile health, more commonly known as mHealth, grew out of virtual healthcare services that date back to the early 1900s with the introduction of the modern telephone which allowed physicians to conduct medical consults remotely. Today mHealth is fast evolving to offer multiple layers that are all geared towards improving access to services. Its practical application has advanced into a growing network of medical advice lines, video consultations, virtual hospitals as well as mobile health applications.

For communities with low resources and limited access to quality healthcare, mHealth provides alternatives that promote healthy behaviours, prevent disease, and reduce likelihood of recourse to hospitalization in a manner that is affordable and readily accessible. These alternative options are already increasing access to quality healthcare at reduced prices for communities all over the world.

For example, in Mexico, with a \$5 monthly subscription with the local telephone company, subscribers can avail themselves of unlimited phoneconsultations with licensed medical professionals 24 hours a day (Hansen, 2008). In Kenya, Changamka Microhealth works with the

Health Ministry to provide prenatal care e-vouchers to low-income expectant mothers, which extend to a microinsurance service that allows expectant mothers to save money for maternity expenses through a mHealth mobile application (“app”) called m-Kadi (Townsend, 2013; Changamka, 2016). In Bangladesh, Grameen Communication (GCC) offers services to the patient’s doorstep through a “doctor-in-a-box” unit linked to a telehealth hub in Dhaka (Ahmed, n.d.). The same model is being replicated in rural Pakistan (GCC, 2016). In the U.S. the Department of Veterans’ Affairs has, since 2004, progressively transitioned from episodic institution-based remedies to homebased self-management care programs and virtual physician consultations through telehealth applications (TJC, 2008).

These are just a few examples illustrating the potential of mHealth's ability to increase access to quality healthcare services. However, mHealth is still an experimental approach because the regulatory environment in most countries does not allow anyone except licensed medical practitioners to participate in healthcare delivery. Of the hundreds of mHealth smartphone applications and programs flooding the market, perhaps only a handful might qualify for regulatory approval. But those that fulfill the regulatory requirements, like the examples above, have widened access, affordability and quality through licensed professional supervision, and stand to multiply the benefits of healthcare for communities with low resources and limited access to quality healthcare.

For mHealth advocates, this blend of global reach, emphasis on disease prevention and well-being, and qualified supervision, is an ideal way for promoting sustainable health outcomes. Also, with more than 50 percent of hospitals in the U.S. grappling with insolvency (TJC, 2008), the mHealth model could well be the lifeline modern health care delivery needs. For critics, the question then becomes “how can it be done”, considering that hospitals and healthcare facilities are a major social investment that continue to attract significant public funding in most countries. Moreover, the entire system of care delivery is designed around the physician-led care team. The more care teams specialize, the more importance the hospital assumes, and ironically, the more cost-ineffective it tends to become.

One answer to this dilemma comes from Muhammad Yunus, the 2006 Nobel laureate recognized for his work in social empowerment and fight against poverty (Yunus, 2008, 2010). Yunus differentiates his model of Social Business from other social enterprise models by stating unequivocally that the Yunus Social Business is a for-profit business that competes in the open market, delivering goods or services to customers who are driven by value and have a choice. Yunus’ social business model looks at business as a driver of social good, where a social entrepreneur enters the market to solve a social problem. The investors are entitled to recover their actual investment, and may claim a fair market-based salary for their effort, but must plough the extra income into expanding the social benefit to a larger number of people.

Yunus’ model may not describe the profit-focused enterprise often associated with modern capitalism, but it does have the potential to create shared value (Porter & Kramer 2011) by putting people before profit. Social Business by design, creates value not by enriching a few through a narrow focus on earnings, but by meeting customer needs, and addressing broader determinants of long-term success such as the well-being of society, or the conservation of natural resources. or viability of supply chains towards a more self-sufficient and sustainable

business environment. For the healthcare sector this is not a new perspective. Healthcare delivery has historically been a Social Business, where the provider recovers investment and fair compensation from the consumer, ideally out of proportion to the social good delivered. In the prevailing hospital-entered delivery model this kind of shared value-creation is often hard to see.

However, if healthcare were to be looked upon again as a social business as it was in the days before the modern hospital-centric model became mainstream, the Yunus Social Business model would be recognizable. This perspective would allow governments and taxpayers to better understand the value created by healthcare as a social business, which can save money while improving the health of patients (Kaplan & Porter, 2011). Using social business models allows for the creation of programs that can target various problems, such as inadequate transportation and lack of insurance, that create barriers to healthcare services. Millar, Hall & Miller (2016) identified three ways social business can be typically structured, today - social enterprises, cooperatives and micro enterprises - that successfully delivered cost effective healthcare services. Yunus' Social Business model intersects all three structures.

A Yunus Social Business can be a social enterprise that uses commercial activities and strategies for the purpose of solving social problems. They create more choices for patients, lower staff turnover, greater investment of profits, increased access to alternative income streams beyond the public sector and less bureaucracy (Millar, Hall & Miller, 2016). A case study by Roy et al. (2014) found that social enterprises enabled people with mental illness to be more active members of their community and reduced depressive symptoms which further enabling them to engage in job activities.

A Yunus social business can appear as a cooperative, with multiple stakeholders that include workers, community members, all reaping the benefits of income, employment and services that are generated from the services or products provided to those stakeholders as well as commercial markets (Virtue Ventures LLC, 2010). For example, cooperatives became more visible in Italy during the 1970s unemployment crisis when families and care workers began working together to create care organizations for people who were without any care or services. After a slowing down through the 1980s, an explosion of new co-operatives has made them essential for providing core elements of social services for unemployment, labor integration, those without medical care, and supportive services for people with disabilities (Golsing, 2003). Using social business as a co-operative business for healthcare delivery allows the operation to work on a smaller scale, enables them to work across the health and social care field to reach excluded groups, and allows for job integration in order to improve the economic inclusion of disadvantaged groups such as ex-offenders, those with mental illness and recovering addicts (Millar, Hall, & Miller 2016).

Further, a Yunus social business can be a micro enterprise, providing goods and services to their local community, while operating on a small capital investment with fewer than 10 employees. These micro business are independent of any large organization and are often run by people who are in need of some support (2016), such as street food and gift vendors, lawn services businesses, and peasants farmers. While the organizational structure of such a micro business can vary, they all aim to make enough profit to pay workers for the services and goods provided. Such micro businesses have an advantage over larger organizations when it comes to providing

health care because they offer more personalized and flexible services, they have lower turnover rates which result in more consistent care, and are more innovative because of their ability to tailor services to a patient. Whatever the structure, these social business models create an avenue for improving accessibility to care, which can be further improved by using mobile technologies to support sustainability of healthcare services.

Effective mHealth designs and applications share similar ideals with social business models. Just as the Yunus' Social Business model looks at people first and profit last, mHealth applications that focus on people and health interventions, instead of the technology, are better equipped to establish goals that focus on the patient's health and outcomes. This approach results in successful mHealth applications that are able to provide suitable evidence that lend credence to its effectiveness as a healthcare intervention and justification for financial investments and reimbursement for health services.

Dr. Henry Greenspan identified four key components required for mHealth effectiveness: people, places, purpose and payment (Comstock, 2014). People, refers to tailoring technologies to a particular community or demographic and take into account how they will access the technology and their technological preferences. Places, looks at what infrastructures are in place for wireless and cellular services, rather than an actual physical location. Purpose, looks at what particular disease, disability, or health issues the mHealth technologies will be used for and what supports will be needed to manage the condition. Payment, is the business component that looks at payment, reimbursements and insurance. While these four components are not the only criteria used to measure effectiveness, they do provide a viable foundation on which to design a suitable mHealth application. But there is still the question of how to leverage mHealth within the social business model. What strategies and best practices would aid in successfully implemented mHealth interventions? Based on a study by Andrews (2016) there are several factors that influence implementation and adoption of mHealth technologies.

## **Examining Best Practices**

To gain better understanding of how to leverage mHealth within Yunus' Social Business, we explored basic concepts of mHealth practices, looked at successful mHealth launches across the globe, and other factors which influenced implementation. Andrews (2016) examined best practices for future successful adoption of mHealth practices. The purpose of the study was to identify the practices used and challenges faced by chief information officers in implementing mHealth technologies. The study specifically looked at strategies and practices used during implementation, challenges faced during implementation, how success of mHealth implementation was measured, and recommendations for future mHealth implementation.

Chief Information Officers (CIOs) from seven health care organizations were interviewed using a semistructured interview technique. The three women (43%) and four men (57%) who participated represented four regions (West, Midwest, Northeast and South) of the United States. Four (57%) participants managed mHealth practices for multiple medical locations within their state, two (29%) participants managed mHealth practices for medical centers in multiples states, and one (14%) participant managed mHealth practices for one central location. Andrews (2016)

found that several factors influenced the adoption of mHealth practices, which included financial support, policy support & standardization, stakeholder engagement, and interoperability.

## **Conclusion**

Human health is central to sustainable development, according to Principle 1 of the 1992 Rio Declaration on Environment and Development. All human beings are entitled to a healthy and productive life. Research (Andrews, 2016) already offers insight into the human side of mobile health services, the ethical practices associated with the mission of healthcare facilities, and the importance of keeping things simple regarding technology. Andrews (2016) emphasizes how critical it is to understand 1) the needs and preference of the people, 2) the organization's need for value-based pricing to maximize incentives and reimbursements, 3) the infrastructure, specifically the connectivity and availability of cellular services, and 4) the purpose or focus behind the implementation of mHealth services. These are the very factors viable social businesses must address.

The Mobile Alliance for Maternal Action (MAMA) mHealth application is a perfect example of using technology to help people achieve a healthy and productive life. MAMA, winner of the 2012 Fast Company Innovation by Design award, aims to teach and reinforce healthy behaviors in expectant women during pregnancy and post-delivery in an effort to reduce maternal and infant HIV related mortality. Weekly health information and stagebased medical reminders are sent via text messaging to women living in Johannesburg, South Africa. Since its launch in 2013, it has reached more than 700,000 women and their families and now includes mobile social networks and a community portals for additional support and learning opportunities (MAMA, 2015). It has since expanded into a cooperative effort with Vodacom, one of the largest cellular phone providers in the African region, who will cover the cost of MAMA messages sent directly to 6000 women as well as provide free access to MAMA content for the more than 25 million Vodafone customers.

Mobile health services provide a unique opportunity for people to take an active role in their health care. Thus mHealth social business offers alternatives that can be vital to sustainable health and wellness, and as a consequence lead to a positive impact on social development. These behaviors are especially true for individuals living in low-resource, rural and remote regions.

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# Meatless Mondays Matter: Exploring Carnism at a HBCU

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## ABSTRACT

*Survey results from 500 students at a mid-Atlantic land-grant HBCU revealed higher attitudinal measures of carnism among males and those who resided on-campus. As compared to students from urban and suburban backgrounds, growing up in a rural environment explained much of the variation in attitudes favoring carnism. "Downstate" Delaware is more rural and agriculturally-oriented, and in-state students and those from rural backgrounds showed more familiarity with the region's poultry "broiler" industry. Stage path model analyses revealed that students from urban backgrounds were less likely to see nonhuman animals as companions, which exerted a significant negative impact on carnism. Results are discussed with implications for social processes underlying inequalities and reproduction of inequalities.*

*Because we are adept at disconnecting from the suffering we impose on animals, we naturally and inevitably become adept at disconnecting from the suffering we impose on hungry people, living Biosystems, war-ravaged communities, and future generations. - Will Tuttle, The World Peace Diet*

## Introduction and Background

"Meatless Monday" is an international sustainability movement that encourages people to reduce their meat consumption by 15% (no meat one day per week; MeatlessMonday.com). Lifestyle and dietary health issues affecting African Americans have been widely documented (Bailey 2006; Kammann and Smith 2009; Kirby, Liang, Chen, and Wang 2012; Wells, Evans, Beavis, and Ong 2010), however, little research has examined attitudes toward carnism and veganism at Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs). This paper explores sets of beliefs that may influence attitudes toward a form of speciesism known as carnism. Carnism is an ideology that supports the use of nonhuman animals for food, clothing or other consumer products (Joy 2011). I shall examine the causal influence of beliefs that frame nonhuman relationships around 1) companionship, 2) entertainment, and 3) meat production. The research site for this study is located next to the largest chicken "broiler" producing county in the U.S.

The impetus for this project originates with obesity researchers at the University of Pennsylvania who teamed with the Cartographic Modeling Laboratory to map out the routes that children walked to elementary schools and discovered that many spent their lunch money on "food opportunities" along the way (FitzGerald 2005). Given the urban backgrounds of many HBCU students, research into the factors that influence attitudes toward healthy food choices may present valuable opportunities for understanding the treatment of nonhuman animals. Few studies have explored the influence of social background characteristics among HBCU students

on attitudes toward nonhuman animals. The present research examines the causal influence of sex/gender and urban/suburban/rural background on carnism. The contextual effects of being an in-state resident and residing off-campus are also examined, given the economic, political, and cultural nexus of the "poultry industrial complex of downstate Delaware" (Streetman 2015).

The impact of the Delmarva poultry industry may have far-reaching consequences for how HBCU students view nonhuman animals and their attitudes toward carnism, veganism, and sustainability. The purpose of this research is to further understand the institutions and practices involved in maintaining dominion over animals and how that may provide insights into the large-scale social processes underlying other inequalities.

### **Overview of Delmarva's Global Consumer-driven Poultry Industrial Complex**

According to local legend, the meat chicken "broiler" industry began in Delaware in 1923 when Cecile Steele ordered 50 chicks for laying eggs, but received 500 (Williams 1998). By 1926, she had grown her flock to 10,000. Presently, Delaware farmers raise chickens for the biggest names in the industry including Perdue, Tyson, Mountaire, and Allen Harim. Sussex County Delaware is the nation's largest producer of meat chicken (Kirby 2010; Delmarva Poultry Industry, Inc. 2015). In 2014, Delaware's poultry industry became even more profitable as more-tolerable feed costs, higher beef prices, and a deadly viral disease in young pigs resulted in higher consumer demand (Steinhauer 2015). Americans ate more than 90 pounds of chicken per capita in 2015, more than any other country (National Chicken Council 2015).

According to poultry industry data, about 242.6 million birds arrived in broiler houses for the 52 weeks ending Dec. 27, 2014, an increase of about 1% from 2013 and up 12% from 2012. Poultry production peaked in 2006 when 269.1 million Delaware-grown birds went to processing plants (slaughter houses). The average mortality is almost 11 million birds as flocks mature, but the physiology and behavior remain that of immature birds, during their brief 5-7 week lives. About 280 million chicks arrived on Delaware farms during 2014, primarily from hatcheries in North Carolina.

According to Tom Super, spokesman for the National Chicken Council, the industry's biggest challenge last year proved to be limits on the speeds that companies could rebuild egg-laying flocks (Montgomery 2015). "It wasn't economically feasible to hold onto extra chickens while feeding them \$8 a bushel corn." Genetic complications in one line of birds nationally and complications in rebuilding hatchery flocks, kept the poultry industry from growing too fast. New growth in Delaware and nearby areas was stymied last year when South Korea-based Allen Harim's plan to build a 2-million-bird-per-week processing plant in Millsboro, DE was blocked.

Furthermore, Delaware's corn production totaled 33.6 million bushels in 2014 (McMichael and Fisher 2015). According to Delaware's Secretary of Agriculture Ed Kees, "This is great news for our grain growers and the poultry industry, which uses the majority of Delaware's grain for feed." Corn is Delaware's largest crop in terms of acreage, while soybeans come in a close second. Grain producers attended "Agronomy and Soybean Day" during Delaware Ag Week in Harrington, Delaware, the official site of the annual 10-day Delaware State Fair.

The Delmarva region (the peninsula that contains Delaware, eastern Maryland, and a small portion of Virginia) contains more than 1,500 poultry farms with more than 4,600 "grow out" houses (Montgomery 2015). Delmarva Poultry Industry, Inc., the region's trade group, reported the value of locally produced chicken at nearly \$2.9 billion in 2013, with poultry slaughterhouses employing nearly 13,500 people (DPI 2015). The U.S. Poultry and Egg Association estimated the chicken industry's economic value in Delaware at \$890.3 million for chicken growing, with "processing" adding another \$1.8 billion. The industry's total economic value to the state in 2014 was more than \$4.6 billion counting impacts on suppliers and spin-off benefits. According to Delaware Secretary Kees, "This all translates into increased profitability for the more than 670 family farms that raise poultry."

The economic power of the poultry industry means political clout. The U.S. has the largest broiler chicken industry in the world and about 19% of production will be exported (Steinhauer 2015). Poultry business leaders see foreign markets as essential to expansion. According to U.S. Senator Coons (D DE), "There are 14,000 people in my state whose lives depend on chicken. Chicken is not just a product; it's a way of life." Senator Coons is part of the U.S. Congress "Chicken Caucus" which has been battling South African tariffs on American chickens. The African Growth and Opportunity Act was passed in 2000.

Poultry exports from the U.S. have been muddled this year by an outbreak of avian flu in several states (Fisher 2015). At the DPI's 50th National Meeting on Poultry Health, Processing, and Live Production during October 2015, most of the sessions focused on HPAI (highly pathogenic avian influenza) and IBV (infectious bronchitis virus) (see Appendix A). While China imported 188 million pounds of poultry from the U.S. in the first three quarters of 2014, it imported but 12 million pounds of American poultry in the first three quarters of 2015 (USDA 2015). Some nations have remained stable importers, including Canada, Mexico, Taiwan, and Japan. Japan has imported around 50 million pounds of poultry from the U.S. nearly every year since 2004 (USDA 2015). In the case of Delaware's top agricultural export, the current 8.5% tariff on frozen-leg poultry (the product that makes up most U.S. poultry export to Japan) will be eliminated within 11 years under the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) deal.

According to the CEO of Allen Harim, Steve Evans, "Historically, Japan is a great place to go with the back half of the chicken." (quoted in Fisher 2015). The U.S. market favors large birds and U.S. consumers prefer breast meat, but in Japan, small birds sell better and Japanese consumers prefer legs. Poultry company officials praised the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) as a fulcrum they can use to pry open Asian markets for Delmarva-raised chickens. On December 4, 2015, The University of Delaware's Carvel Research Center, Delaware Senator Tom Carper (D DE), and Secretary of Agriculture Ed Kee hosted Kanji Yamanouchi, the Japanese Minister for Economic Affairs to the U.S. at a luncheon and panel discussion. The Japanese Minister asked which TPP nations the companies would like to do business, to which the Director of national sales for Montaire Farms responded "Japan is number one. The other partnership countries are somewhat nominal compared to what the Japanese market can offer."

However, critics of the TTP say it will encourage employers to move jobs to nations with lower labor and environmental standards. And despite the rosy picture presented by poultry industry lobbyists, environmental and labor disputes are mounting. The 568 million chickens raised in

Delmarva in 2006 left behind 2.27 billion pounds of manure- this means that the seven chicken-producing counties in Delmarva had 638,356 acres of harvested cropland to absorb over 3,500 pounds of manure on each acre (Kirby 2010).

The Delaware poultry industry is currently battling with the state of Maryland over the cost, benefit, and justification for new rules to curb chicken "litter" (manure) and runoff from poultry farms. The Chesapeake Bay Foundation cautioned that the health of the largest estuary in the nation remains unchanged and the region will not meet its 2017 goals (Associated Press 2015). Declines in blue crabs and rockfish have marred progress overall, according to the Chesapeake Bay Foundation's biennial State of the Bay report which gave the bay a "D-plus" grade, unchanged from 2012 (Associated Press 2015). CBF President William Baker said "We continue to have polluted water, risks to human health, and lost jobs at a huge societal cost." Neighboring states are relying heavily on reducing pollution from agriculture. The latest industry idea is to convert used chicken litter cakes into a biofuel to replace propane for heating poultry houses (Cox 2015).

In sum, the economic, political, and cultural interests of Delmarva's poultry industrial complex are formidable mythmakers- the institutions that form the pillars of the system and the people who represent them (Joy 2011). The institutionalized practices legitimate and reinforce the ideology of carnism and ensure the invisibility of the system.

The present research site is a HBCU that provides agricultural research and knowledge dissemination through academic and extension agent outreach. Instrumental attitudes toward nonhuman animals have been traced to the early involvement in 4H and FFA activities in school and the annual state fair (Ellis and Irvine 2010). According to research by Ellis and Irvine (2010), youth who were involved in 4-H livestock programs became adept at cognitive emotion work that utilized distancing mechanisms to cope with contradictory ethical and emotional experiences. The state of Delaware presents a unique research opportunity because it has the highest per capita participation in the federally sponsored 4-H Club program, reaching 70,000 young people, half of those eligible (Brown 2014). Delaware's participation rate is twice that of any other state. This is a potent context for the present research on attitudes toward carnism and the challenges that confront veganism.

## **Previous Research**

Nonhuman animals that engage in behaviors which deviate from humans' anthropocentric and culturally-determined sense of decency have been viewed as less worthy of favorable treatment. According to the biological similarity principle (Plous 1993), attitudes were correlated with attributions of cognitive processes and the perceived capacity to experience consciousness in other animals, based on the attachment bond with the specific species of animals. A species perceived as dangerous to humans or labeled as a "pest" helped remove much of the stigma of destroying it (Herzog 2010). Avoiding cruelty toward animals and positive attitudes toward pets were found to be among the most common reasons for adopting a vegetarian diet (Preylo and Arikawa 2008).

Younger individuals were more motivated to adopt non-meat diets by moral and environmental reasons as compared to middle-aged persons who were more encouraged by health reasons (Pribis, Penack, and Grajales 2010). Research found that both meat-eaters and non-meat-eaters were more likely to perceive vegetarians as less masculine and more virtuous as compared to non-vegetarians (Ruby and Heine 2011). Males typically measured higher on utilitarian and dominionistic scales as compared to females (Rothgerber 2012). Men were primarily concerned with individual rights, personal autonomy, assertiveness, and hierarchy- all congruent with the satisfaction derived from the mastery and exploitation of nonhuman animals.

African American attitudes toward may differ from other racial groups because they have more pressing priorities such as personal survival and coping with racial discrimination. Due to limited economic and social capital, racial/ethnic minorities may have to prioritize advocating for basic social needs. One of the few empirical studies showed that, as compared to white veterinarian students, black veterinarian students had fewer companion pets, fewer different kinds of pets, and were less likely to let their pets sleep in their bed with them (Brown 2002). White students tended towards a sentimental and anthropomorphic view of animals, while African American students displayed more utilitarian, instrumental, and dominionistic outlooks.

Class, region, and family dynamics largely influence Black female vegans' food consumption (Harper 2011). Access to transportation, restaurants, and grocery stores place major constraints on individual choices. According to Harper (2012), the vegan literature is biased by race-neutral and class-neutral perspectives, failing to acknowledge the privileges of race, class, and First World global status. A more critical perspective would view veganism as a "decolonizing dietary tool" against systematic oppression. When vegan lifestyles are constructed as individual choice and willpower it masks the global suffering of those who are victims of environmental racism and rising food costs that structure black and low-income community food choices, and promote fast food as the "drug of choice."

## **Statement of Problem**

Based on the review of literature, a study of attitudes toward carnism among students attending a HBCU would make a valuable contribution. For example, males would be expected to measure higher on attitudes favorable to carnism as compared to females. Students who live on campus should be influenced more by the peer culture and measure differently on attitudes favoring carnism than those who live off-campus. In-state residents of Delaware and those from rural backgrounds would be expected to be more influenced by "downstate" subculture, and therefore, express attitudes more favorable to carnism.

In addition, sets of beliefs which see nonhuman animals as companions would likely exert a negative impact on carnism. Viewing nonhuman animals as entertainment should show a positive effect on carnism. Understanding nonhuman animals as meat consumption should exert positive effect on carnism. However, the invisibility of the factory farming industry might mask or distort this effect. Considering the causal impact of these factors is also important. For example, the effects of viewing nonhuman animals as companions may mediate the impact of sex/gender and other social background characteristics in a way that accounts for the variation in

attitudinal measures of carnism. This study will examine the causal influence of background characteristics on carnism and the possible mediating effects of viewing nonhuman animals as companions, entertainment, and meat products.

## **Data: Sample and Measures**

Five hundred students volunteered to complete a self-administered questionnaire during 2014-2016. These students were enrolled in undergraduate general education and liberal arts classes at a 1891 land-grant HBCU located in the Mid-Atlantic region of the U.S. Although a convenience sample, it closely matched the overall student population along several key demographics.

Almost two-thirds (63.5%) were female and the median average age was 21. The length of time at the university ranged from 1 to 5 years, with a median average of 3 years. About 72% of the students were out-of-state residents and almost two-thirds (65%) lived on-campus. About half (49.2%) of the respondents grew up in an urban environment, 33% grew up in a suburban environment, and about 18% grew up in a rural environment. Over half (51.4%) described themselves as middle class, 25.4% as middle-lower or lower class, and 23% as upper-middle class.

Dummy coding was used for growing up in an urban environment (Urban), growing up in a rural environment (Rural), residing on-campus (OnCamp), and in-state resident of Delaware (DEres). Likert-type responses to the questionnaire items were coded Strongly Agree=4, Agree=3, Neither agree nor disagree=2, Disagree=1, Strongly Disagree=0. Grouped responses permitted the construction of a four-item Animal as Companion Index, a four-item Animal as Entertainment Index, a three-item Animal Meat Production Index, and a nine-item Carnism Index. Some questions did not appear on every questionnaire. Therefore, the calculated index scores were adjusted for missing items; this affected the reliability (alpha) scores, which remained within acceptable limits. The mean averages and standard deviations for the study variables are presented in Table 1. The bivariate correlations among study variables are displayed in Table 2.

## **Data Analyses and Models**

A linear model is utilized to causally order the study variables in three stages (see Figure 1). Stage models take advantage of the knowledge that earlier stage variables occur causally prior to those at later stages. Variables appearing in the same stage are considered contemporaneous. The Stage II mediating variables are first regressed on the Stage I exogenous variables. The Stage III outcome measure is then regressed on Stages I and II. Saturated and trimmed path models are estimated using path analysis with ordinary least square (OLS) estimation. Path analysis estimates the magnitude of the linkages between sets of measured variables and uses the estimates to provide information about possible causal relationships. These robust techniques permit researchers to examine various causal processes underlying the observed relationships and to estimate the relative importance of alternative paths of influence. Where the underlying assumptions of path analysis are reasonably met, they provide a pertinent way to relate theory and data when several variables are to be handled simultaneously (Asher 1983; Davis 1985).

**Table 1:** Mean Averages and Standard Deviations of Index Items.

	Mean	Std.	N
Non-human animals as Companions:			
Dogs and cats are capable of emotions	3.32	.88	493
I am affectionate toward pets	2.99	1.02	490
I get upset when I hear about dogfights	2.75	1.05	436
Strays must be euthanized if not adopted (reverse-coded)	1.76	1.06	481
Non-human animals as Entertainment:			
I enjoy going to aquariums and Sea World	3.07	.98	434
I enjoy going to the circus	2.60	.97	158
I worry about how zoo animals are treated (reverse-coded)	1.99	1.07	436
I enjoy going to the state fair	1.40	1.08	158
Non-human animals Meat Production:			
I understand how farms that produce meat affect the environment (reverse-coded)	2.16	1.05	453
I understand how animals are raised for food (reversed-coded)	2.12	1.17	491
I don't think about how meat products are processed	1.69	1.29	212
Attitudes comprising Carnism:			
A person needs meat every day for health	2.36	1.31	491
A good breakfast should include eggs and milk	2.22	1.16	492
Hunting and fishing should be considered sports	2.04	1.05	417
I love the feel and smell of leather	1.94	1.03	206
To understand human anatomy it is necessary to dissect animals	1.77	1.12	420
Drugs must first be tested on animals	1.62	1.25	429
Cosmetics must first be tested on animals	1.46	1.21	429
Birds and fish are not capable of feeling pain	1.16	1.00	459
Animals do not feel pain like humans do	.65	.91	493

## Results

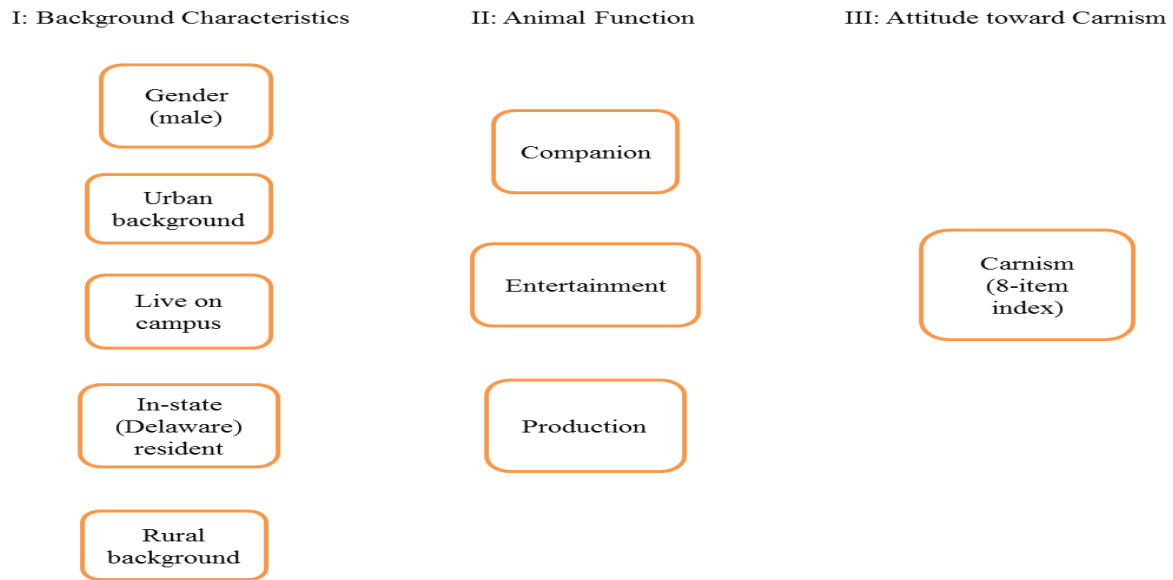
Table 3 displays the results from six regression models. The first model shows the negative impact of urban background on animals as companions. The second model reveals the negative effect that on-campus residence exerts on animals as entertainment. The third model shows the positive influence of rural background on animals as meat products. The saturated model (a.) illustrates that all of the social background variables and the animals as companions variable exert statistically significant effects on carnism. The impact of animals as companions is confirmed in model b. Lastly, model c. shows that, after statistically controlling for the effects of other variables, males, those living on-campus, in-state residents, and those from rural backgrounds are more likely to have attitudes favoring carnism.

**Table 2:** Correlations, Means, and Standard Deviations Among Study Variables

	Male	Urban	OnCamp	DEres	Rural	Compan	Entermt	Product	Carnism
Urban	.07								
OnCamp	.05	.18**							
DEres	-.01	-.26**	-.20**						
Rural	-.04	-.42**	-.14*	.31**					
Compan	-.03	-.12*	-.07	.03	.02				
Entermt	-.07	-.08	-.11*	.03	.08	-.13**			
Product	-.01	-.11	-.03	.04	.16**	.00	.02		
Carnism	.17**	-.11*	.02	.17**	.18**	-.33**	.12*	.02	
mean	.37	.48	.62	.28	.16	2.73	2.45	2.08	1.66
sd	.48	.50	.49	.45	.36	.63	.77	.74	.63
N	497	381	490	481	381	498	497	496	498

\* $p < .05$  \*\* $p < .01$  (2-tailed).

Figure 1: Stage Path Model predicting Attitudes toward Carnism.



**Table 3: OLS Coefficients from the Multiple Linear Regression of Carnism on Study Variables Non-human Animals as:**



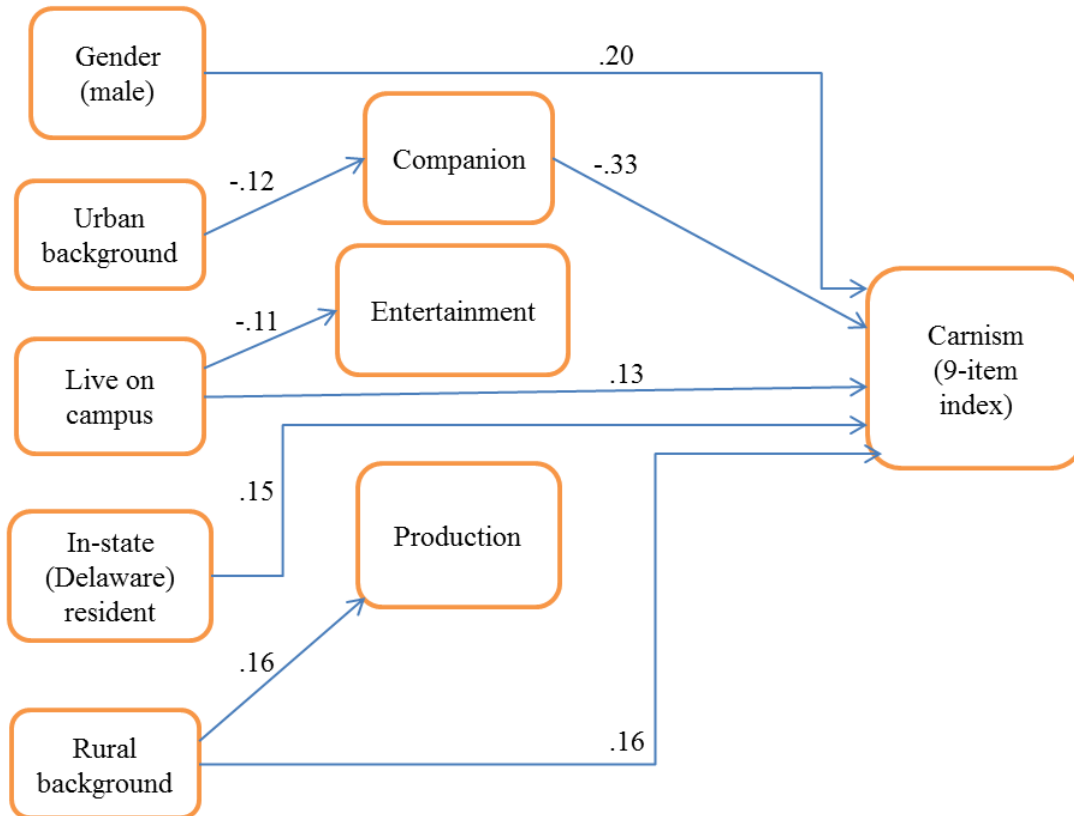
	Companion	Entertainmt	Product	Carnism		
				a.	b.	c.
Gender (male)	-.04 (-.03)	-.08 (-.05)	.04 (.02)	.27 (.21)**		.27 (.21)***
Urban	-.19 (-.15)*	-.11 (-.07)	-.06 (-.04)	-.16 (-.12)*		-.08 (-.06)
OnCampus	-.06 (-.04)	-.21 (-.13)*	.02 (.01)	.15 (.12)*		.17 (.13)*
DEresident	-.02 (-.01)	-.07 (-.04)	-.14 (-.08)	.18 (.13)*		.20 (.15)*
Rural	-.07 (-.04)	.10 (.05)	.35 (.17)*	.23 (.14)*		.24 (.14)*
Companion				-.35 (-.36)***	-.33 (-.32)***	
Entertainmt				.04 (.05)	.05 (.06)	
Product				-.08 (-.09)	.02 (.02)	
Constant	2.89***	2.59***	2.13***	2.48***	2.38***	1.40***
N	366	366	365	365	495	366
R <sup>2</sup>	.02	.03	.03	.26	.11	.11

\**p*.05    \*\**p*.01    \*\*\**p*.001

The trimmed path model (Figure 2) shows that males, living on-campus, being an in-state resident, and having a rural background have a direct impact on carnism, accounting for 11% of the variation. In addition to the direct effect on carnism, those from a rural background are more likely to understand the meat production associated with nonhuman animals, but production does not have a direct impact on carnism. Students who live on-campus are less likely to relate to nonhuman animals as entertainment, but entertainment does not have a direct effect on carnism. Nonhuman animals as companions mediates the relationship between urban background and carnism. Those from urban backgrounds are less likely to associate nonhuman animals as companions, which exerts a strong negative effect on carnism. Animals as companions accounts for 11% of the variation in carnism.

Figure 2: Trimmed Path Model predicting Attitudes toward Carnism.

I: Background Characteristics      II: Non-human animal function      III: Attitudes comprising Carnism



## Discussion and Conclusion

The results of this study should be viewed with caution when attempting to generalize to other universities and HBCUs. Additional research should be conducted at other sites to further our understanding. Future research would improve the specification of variables to further account for the variation in carnism. In this study age did not prove to be a significant variable. Most of the respondents were close to the median age of 21. Previous studies have shown that younger individuals were more motivated to adopt non-meat diets by moral and environmental reasons as opposed to health reasons. This presents opportunities to discuss environmental consequences of factory farms, and the philosophical, moral, and religious foundations for not harming animals.

Consistent with previous research, males expressed more favorable attitudes toward carnism as compared to females. Males were more likely to agree that a good breakfast would include eggs and milk, and also agree that hunting and fishing should be considered sports. Previous studies have found that both meat-eaters and non-meat-eaters were more likely to perceive vegetarians as less masculine and measuring higher on utilitarianism, assertiveness, and personal autonomy.

The reasons that males attending this HBCU are more favorable toward carnism may be similar to previous research results, however, further analyses are needed to examine the reinforcing effects of the campus peer culture.

Promoting veganism proves to be more challenging among males, as its impact on carnism is direct and unmediated by other variables. But targeting the peer culture has been a successful tactic for organizations like *Vegan Outreach*. Media depictions of black male vegans such as NFL running back Arian Foster (now an ex-vegan) may serve as potent role models, but this is complicated by constructions of "normative masculinity" (Brady and Ventresca 2014).

The impact of living on-campus illustrates that peer culture may reflect and reinforce higher levels of carnism. Over 60% of those surveys disagreed with the statement "I am satisfied with food options at school." And 70% agreed with the statement "My food choices are determined by what I can afford." Over two-thirds (67.8%) disagreed with the statement "My diet has improved since beginning college." Further research could examine if this is rhetoric or another opportunity to advance alternative choices that include veganism.

Students who lived on-campus were less likely to see animals as entertainment, however, this had no effect on carnism. Females were more likely to enjoy going to aquariums and Sea World. The only significant mediating (Stage II) variable was the effect of urban background on less likely to view nonhuman animals as companions, and this was indirectly related to lower attitudinal levels of carnism. The negative impact of nonhuman animals as companions on carnism is also consistent with previous research. The sentiments students expressed for companion animals represents another opportunity for promoting veganism.

Harper found that black females' experiences with food are highly influenced by class and region. Social class did not prove to be a significant variable in the present study. However, as expected, those from rural regions and in-state residents displayed more favorable attitudes toward carnism. Those from rural backgrounds were less likely to agree that cats and dogs are capable of emotions, more likely to understand how animals were raised, and more likely to consider hunting and fishing as sports. Those who were raised in a rural environment showed more understanding of animals as meat products, however, this had no impact on attitudes toward carnism.

Ethnographic observations at the Delaware State Fair documented the significance of the "downstate" region on attitudes toward nonhuman animals (Streetman 2015). Farm families spend up to 3 weeks before, during, and following the annual event attending to their livestock. Animals figure prominently in the attractions, amusements, and food choices at the fairgrounds. Located at the racetrack and casino in Harrington, DE, the state fair is in the heart of Delmarva's "broiler industry." The sights, sounds, and smells are potent cultural transmitters of the power and clout of agri-business in the Delmarva region.

This study has not detailed the violent human-made conditions that a species of animal has had to endure- genetically modified to live a short, hungry life in congested conditions. Day-old male chicks are tossed into meal grinders to be used for feed. The sensitive ends of the surviving chicks' beaks are removed, without anesthetic. Then these tiny animals are shipped to

windowless "grow out" houses that crowd together 30-50 thousand birds. They consume a high-growth feed that produces larger than normal "breast meat." After 5-7 weeks, they are chased down, packed into cages, stacked high on tractor-trailers for a death ride to the "processing plant." Their "parts" quickly find their way into supermarkets, fast-food outlets, and other markets across the globe.

Harper's contention that individual food "choices" are structured by the (non)availability of alternatives is readily demonstrated. Seven facilities provide food service on the HBCU campus (not including vending machines), including a *Subway* and *Chick-fil-A*. According to the HBCU website's description, "*Provisions On Demand (P.O.D.) at the Hub* serves homestyle favorites including pulled pork, Kielbasa, smoked ham and chicken wings with sides of steamed vegetables, baked mac-n-cheese, sweet potato fries & corn bread. Every Thursday is Thanksgiving with turkey and all the fixings." ([campusdish.com/Locations/GrilleWorks.aspx](http://campusdish.com/Locations/GrilleWorks.aspx)). Within walking distance of the HBCU campus are the following "meat heavy menu" restaurants: *Chipolte Grill*, *Grotto Pizza* (a sponsor featured prominently on the sports stadium scoreboard), *Chuck E. Cheese*, *Applebee's*, *Panda Express*, *Jersey Mike's Subs*, *Chinatown Buffet*, *Boston Market*, *Qdoba Mexican Eats*, and another *Chick-fil-A*. A university shuttle bus regularly runs to the nearby mall, where a large "food court" operates. In 2010, the HBCU hosted the 61st "Delmarva Chicken Festival."

Another powerful dimension to carnism at this HBCU is that many students viewed "animal rights" as being promoted mainly by upper-middle-class whites, at a time when the "Black Lives Matter" movement is trying to raise awareness of racial injustices. In other words, why divert attention away from the racial oppression of blacks and towards the oppression of animals? The moral argument for veganism as a "decolonizing dietary tool" to combat systematic oppression actually has strong ideological links to the "Black Lives Matter" movement. For example, an interactive web conference entitled "The Vegan Praxis of Black Lives Matter" was held on April 24-25, 2015 (<http://breezharper.wix.com/blacklivesmattervegan>) that outlined a promising agenda. This represents a valuable opportunity to seize the collective momentum to raise consciousness and expand awareness of those being systematically exploited, human and nonhuman.

This study has shown that there are no striking differences between the carnistic attitudes of students attending a HBCU as compared to the findings in the research literature. The impact of the economic, political, and cultural "broiler industrial complex" provides a potent context for attitudes favoring carnism among the campus peer culture, Delaware residents, and those from rural backgrounds. Strong sentiment toward companion animals contradicts the overall treatment of other nonhuman animals. Meatless Mondays represent a good start in focusing attention on individual food choices, but also provides opportunities to challenge "constructed food choices." We must critically examine and make visible the connections between meat production and its impact on our environment. Foremost, as educators, we must continue to clarify the complex relationships between human and nonhuman animal suffering.

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## About the Author

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## Appendix A

### **Delmarva Poultry Industry, Inc. 50th National Meeting on Poultry Health, Processing, and Live Production October 12-14, 2015, Ocean City, Maryland**

Merck Animal Health sponsored Welcoming Reception  
Welcoming Reception sponsored by Merck Animal Health, Best Veterinary Solutions, Inc., BioChek, CEVA Animal Health, Charles River, Chr. Hansen, Cobb-Vantress, Inc., Diamond V, DSM Nutritional Products, Eastern Shore Poultry Service, Elanco Animal Health, Micronutrients, Nutrition Physiology Company, Valco (former employment at advertising agency specializing in AGChem, Pharmaceutical Industry)  
Huvepharma sponsored Continental Breakfast  
Allied Industry Sponsored Reception & Buffet Dinner  
Live Oak Bank sponsored Continental Breakfast  
Mid Atlantic Farm Credit Sponsored Lunch  
Allied Industry Sponsored Fellowship Period & Buffet Dinner

#### Tuesday, 10-13-15

Combined Session

Moderator Dr.- Mountaire Farms, Inc.

HPAI: Federal Response and Outcomes, Dr.- USDA/APHIS

HPAI: Epidemiology Dr.- USDA/APHIS

HPAI: Trade Impacts and Outlook, Dr.- USDA/APHIS

HPAI: Regional Response, Dr. - UMN

Break sponsored by Sanovo Vax

Moderator- Dr.-, Perdue Foods LLC

HPAI: Industry Response, Dr. - Jennie-O Turkey Store

HPAI: The Role of Wildlife, Mr.- US Fish and Wildlife Service

HPAI: Research and Vaccine Development, Dr.- USDA, Southeast Poultry Research Laboratory

Questions and Answers for all 7 AI speakers

Poultry Health Session

Moderator Dr. - UD

IBV: Respiratory Disease Economics and Delmarva Update, Dr.- Mountaire Farms, Inc.

IBV: Field Observations of Nephropathogenic Bronchitis, Dr.- Perdue Foods LLC

IBV: Research and Virus Characterization, Dr.- AviServe LLC

Q&A

Break sponsored by Alltech, Inc.

Moderator Dr.- Mountaire Farms, Inc.  
MS Outbreak in Georgia: Regional Approach, Dr.- Georgia Poultry Laboratory Network  
MS Outbreak in Georgia: Industry Experience, Dr.- Fieldale Farms  
Q&A  
Reception and Buffet Dinner

Processing Session  
Moderator Dr.- Montaire Farms, Inc.  
Legislative Update, Mr.- National Chicken Council  
Regulatory Update, Dr.- National Chicken Council  
FSIS Policy Update, Dr.- USDA/FSIS  
HPAI- Processing Perspective, Mr.- Jennie-O Turkey Store  
Q&A  
Break sponsored by Alltech, Inc.  
Woody Breast Syndrome, Dr.- Aviagen  
Woody Breast and Tenderness Issues, Dr.- Auburn U.  
Using Whole Genomic Sequencing as an Epidemiologic Aid, Dr.- UMN  
Q&A

Wed. 10-14-15

Combined Session  
Moderator Dr.- Mountaire Farms, Inc.  
Making Sense of the Not-so-Simple Relationship between Antibiotic Use and Antibiotic Resistance, Dr.- UMN  
Consumer Confidence in the Food Supply- what Really Matters, Mr.- Center for Food Integrity  
Sponsored by Phibro Animal Health  
Removing Antibiotics from Chicken Production, Dr.- Perdue Foods LCC  
Q&A  
Break sponsored by First Financial Bank

Poultry Health Session  
Moderator Dr.- Mountaire Farms, Inc.  
FDA Guidelines for Antibiotic Use in Food Animals, Mr- Animal Health Institute  
Evaluating Alternatives to Antibiotics, Dr.- Colorado Quality Research, Inc.  
Q&A

Live Production Session  
Moderator Dr.- UMD  
Reducing Broiler Stress, Dr.- Cobb-Vantress, Inc.  
Strategies for Managing Litter Cake, Mr.- UD  
Outstanding Flock Supervisor Awards  
Lunch sponsored by MidAtlantic Farm Credit

Moderator Ms.- UMD  
Current on-farm Biosecurity Implementation, Dr.- UMD



HPAI Update, Dr.- Perdue Foods LLC  
Delmarva Broiler Health Update- Kidney Bronchitis, Dr.- Lasher Laboratory, UD  
Response to Inflammatory Animal Welfare Videos, Dr.- Poultry Diagnostic and Research  
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# Contextualizing Participatory Competence among Campaign Volunteers in an Urban Community

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## ABSTRACT

*Volunteers are the life-blood of political campaigns, yet few academic studies have probed the individual processes and outcomes allied with partisan campaign volunteering among diverse samples of volunteers in urban districts. Utilizing a small, convenience sample (N = 13), which is congruent with phenomenological inquiry, this study utilized a participatory competence framework to contextualize the individual processes that an urban, campaign volunteer may encounter en route to individual empowerment. Findings reveal seven themes: Combatting injustice, strong community identity, camaraderie to advance the cause, managing personal expectations, civic literacy, feelings of pride and ownership, and duty to democracy. Each of these themes support and extend our understanding of participatory competence, as it relates to this sample. Implications for policy, practice, and future research are also discussed.*

**Key words:** Participatory competence; civic engagement; social capital; psychological empowerment; political participation

## Introduction

### Background

Political campaigns rely on volunteers, as well as paid staff, in order to function (Nielsen, 2012). Having an active base of campaign volunteers is essential to winning elections (Lees-Marshment & Pettitt, 2014; Suaedy, 2014). Many campaign volunteers are White, college educated, upwardly mobile, and/or older (Cook, Page, & Moskowitz, 2014; Nielsen, 2012; Niemi & Klingler, 2012; Quintelier, 2007). Campaign volunteers are assumed to be risk-takers because of the perceived excitement that comes from working in a campaign environment (Kam, 2012). Yet reasons for campaign volunteerism are likely to vary at the individual level. Some volunteers may wish to dabble in policy; others may want to write speeches; some may find joy in simply being part of a likeminded community (Nielsen, 2012). In fact, social support has proven to be a primary benefit of campaign volunteerism (Kam, 2012; Putnam, 2000). Wollebæk and Strømsnes (2008) note that voluntary organizations like political campaigns are capable of institutionalizing this type of support.

According to Clary and Snyder (1999), social support is among six motivators for volunteering on any cause. Other motivators include: the personal meaning that a cause might have for a prospective volunteer, the desire to understand or learn something new, the enhancement of

personal growth, the expansion of a professional network, and the resolution of individual-level problems (Clary & Snyder, 1999). Partisan political campaigns have the added motivator of offering moral, ideological, and policy choices for volunteers (Kreiss, 2014). In fact, in a sample of 321 Swiss youth, Neufeind, Jiranek, and Wehner (2014) found that a belief in a just society predicted the extent of one's political participation.

The propensity to volunteer can be inhibited or enhanced by the country one lives in (Handy et al., 2010), whether or not one is affiliated with a religious organization (Paik & Navarre-Jackson, 2011), and how much discretionary time is available to a prospective volunteer (Tang, 2016). The United States has long-valued participation in the civic sphere (see de Tocqueville & Bender, 1981); yet, a history of discrimination and oppression has prevented certain populations from political engagement. Consequently, Hope and Jagers (2014) note that racial and ethnic minority youth are less inclined to volunteer for political candidates than their older, White counterparts. Instead, Hope and Jagers (2014) state that minority youth find alternate ways to express political opinions, such as through social justice movements and artistic expression. In recent years, facilitating a diverse and inclusive volunteer environment has become a primary job function for political party managers (Fisher, Fieldhouse, & Cutts, 2014; LeesMarshment & Pettitt, 2014). It is incumbent upon these managers to recognize that volunteers constitute a unique stakeholder group (Studer, 2016).

Political participation happens in the civic sphere; consequently, the academic study of political participation is often framed by empowerment-oriented theories. Empowerment also necessitates participation in the civic sphere (Zimmerman, 1990; Zimmerman & Rappaport, 1988). It is a multi-dimensional construct that can seem both ubiquitous and paradoxical (Rappaport, 1981; Zippay, 1995). Psychological empowerment, also known as empowerment at the individual-level, is a process whereby individuals attempt to gain control over external circumstances, such as policies, programs, and services that effect individual well-being (Zimmerman, 1995). Throughout the literature, sociopolitical control studies are often framed by empowerment theory (Forenza, 2016). To date, however, little research has investigated the intersection of empowerment and sustained campaign volunteerism.

## **Theoretical Framework**

In 1984, Charles Kieffer argued that empowerment was a long-term, developmental process for grassroots organizers in his sample. Kieffer conceptualized empowerment as a product of participatory competence. Participatory competence, in turn, is comprised of four stages: Entry, Advancement, Incorporation, and Commitment. The entry stage of participatory competence refers to one becoming involved in a given cause. This might refer to one's personal response to a policy or a perceived inequity. The second stage of participatory competence, advancement, refers to personal relationships derived through participation. Robert Putnam (2000) chronicled the ways in which being a joiner (akin to relational empowerment) can yield inclusion, among other pro-social outcomes. The third stage of participatory competence, incorporation, refers to confronting structural and institutional barriers through participation. For partisan campaign volunteers, this might involve developing deeper insight into how political processes and change-oriented efforts take shape. Finally, the commitment stage of participatory competence refers to having developed a sense of mastery through participation. In a modern application of

Kieffer's framework, Forenza and Germak (2015) found that, among social justice activists they sampled, sustained participation in a cause was part of an ongoing pursuit of equity.

In the 30+ years since Kieffer's landmark publication, participatory competence has guided myriad studies in civil society, volunteerism, and allied areas. However, the framework is rarely applied to overtly political realms, such as campaign volunteerism. Also, the last known application of Kieffer's framework (Forenza & Germak, 2015) relied on a racially and educationally homogenous sample (all White and all college educated). Since research states that minority groups perceive and experience both campaign volunteerism and psychological empowerment differently (Hope & Jagers, 2014; Peterson, Hamme & Speer, 2002), it behooves scholars to apply the Kieffer framework to a more diverse sample. The present study applies Kieffer's (1984) framework to a racially, ethnically, and educationally diverse sample of partisan campaign volunteers, in an effort to interrogate the following question and aim:

**Research Question.** How does participatory competence manifest itself for sustained partisan campaign volunteers?

**Research Aim.** To contextualize the individual processes that an urban, campaign volunteer may encounter en route to individual empowerment.

## Method

### Research Setting and Sample

Participants were recruited through a single democratic candidate's campaign for state legislature. The candidate was an incumbent, Hispanic female. Her district is predominantly urban; it includes the third-largest city in a northeastern state. The recruitment flier was distributed to all of the candidate's active campaign volunteers (22 individuals). It invited those volunteers to join the present study if they (1) were at least 18 years old at the time of interview, (2) had a sustained record of campaign volunteerism, (3) had volunteered their time on at least one other campaign, and (4) were English-proficient. Thirteen individuals responded affirmatively, for a response rate of 59.1%. Eleven participants were interviewed almost immediately after recruitment; the remaining two were interviewed approximately six months later, as their schedules allowed.

The sample included eight women and five men ( $N = 13$ ). They identified as Hispanic/Latino ( $n = 7$ ), White ( $n = 4$ ), and Black/African American ( $n = 2$ ). At the time of interview, their average age was 49.9 years old (the median was 52). Their average years of sustained campaign volunteerism was 25.9 (the median number was 22). To this end, participants might fit McNamee and Peterson's (2016) conception of a "stable lifer" volunteer. Participants first became campaign volunteers at approximately 24 years old (the median age was 22). Broadly, participant occupations consumed the realms of education, healthcare, law, public administration, telecommunications, and youth development. At the time of interview, one participant was a small business owner and four participants were retired. Nine participants (69.2%) were active or former residents of the candidate's district.

## **Interview Procedure and Schedule**

The in-depth interview guide was created by the author, a qualitative methodologist, whose research foci include civil society and empowerment theory. Items were designed to contextualize Kieffer's (1984) explicated stages of participatory competence (entry, advancement, incorporation, and commitment). Questions such as, "*How did you become involved in partisan campaigning?*" contextualized the entry stage. "*How do you work with other volunteers to achieve campaign goals?*" was indicative of advancement. "*What obstacles do you have to deal with as a campaign volunteer?*" referred to incorporation. Finally, Kieffer's commitment stage was embodied by questions like "*Why have you stayed involved with campaign volunteerism?*"

Participants were interviewed at a single point in time (cross sectional research) for approximately 45 minutes each. Per agreement with the candidate's professional campaign manager, no audio or video recordings were allowed. Instead, the author took notes on a laptop computer. Also per agreement with the campaign manager, all identifying references to the candidate were struck from the interview notes. Each participant was remunerated \$20 for her or his time, and each completed a receipt of compensation. Finally, each candidate completed a written consent form, which detailed her or his rights as a voluntary research participant.

## **Qualitative Analysis**

The author and a graduate research assistant conducted independent, directed content analyses before meeting to discuss, debate, and identify emergent themes. Directed content analysis utilizes existing theory (e.g. participatory competence) to generate findings (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). The graduate research assistant was trained in directed content analysis by the author, as well as through structured, classroom instruction. With the assistance of technical software, both author and research assistant first immersed themselves in the raw data. Next, they identified a priori themes that were congruent with Kieffer's stages of participatory competence. These themes were noted when more than half of participants illustrated them. Subthemes were noted when fewer than half of all participants illustrated them. Themes and subthemes that appear in the findings were identified after 100% agreement was reached between author and graduate assistant.

Saturation, which occurs when "the addition of more units does not result in new information" (Teddlie and Tashakkori, 2009, p. 183), occurred after analysis of eight to 11 cases. Following write-up of the analysis, the author shared findings with all 13 members of the sample. Throughout this member checking process, some participants asked clarifying questions about the Kieffer framework. Some amended initial statements and some offered additional context for specified stages of participatory competence. To this end, member checking allowed the author to enhance validity regarding the interpretation of participant experiences (Koelsch, 2013).

## **Findings**

Findings are organized according to the explicated dimensions of participatory competence (entry, advancement, incorporation, and commitment). Findings are also summarized in Table 1.

<b>Table 1. Summary of Findings</b>	
<b>Dimension of Participatory Competence</b>	<b>Emergent Theme</b>
<b>Entry</b>	Combatting Injustice Strong Community Identity
<b>Advancement</b>	Camaraderie to Advance the Cause
<b>Incorporation</b>	Managing Personal Expectations Civic Literacy <i>Importance of Raising Money</i> <i>Knowledge of Local Resources</i>
<b>Commitment</b>	Feelings of Pride and Ownership Duty to Democracy

Per Table 1, two themes are indicative of Entry: A desire to combat injustice and the possession of a strong community identity. One theme, camaraderie to advance the cause, is indicative of advancement. Incorporation is illustrated by two themes, managing personal expectations and civic literacy. Civic literacy, in turn, is illustrated by subthemes pertaining to fundraising and one’s knowledge of local resources. Finally, commitment is defined by feelings of pride and ownership, as well as one’s perceived duty to democracy. All findings are explored more below.

**Era of Entry**

The entry stage of participatory competence refers to one becoming involved in a given cause. Several themes emerged pertaining to one’s entry into partisan volunteerism. Some participants in this study became politically active in an effort to *combat injustice*. As one participant noted:

I got involved in politics because I was being discriminated against by the police department of [my city]. They discriminated against me because of my gender. I didn't want those kinds of things to happen in the future, for my kids or anyone else.

The speaker above identifies a very personal injustice; however, other participants identified injustice that was not unique to them. For example, a second participant described combatting injustice on behalf of an entire community:

I became active [in partisan campaigning] because the Hispanic community needed a voice. I wanted them to vote, but they weren’t registered. So I went around registering

people to vote. And in no time, I got 1,000 people registered to vote, so that those people could have a say in what happens to their community.

Like the speaker above, other participants referred to involvement that was rooted in a group-based identity. The notion of community is embedded in both quotes that describe combatting injustice. In the first quote, community is implicitly discussed in the context of one's municipal police force. In the second quote, community refers to a group-based identity (Hispanic).

Indeed, all participants (N = 13) discussed having a strong community identity, however community was defined. As one participant offered, "Community is the unifying thread among political volunteers." A second participant noted that, "Being part of a community helps define what my political agenda is... you have to know who you're advocating for." A third participant observed, "Being part of a lot of communities helps me see the bigger picture about what's going well and what's not." Only one participant discussed having been recruited into campaign volunteerism to fill a niche campaign role. The remainder of participants (n = 12) attributed their era of entry to the communities that they were part of (e.g. racial/ethnic, geographic, occupational, etc.)

A strong community identity and a desire to combat injustice enabled the participants in this sample to become partisan campaign volunteers.

### **Era of Advancement**

The second stage of participatory competence refers to advancement. Advancement pertains to the personal relationships derived through one's voluntary participation. While all participants (N = 13) discussed having friendly, amicable relationships with fellow volunteers, there was variance in the self-reported intensity of these relationships. For example, one participant described having "close relationships" with fellow volunteers. She noted that fellow volunteers were her primary supports throughout her personal illness and the death of loved ones. This sentiment is also illustrated by another participant who said, "I have formed a number of friendships through politics... There are people who I can call when I need them, and there are people who can call me when they need someone."

Alternately, another volunteer described campaign-oriented relationships as "professional... like work colleagues." As another participant explained, "There have been situations where I have had to work with difficult people, but it's all about values and finding common ground and moving forward. I think that supersedes working with any difficult person." To this end, *camaraderie to advance the cause* was illustrated by all participants (N = 13). "From the beginning, you try to create a relationship with the people you volunteer with, because all politics is based on relationships," said one participant. "The ideal would be that everyone would agree on all things, but that doesn't exist. And that's OK, because there should always be different voices in democracy," said another.

Camaraderie to advance the cause refers to the good-faith efforts of all participants (N = 13) to befriend fellow campaign volunteers. Harmonious volunteer relationships were viewed as the conduit to successful campaign outcomes.

## **Era of Incorporation**

Incorporation refers to working through structural and institutional barriers through participation. For some participants, developing a strategic ability and insight also meant *managing personal expectations* about one's given role on a campaign. As one participant noted, "Sometimes a candidate won't appreciate my abilities, but I just do my job and recognize that I'm not volunteering for that specific person." Here again, camaraderie to advance the cause is evident, though this time the camaraderie pertains to managing personal expectation about one's relationship to a candidate.

To further expand on the theme of managing personal expectations, more than half of all participants (n = 7) noted a time when they disagreed with a candidate whose campaign they were volunteering for. Of those who identified such an instance, all (n = 7) still recognized the importance of not putting individual ideas or agendas above the candidate or the campaign. As one participant offered:

You have to be a team player. You can have your own opinion but not your own agenda. There is no 'I' in 'Team.' Once you feel that you're stronger than your team, you need to get out and remove yourself from that campaign.

In one instance, a long-time campaign volunteer discussed having to manage his own expectations against the whims of a candidate's inner-circle. "[The inner-circle] might know the candidate best, but not the policies. Or how the candidate and the policies fit together. Nevertheless, it's all relevant... it just requires some gentle handling."

Another way in which participants demonstrated strategic ability and insight was through civic literacy. Civic literacy, which refers to knowledge about political processes and affecting change, was discussed by all participants (N = 13). While illustrations of civic literacy varied at the individual level, two concepts were mentioned with some frequency: the importance of raising money and the knowledge of local resources (both are subthemes of civic literacy).

The first illustration of civic literacy pertains to the importance of raising money for a candidate or a campaign. Raising money could take several forms. One participant discussed the ways in which years of partisan volunteerism yielded long-standing relationships with lobbyists and other potential donors. Two additional participants discussed the ways in which they helped to organize fundraisers on behalf of political candidates. However acquired, money was viewed as essential to campaigning. As one participant noted, "Money. That's what it's all about. That's why campaigning thrives on volunteers. There is a constant concern among politicians to raise money."

The second illustration of civic literacy pertains to the knowledge of local resources that some participants became aware of through their campaign volunteerism. Three participants illustrated this subtheme when they discussed specific instances of helping other non-volunteers gain access to local resources. "Because of my political involvement, I just know a little bit better than most about what resources are out there for people in need," said one participant. "If someone is in



need... I have been able to tell them ‘see this person in this department,’ or ‘see that person in that department,’ because I know who the players are.”

Both managing personal expectations about one’s role on a campaign and cultivating civic literacy (vis-à-vis the importance of raising money and the knowledge of local resources) are illustrative of Kieffer’s era of incorporation. For participants in this sample, managing personal expectations and cultivating civic literacy were demonstrative of strategic ability and insight.

### **Era of Commitment**

Finally, the commitment stage of participatory competence refers to having developed a sense of mastery through participation. It also refers to one having developed an awareness of her or himself in relation to the political world. Most participants in this sample (n = 10) illustrated feelings of pride and ownership for having been part of winning campaigns. As one participant said, “It is great to see something you were part of come to fruition, whether it be a candidate or even a fundraising event. It's rewarding to see things reach their potential.” As another volunteer offered, “In a small way, I've contributed to people getting elected. In the smallest way, I even contributed to someone being elected president.” This humble sense of ownership was expanded upon by another participant, when he said that, “We are the people who really put elected officials in office... ultimately, that’s going to help the communities that we are a part of.” Herein lies a keen awareness about the speaker’s perceived role in relation the larger political landscape.

Among participants in this sample, a second illustration of commitment is one’s implied *duty to democracy*. Almost all participants (n = 12) discussed an obligation to continue partisan campaign volunteerism for years to come. In most instances, participants conceptualized this dutiful volunteerism as part of their individual identities. For example:

[Through volunteering,] there is a sense that I am not taking my democracy for granted. People died for [democracy]. It means something. I take political involvement a step further. I have a passion for politics and I think it’s important to have relationships with local officials so that I can directly voice my opinion and have my voice heard.

In addition to intrinsic motivations to sustain one’s volunteerism, the quote below details the realities of living amidst ever-changing times, budgets, and political administrations:

Despite the frustrations [of partisan campaign volunteerism], it is always important to keep an eye on what goes on in government. When you don't pay attention or you overlook what is going on in the world, you get saddled with problems. You wake up and you realize you have no access to birth control or reproductive services.

Interestingly, when participants discussed why they stayed involved in partisan volunteerism, none exclusively cited the candidates whose campaigns they had worked on. Instead, their era of commitment was best illustrated by their feelings of pride and ownership for their volunteerism, and through their perceived duty to democracy.

## **Discussion**

Findings support and extend conceptions of participatory competence for the 13 urban political campaign volunteers in this study. Entry, which refers to getting involved in a given cause, is illustrated in this sample through a participant's desire to combat injustice and/or an individual's possession of a strong community identity. Advancement refers to the personal relationships derived through volunteerism. Camaraderie to advance the cause (working harmoniously with fellow volunteers, in spite of potential differences) is best illustrative of Kieffer's advancement stage. Incorporation, which refers to working amidst structural and institutional barriers, was illustrated by participant abilities to manage personal expectations, as well as their sense of civic literacy. Civic literacy was further explored via discussions of fundraising and knowledge of local resources. Finally, commitment refers to having developed a sense of mastery through one's voluntary participation. For participants in this sample, commitment was defined by feelings of pride and ownership, as well as one's perceived duty to democracy.

## **Limitations**

This study is context-bound. For example, the recruitment flier was distributed to the campaign staff of one democratic candidate in one urban community of one northeastern state. This recruitment strategy ignores the perceived experiences of participatory competence among republican volunteers in the same locality, as well as democratic volunteers affiliated with other, concurrent campaigns. While the author is pleased to have extracted a small sample of racial/ethnic campaign volunteers (small sample sizes are congruent with phenomenological studies like this one), the author cautions that findings should not be generalized beyond these 13 participants.

A final limitation pertains to the real-time note taking that took place during data collection. The author concedes that this process—requested by the campaign's professional manager—likely resulted in lost data. Nevertheless, in contextualizing and modernizing Kieffer's participatory competence framework with a diverse sample of partisan campaign volunteers, the author believes that this research makes a formative contribution to the civil society and volunteerism literatures.

## **Implications**

In attempting to answer the question "How does participatory competence manifest itself for sustained partisan campaign volunteers?" the author has identified seven themes and two subthemes that have implications for policy and practice. The first and most obvious implication for policy is that people are, in fact, impacted by policies, programs, and services that effect them. For some, however, the risk of an unfavorable policy can be a call to action. The desire to combat a personal or community-level injustice may propel one into civic engagement vis-à-vis her or his partisan volunteerism. Further, it is easy to assume that individuals are motivated to become politically involved for personal gain. Among individuals in this sample, however, political involvement was almost exclusively for the benefit of community gain (racial-ethnic, occupational, geographic, etc.). On political campaigns, the volunteers in this study became the defacto voices for the communities that they were part of.

Practitioners will benefit from the knowledge that political participation can function as a protective factor against individual or community-level oppressions. In the highest order, political participation can also facilitate empowerment for the individual. Sometimes (vis-à-vis the knowledge of local resources) this can lead to benefits for others in the volunteer's community.

Tandem to other civil society and social movement research, empowerment is conceptualized as a process that involves working with others. Campaigns are very fast-paced and, because they are often finite in time, campaign volunteers learn to work together in high-pressure, high-stress environments. Participants in this sample understood that their needs and their personal agendas could never supersede the needs of a candidate or the larger "cause" of a campaign. Nevertheless, campaign managers are wise to delegate tasks that can exploit volunteer talents and interests, for the betterment of the volunteer and the campaign alike.

In contextualizing the individual processes that an urban, campaign volunteer may encounter en route to individual empowerment, this research modernizes Kieffer's participatory competence framework with a diverse sample of volunteers. It identifies compelling reasons why "stable lifers" remain involved in partisan politics. Participants remained involved because of the feelings of pride and joy that resulted from seeing their efforts come to fruition. Participants also stayed involved because of their perceived duty to democracy.

Campaign managers and political candidates should take note that their campaigns are emotionally "owned" by the volunteers who help to facilitate them. Campaigns, in-and-of themselves, are communities. Campaign managers and political candidates should also note that a belief in one's service to country and one's desire to affect change—as opposed to a belief in any particular candidate—were the compelling reasons for staying involved in voluntary campaigning for participants in this sample.

Future research may wish to examine the extent to which empowerment is, in fact, the developmental product of participatory competence. This will involve larger sampling frames with quantitative measures, that deductively test one's levels of empowerment. Future research is encouraged to sample from campaign communities that are as diverse as this one, in an effort to include all voices in future civil society and volunteerism research.

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