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The Researcher: An Interdisciplinary Journal

Spring 2011
Volume 24, Number 1

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U.S. ISSN: 0271-5058

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O r i g i n a l A r t i c l e s

LIZZIE BORDEN TOOK AN AXE…: CONFLICTING VIEWS IN THE NEW YORK PRESS COVERAGE OF THE BORDEN MURDERS

by

Mark Bernhardt, Ph.D.[1]

ABSTRACT

In 1892 Lizzie Borden was arrested for killing her father and stepmother with an ax. Was she guilty? The search for an answer to this question revealed the struggle taking place in the United States to define proper behavior for women and confine them to their assigned social sphere. The *New York Herald* and *New York World* engaged in this struggle through their written and visual coverage of the case. The two papers took very different approaches to their presentation of Borden based on the prevailing social conceptions of women's character and, especially in the case of the *World*, their journalistic styles. The *Herald* was consistent in the view of Borden it provided in both its articles and pictures. The *World's* articles and pictures at times seemed to contradict each other, and eventually the *World* completely reversed its opinion on Borden's guilt. Ultimately, the juxtaposition of these two specific papers is historically significant because the manner in which they covered the case demonstrates that the dominant culture asserted an ideal for gender roles, the Borden murders revealed a breakdown of that ideal, and the *Herald* and *World*, in different ways, assisted in propping up the ideal to reassert the power of the dominant culture.

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Introduction

On August 4, 1892 Andrew and Abbey Borden were found dead in their Fall River, Massachusetts home, both bludgeoned multiple times with a hatchet. Only two people were known to have been in the house at the time of the murders: the family maid, Bridget Sullivan, and Andrew's daughter (Abbey's stepdaughter), Lizzie Borden. Ultimately, because of the contentious relationship Lizzie had with her parents, fighting frequently with her spendthrift father over her desire to live the part of a wealthy socialite and resenting her stepmother for marrying her father, Lizzie became the primary suspect and was charged with the crimes (Williams, Smithburn, and Peterson 1980, 11-16, 18).

For more than a century the Borden murders have captured the public's imagination with countless works written about the case. My intent is to add to this discourse an analysis of the written and visual coverage it received in two of the nation's largest newspapers: Joseph Pulitzer's *New York World* and James Gordon Bennett's *New York Herald*. I focus on these particular papers because their juxtaposition provides a unique contrast regarding the way they covered the case. During the police investigation the *World* and *Herald* constructed opposite images of Lizzie Borden in their articles about the crime. The *World* took the position she was guilty, the *Herald* that she was innocent. Later, during the trial, the *World* reversed course, taking Borden's side. Why the papers took their respective positions can be attributed to two primary factors: gender ideology and journalistic style. Victorian notions of womanhood implied that ideally women were nonviolent and yet women had the potential to murder. The *World*, characterized by a sensationalistic style of journalism, manipulated these beliefs to maximize the drama at different stages. First it claimed Borden perpetrated a murder un-characteristic of her sex and then stated she might face execution for a crime she did not commit. The *Herald*, a more conservative paper, unwaveringly supported the side it thought correct. The pictures that accompanied the articles reveal further differences in

the two papers' coverage of the case that also demonstrate the interplay between gender ideology and journalistic style. Despite its reputation for publishing graphic images of crime scenes, the *World* did not publish any pictures conveying the gore of the Borden murders. This suggests an attempt by the *World* to respect and partially preserve the image of women as harmless by not showing violent acts committed by a woman even while it accused Lizzie of the killings. In comparison, the *Herald's* pictures matched its written accounts by portraying Lizzie as a suffering woman wrongly accused of murder and behaving as a proper woman should under such circumstances. The *World* did the same after changing its position on her guilt. Consequently, together, text and picture reveal the importance of Victorian era notions of womanhood and how these ideas interacted with journalistic style in the presentation of the Borden case.

Victorian era beliefs about women intersected with class, race, nationalism, religion, notions of public versus private spheres, and the pseudoscience of the day. The result provided two seemingly contradictory interpretations of whether or not women were violent that the *World* and *Herald* engaged with in addressing whether Lizzie was guilty or innocent.

On the one hand, the ideal stated that women were less likely to kill than men based on their emotional temperament, mental capacity, physical capabilities, and gender-specific character traits (Shapiro 1992, 133-4; Gilman 1985, 139; Odem 1995, 96-97, 104-5; Barker-Benfield 2000, 122). When combining other social categories with sex, the upper classes were thought less capable of violence than the working class, whites less capable than other races, American citizens less capable than immigrants, Protestants less capable than Catholics or Jews, and reputable women of the private sphere less capable than those who moved outside it. In this age of eugenics, a time when the United States allegedly was plagued by labor disputes, an immigrant invasion, race conflict after Reconstruction, and the high birth rate of lower class women, social pedigree took on great importance (Haller

1995, 51, 140, 198; Wiegman 1995, 57; Kelves 1995, 46-47). It was seen as a strong indicator of a person's quality. Lizzie seemed to have the perfect pedigree and thus was considered unlikely to be violent. This was the basis for the *Herald's* argument.

On the other hand, Victorian era pseudoscientific beliefs about the female reproductive system and insanity potentially negated these other indicators to explain why the women who killed did so. A woman's reproductive organs were thought to cause emotional instability and could trigger insanity and violence in any woman, even though all the other traits assigned to women implied a peaceable nature (Shapiro 1992, 123-5; Smith-Rosenberg 1985, 183, 190-1, 200, 202, 206; Smith 1981, 156). Insanity was believed an inherited trait, so if there was any family history, no matter how respectable her social standing, she could be afflicted (Jones 1980, 170-2). Even the eugenic ideal presented a potential problem for Lizzie. She had the perfect pedigree and such people were encouraged to reproduce to save the nation from those less biologically fit. Yet at thirty-two years of age she was not married and had no children. She was not fulfilling her duty to the nation. Was this a sign that something was wrong with her? These factors were the basis for the *World's* initial position. Thus, Pulitzer and Bennett interpreted the evidence and evaluated Borden's character based on the double bind in coming to their conclusions about her culpability, and, by this logic, both were potentially right.

Journalistic Styles

Why each newspaper chose its position on Borden's guilt immediately following the murder is also connected to the manner in which the arguments for women's capacity for murder fit their journalistic styles. In the 1870s Pulitzer was one of the founders of a new form of journalism, called "New Journalism." As the style became more sensationalistic in the 1890s, critics gave it the name "Yellow Journalism." By either name, this journalism was characterized by news stories presented with dramatic language, soap-opera-like plots, large eye-catching headlines, and graphic

pictures. Harkening back to the earlier "Penny Press," it sought to attract an audience with interesting reading material, often laden with sex and violence (Juergens 1966, 17, 47, 97; Smythe 2003, 50, 57). A woman of Lizzie's pedigree brutally slaughtering her stepmother and father with a hatchet was just the type of story that drove this journalism. When the *World* later reversed its opinion on Borden's guilt, it might seem that Pulitzer bowed to the ideal that women were not violent. Looking deeper, though, this decision benefited his journalistic style in that presenting Borden as an innocent woman on trial for her life heightened the drama of the story at that stage. This suggests that Pulitzer sought to manipulate Borden's case for its intrigue. By comparison, the *Herald* was not a "Yellow" paper and did not seek to capitalize on the story the way the *World* did. For example, the *Herald* did not publish any of its reports about the Borden murders on the front page; whereas, the *World* printed most of its articles on page one. Bennett took the position Borden was innocent and stayed with it because he claimed that was what the evidence proved. The presentation of such stories was an important difference between Pulitzer's and Bennett's journalistic styles. Gender ideals and social classifications were major factors in the way the case was covered, but the business of journalism colored the telling of Borden's tale as well.

Finally, the selection of pictures reveals another way gender and its intersections with other social categories interacted with journalistic styles in the coverage of the Borden murders. Both papers provided graphic descriptions of the murders in their articles. However, the pictures generally did not convey the gore of the crime. This difference is particularly significant in the case of the *World*, which, in spite of its journalistic methodology, published no images conveying the violence of the killings in connection with the case. By providing graphic descriptions while not publishing graphic images, Pulitzer engaged both sides of the Victorian era belief system about women's capacity for violence. The text describes violence and accuses Borden of being the one

who committed it while the illustrations respect the seemingly inescapable ideal of proper female behavior by censoring the violence. Bennett published the one image revealing the violence of the crime in connection with the case, an illustration drawn from a photograph of the crime scene, because, in his mind, there was no need to hide the murder's brutality since Borden was innocent and the ideal of respectable Victorian era women as nonviolent was not threatened.

Coverage of the Crime

The day following the murder the *World's* headlines read, "BUTCHERED IN BROAD DAY," "Horrible Murder of a Wealthy Banker and His Wife," "SLAIN IN THEIR HOME IN FALL RIVER WITH A SHARP HATCHET" (1). The story tells the known facts of the case. The article refers to blood numerous times–Andrew Borden's face was covered in blood, the pillow he was resting on was soaked with blood, there was a pool of blood on the floor. Abbey is described as having "the right side of her skull crushed in by so many blows that the examining physicians became tired of tracing them." Of Andrew's injuries the *World* states, "Seven sharp cuts were inflicted on the left side of the face and skull and the murderer completed his work by turning the hatchet and driving its head through the temple. The nose was almost cut off and the face and skull about the left temple completely crushed. One of the wounds was four inches long and two inches wide." This initial account spares no detail in discussing the violent nature of the crime and refers to the unknown murderer as "he," insinuating only a man could do such a deed. The *World* did not yet suggest that Lizzie was involved, and this first report actually deflects suspicion from her. The reporter describes Lizzie rushing to the house after hearing groans, "Her first thought was of her aged father," and after discovering her father's body, "Miss Elizabeth reeled, but by an effort collected herself and began to scream for her mother and Bridget" ("Butchered in Broad Day" 1892, 1). Lizzie is portrayed here as

fitting the ideal for women, responding to the crime in a manner expected of a woman, which implies she is incapable of committing such a heinous act. This, however, was the only time prior to her trial that the *World* suggested Borden's innocence.

The next day's headlines read "FALL RIVER'S CRIME," "No Solution Yet of the Strange Mystery of the Bordens' Deaths," "THE POLICE HAVE NO CLUES, BUT STILL SUSPECT RELATIVES" (1). The mention of relatives shows that the police were entertaining the possibility Lizzie was responsible, though they had not ruled out Emma, Lizzie's sister, who ultimately had an alibi, and John Morse, Andrew's brother-in-law from his first marriage, who had visited earlier in the morning. It is at this point the *World* found its angle for covering the case and began casting suspicion on Lizzie, which is not to say the suspicion was unwarranted. The story states that investigators believed the Bordens were poisoned before being butchered, and that Lizzie recently had purchased poison. Poison was considered the weapon of choice for women. As their ability to detect poison improved through the nineteenth century, police uncovered more and more murders by women, particularly of family members (Carlson 2009, 98). While the police initially said that Lizzie's purchase of poison to kill moths did not make her a suspect because the purchase was routine, the *World* twice mentions the purchase and the theory that the Bordens had been poisoned. This insinuation is much different from the portrayal of Lizzie given the day before. The question is also posed in regards to Abbey, "Was she approached by one she knew and from whom she feared no harm…?" Furthermore, the article reads, "Mrs. Borden was battered and clubbed. Her husband was cut and cut again as though the murderer found delight in his work. A policeman of long service said no one but a crazed woman would commit such a deed as that by which Mr. Borden went into eternity. A man would have cut deeper every time he struck and would crush rather than cut his victim." In pointing the finger at Lizzie, the *World* raises the issue of just what a woman is capable of doing. The *World* insinuates the killer was

mentally unstable and lacked the physical strength of a man, who would have gotten the job done with one blow to each victim, not requiring thirty-one deliveries of the axe head. Did this prove the killer was a woman?

Scientific View of Women

The pseudoscientific view of women in this period was that they were inherently different from men in their anatomy, physiology, temperament, and intellect. Women were deemed physically and mentally weaker than men. Studies done on female and male brains alleged that women were guided by feelings, men by intellect. Women were supposedly more cautious and timid, men more combative. Women were also believed to be domestic, with strong emotional ties to their families, an instinct to care for their kin, and a natural submissiveness to their fathers and husbands. Therefore, women were assigned the character traits of childlike, emotional, weak-willed, and dependent. They purportedly lacked originality, reasoning skills, decisiveness, and the ability to amass knowledge. It was suggested, however, that these weaknesses were offset by such strengths as affection, gentleness, sympathy, devotion, self-denial, piety, motherliness, and morality (Russett 1989, 11-12, 18-19, 42-3). Taken together, these traits suggest that women were unlikely to kill. They lacked the physical strength to perpetrate a violent murder. They did not have the intellectual capacity to plan a homicide. They were too kind to harm anyone. Yet, on occasion, women did commit murder.

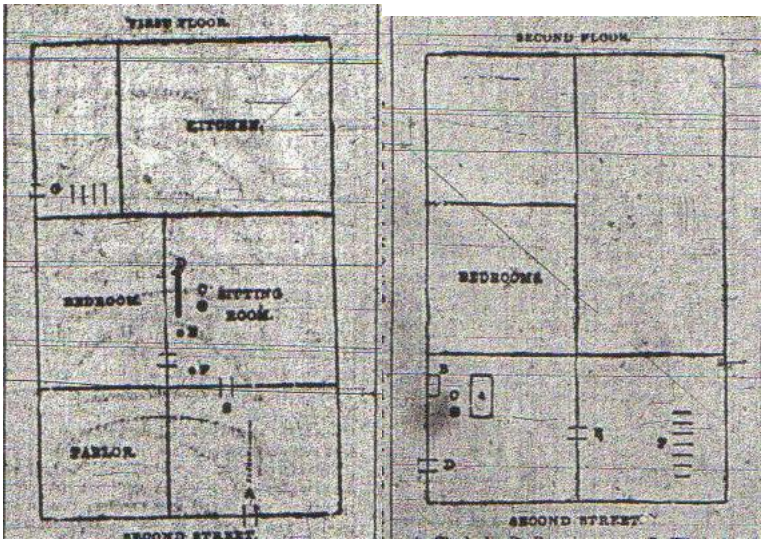
Scientists and psychiatrists came up with an explanation for why some women did kill: "we find that in women, as contrasted with men, [the emotions] are almost always less under control of the will – more apt to break away, as it were, from restraint of reason, and to overwhelm the mental chariot in disaster" (Russett 1989, 42). What could cause a woman to lose control over her emotions and overwhelm her mental chariot? Her reproductive capacity: the very thing that defined her as a woman and generated

the character traits that were the basis for the argument she would not be a killer (Shapiro 1992, 123-5). Puberty, menstruation, and menopause were all perceived as placing women at risk for losing control of their emotions, potentially leading to violence. Menstruation was a particular danger because it was thought to make every woman temporarily insane. Menstruation could lead to a female-specific condition allegedly common among the middle and upper classes, hysteria, which was sometimes characterized by violent, spontaneous outbursts (Smith-Rosenberg 1985, 183, 190-1, 200, 202, 206; Smith 1981, 156; Jones 1980, 170-2; Schuetz 1994, 65). According to witnesses, Lizzie was menstruating at the time of the murders (Lincoln 1967, 58). Hysteria because of menstruation provided an explanation for why a woman of Lizzie's pedigree could become violent. At this early sage, this seems to be Pulitzer's theory of the crime.

Illustrations

Nevertheless, while Pulitzer accuses Lizzie in writing of violent acts, the pictures hide the results of that violence. The first pictures, all of them illustrations, appear with the August 6 coverage. The picture at the top of the page is of Andrew Borden – it puts a face on one of the victims. Below that is a picture of the Borden's house ("Fall River's Crime" 1892, 1). It shows the front and one side of the house on what appears to be a quiet residential street, suggesting the serenity of life in the neighborhood before the murder shattered the peace of this quiet town. This type of picture identifies the location of the crime for the reader without revealing any of the violence of the murders through a recreation of the crime or an image of its aftermath. Near the bottom of the page are diagrams of the first and second floors of the house (Fig. 1a and 1b). These diagrams are different from diagrams Pulitzer used in other cases. For example, in September of 1883 the *World* ran a story about a clergyman who slashed his wife to death and then cut his own throat before jumping out a fourth-floor window ("Clergyman Kills Wife, Self" 1883, 1). Pulitzer included a

detailed diagram of the apartment in which he marked a door smeared with blood, the blood stained window from which the clergyman jumped, a bed and table covered with blood, the sink in which the knife was found, and a pool of blood on the floor (Brian 2001, 74). The Borden diagrams, in comparison, are not as



Figures 1a and 1b: Diagrams of Borden home indicating crime scene. Published in *New York World* August 6, 1892.

detailed. They show the locations of various pieces of furniture, "where the body of Mrs. Borden was found," and "where the body of Mr. Borden was found," all numbered and corresponding to a key below the picture. No splatters or pools of blood are identified to convey the mess as with the other case. From just looking at the illustrations, the reader could not draw a conclusion about how Andrew and Abby died. Because the *World* was already suggesting the guilt of Lizzie, an absence of gore is possibly attributable to a combination of the sex, race, class, etc. of the alleged perpetrator; the *World*, in this case, was not going to show violence committed by a woman of Borden's standing as it did when violence was committed by men.

Other examples highlight the difference between illustrations the *World* published with its coverage of the Borden case and

murders committed by men. Two typical reports appeared in the summer of 1888. The first was the murder of Solomon Johnson by Louis Fuld in a drunken, jealous rage over the woman Johnson lived with, Susan Hendricks ("Mistress or Rival, Which?" 1888, 8). With the story are pictures of the knife and the bloodstained floor in the room where the body was found (Fig. 2).

Figure 2: Illustration of Solomon Johnson murder scene. Published in *New York World* August 30, 1888.

In another story, Elias Kahn murdered his wife Klias before attempting to kill himself ("Old Elias Kahn Murders his Wife and Performs Hari-Kari" 1888, 8). With the article is a picture of a room in which the couple struggled with a view through a door into the bedroom where Klias's body was found, lying on the bed next to her husband. Both rooms appear a shambles, evidencing the violence that took place. In neither case is the body of the victim shown, but these pictures are more graphic than what appeared with the Borden coverage. This is not to say that the *World* published pictures that conveyed the violence of murder with every story about a homicide committed by a man. For example, the *World* did not publish images of violence along with

its reports of the Jack the Ripper murders in London ("London Police Baffled 1888, 1). With that story Pulitzer included a map of the Whitechapel district and pictures of the locations where some of the bodies were found, but none of these pictures conveyed the brutality of the crimes ("Mad Man's Fiendish Work" 1888, 1). Other reports of murders committed by men were accompanied by no pictures at all. However, when the *World* did publish images of violence with stories about murders they were crimes committed by men, not by respectable women.

The *New York Herald*, by comparison, provides one image of the crime scene ("Where Mr. Borden was Murdered" 1892, 13).

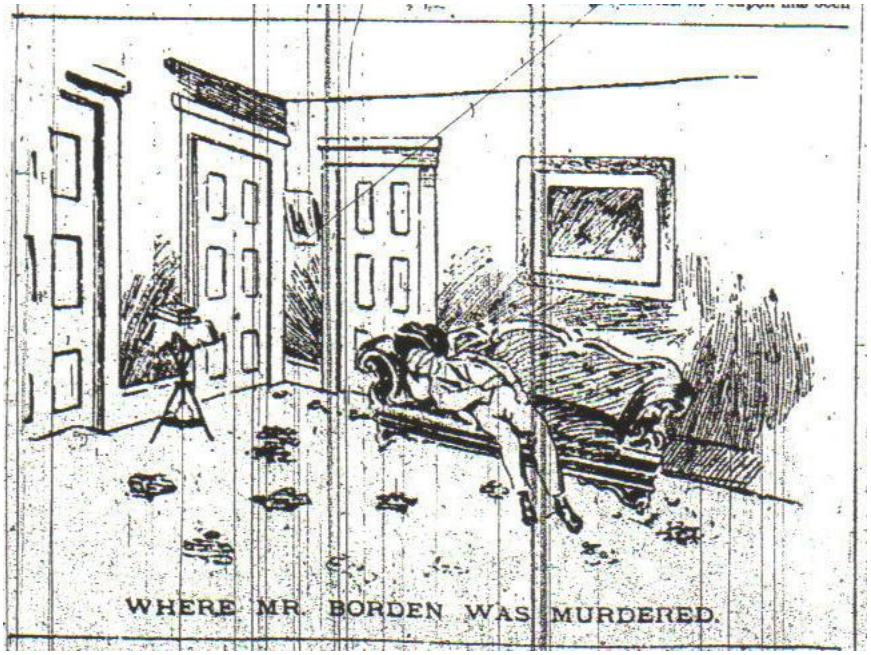


Figure 3: Illustration drawn from photograph taken at Borden crime scene of Andrew Borden's body. Published in *New York Herald* August 7, 1892.

On August 7 the paper ran an illustration of Andrew Borden lying on a couch in the sitting room (Fig. 3). This illustration is drawn from a photograph that was taken of the crime scene and is censored (Hixson 2001, 21). The original photograph provides a

closer view of the corpse and less of the room than the illustration does. The positioning of the body is virtually identical in both. However, in the illustration Andrew's face is wrapped up so that no sign of the mutilation done to him is visible while nothing is covering his face in the photograph. The photograph does not reveal a lot of detail about his injuries, but the viewer can see his face, smeared with blood on the left side. Bennett's removal of all traces of blood demonstrates his reserve in covering cases like the Borden murders compared to the *World's* typical coverage of homicides. Considering, though, that the *Herald* discusses the strong evidence against Lizzie in the beginning of its article, it still might seem that the *Herald* is attempting to be more daring than the *World* by showing the violence Borden is accused of committing. The rest of the article, however, reveals this is not the case. The author writes, "If the woman is insane, and her family physician tells me he has no reason to think her deranged, it is inconceivable that she could have dispatched the old people, gone to the barn for the purpose of concealing the weapon, according to a preconceived plan, and then returned to play the part of the bereaved daughter so well" ("No Motive yet Found for the Borden Murder" 1892, 13). It is then pointed out that, "The statement of the servant girl that Lizzie Borden wore the same dress all the morning and that upon that garment there was no spot of blood has been verified. So terrible were the wounds and so violent the hemorrhage from them that the murderer must have carried some mark of the deed upon him." The *Herald* denied the validity of reports Lizzie was on bad terms with her stepmother and that Lizzie might have killed her parents for money. In summing up who he believed was responsible, the reporter states, "As someone has aptly said, 'had Lizzie and John Morse been so anxious to have the old people out of the way that they decided upon murder, they would have killed their victims genteelly, instead of lending to the scene that Jack the Ripper aspect which marked it.'" Because of her sex and social classification, the *Herald* refused to suggest Lizzie could commit such a dastardly crime. The only solution for

the *Herald* was that an outsider, who had to be a man, killed Andrew and Abbey. In fact, the initial report in the Fall River paper was that one of the male Portuguese immigrants to the area, Jose Corirreo, committed the murders – someone seen as more likely to be violent based on gender, class, and citizenship (Hixson 2001, 23; Kelves 1995, 250). Thus, for Bennett, showing the image of the dead Andrew Borden on his couch presented no problem for the paper because it did not contradict the ideal conception of women as nonviolent.

Women's Pages

While graphic pictures did not accompany its articles of the Borden case, the *World* continued to allude to the fact that the violence described was committed by Lizzie. On August 7 the paper published the statement: "Hiram Harrington [police detective] Makes Serious Circumstantial Allegations Against Lizzie Borden, and Declares She Warred with Her Parents for Ten Years – Couldn't Get Money Enough to Live in the Style a Spirited Girl Would Desire…." ("Clues but no Proof" 1892, 1). Here Lizzie is portrayed as not just a bad daughter but as a generally bad woman. She is disrespectful of her parents and insubordinate. The article reads, "Twenty-five years ago Mr. Borden married again. In all those years, say the gossips, there has never been peace or happiness in the household. The name of Emma is not mentioned in this talk. It is all Lizzie. They say that for two years she never spoke to her step-mother." The story goes on to graphically describe the conditions of the bodies, saying that Andrew's left eye was split by a blow that cut through his cheekbone and that Abbey was lying in a pool of blood with her skull cut open. After discussing that Andrew was wealthy and yet never spent money on luxuries indicative of that wealth, the *World* reads, "It is not difficult to imagine how this must have nettled a high-strung, spirited girl, full of blood, strong muscled and hearty." This is significant for two reasons. First, newspapers like the *World* and *Herald* created a perception of women as materialistic

through their women's pages. The overwhelming volume of material pertaining to fashion, home décor, and other consumer items gave the appearance that women needed the latest fashions, their homes must be decorated in the current styles, and they must keep up with the recent fads. Such consumer messages created a stereotype that women had an insatiable desire for consumer goods. This makes it easier for contemporary readers to believe the financial constraints placed on Lizzie by her father were a real problem. Second, the language here makes Lizzie out to be an emotionally unstable woman, raging inside, and physically capable of smashing in someone's head with a hatchet, possessing muscular strength not typical of normal women. To further emphasize Lizzie's capability, the *World* reports local gossip about a cousin who "…one day in a paroxysm of madness slew her three children and chased after a fourth, who escaped alive…." This history of murderous women in the family is further evidence that Lizzie is the kind of mentally unstable woman capable of such an act as killing her father and stepmother.

Lizzie's conflict with her parents and rebelliousness is also important in the context of nineteenth-century United States' societal belief in an ideology of separate spheres, created as a means to naturalize patriarchal power. Men were supposed to have their place in the public sphere while women remained in the private sphere (Schuetz 1994, 63; Barker-Benfield 2000, 123; Fraser 1993, 7). The *World* emphasized this division in its women's page throughout 1892. Women are portrayed as domestic, with articles providing instructions on preparing meals, raising children, and being a good wife. As with most ideologies though, the reality rarely matched the ideal. First, scholars such as Alice Kessler-Harris, Dorothy Helly, Susan M. Reverby, and Elsa Brown have pointed out that women were part of the public sphere whether the patriarchal society wanted them there or not. Women had always been in the economic sphere, regardless of class (Kessler-Harris 1982, 75, 90, 108, 113; Helly and Reverby 1992, 8-9, 15; Brown 1995, 127, 129). Working class women

specifically were in the factories of Fall River. Increasing numbers of white middle and upper class women were going to college at the end of the century and entering professions. Women of all classes owned their own businesses. They also were involved in providing public services and in politics, fighting in particular for the right to vote through the latter half of the century (Edwards 1997, 147, 155, 247; Peis 1991, 817-28; Epstein 1982, 116-7). Lizzie herself was involved in the Women's Christian Temperance Union, which advocated a role for women in politics. Concerning women of color, historians have pointed out that they too had access to the public sphere, often unobserved and sometimes permitted to move more freely in it than white women (Helly and Reverby 1992, 8-9, 15; Brown 1995, 127, 129). The *World* did acknowledge these imperfect divisions by regularly publishing articles about women outside this private sphere, but in the context of highlighting their anomaly or pointing out potential problems with women not staying in their place. Several articles appeared about the women at Vassar and Wellesley colleges, some praising their accomplishments, others using them as examples of what women should not be–career oriented, politically conscious, and highly educated.[2]

One editorial written by an unidentified woman criticized the opinion that a woman could be president.[3] Another anonymous editorial argued that women should abandon the quest for suffrage and be content with the influence they exert on politics through home life.[4] Some articles gave advice to women on how to handle a career while making it clear that the career should be female appropriate and that women were entitled to less pay than men. Most articles argued that ideally women should not have careers at

[2] "Among the Vassar Girls" 1892, 23; "Specially for the Graduate" 1892, 31; "Wellesley Girls of '92 have already Mapped their Lives" 1892, 27; "Politics at Vassar" 1892, 35. 23 October 1892, 35; "Well-known Women Discuss College Training" 1892, 29.

[3] "What one Woman thinks of another's Ambition to be President" 1892, 31; 12 June 1892.

[4] "Noted Politicians Discuss Women in the National Campaign" 1892, 31.

all because of the threat it posed to their domestic duties, pointing out that women found more fulfillment in the home anyway.[5] Second, besides the blurred boundaries between public and private, Jürgen Habermas and Nancy Fraser have argued that the notion of a single public sphere is unrealistic. Not even all men had equal access to institutions considered part of the public sphere. A more accurate view of nineteenth-century America is that there were multiple public spheres, divided among broad categories such as economics and politics–the sphere that became most relevant to the Borden case was that of the criminal justice system. These public spheres are then further subdivided based on class, race, and gender (Habermas 1962, 1, 27-8; Fraser 1993, 12-13). From this perspective, women such as Lizzie Borden were involved in certain public spheres and granted easier access to some than others. This access was a major point of contention (Edwards 1997, 147, 155, 247; Peis 1991, 817-28; Epstein 1982, 116-7). The charge that Lizzie was a rebellious woman who disrespected her parents, especially her father as the male authority figure over her, spoke to society's fear that women in general were not staying in the proper place defined for them as women, and this was potentially dangerous.

Masculine Women

The discussion of her rebelliousness then leads to the description of Lizzie as possessing masculine traits. The two were very much connected in that women moving in the public spheres were perceived as masculine and threatening. By Victorian era logic it was not a great leap then to violent criminal behavior. It

[5] "Why Ms. Hunt gave up Work and went Home" 1892, 25; "The Pretty Cashier" 1892, 26; "A too Strongly Developed Sense of Duty gets them in Trouble" 1892, 33; "Telling of Women who have made Fortunes–how they made them" 1892, 27; "New York Businessmen Discuss Question of Women's Wages" 1892, 27; "Professional Women who can Cook" 1892, 35; "Which Professional Woman leads the Busiest most Useful Life?" 1892, 35; "Non-professional Women Talk–Their Days are Busier than their Professional Sisters" 1892, 35.

was recognized in the 1890s that men committed most of the crimes in the United States. A study from the time claimed that six times more men than women were criminals. According to the anonymous author, this was attributed to the ease with which men could "overstep the bounds of morality and custom." Criminal behavior was attributed to levity, passion, imprudence, unfavorable surroundings, but, most of all, to alcohol. While it was bad enough for men to commit crime, it was even worse for women to do it. For men, the potential for criminal behavior was thought to be in their nature. Women criminals, however, were thought to lose every trace of their womanhood ("Criminals" 1893, 216; Hart 1994, 13). Lisa Duggan points out that a line was crossed by violent women criminals who were seen as engaging in masculine activity (Duggan 2000, 23). Furthermore, as Judith Halberstam argues, masculinity cannot simply be defined by its association to men. Rather in the Western binary tradition of thinking, where one is either male or female and, hence, masculine or feminine, masculinity, which encompasses both maleness and the privileges of being male, is connected to notions of power, legitimacy, and privilege, symbolically referring to the power of the state and the wealthy people who run it – men. Women acting in a masculine way, then, are perceived as a threat to male power, legitimacy, and privilege (Halberstam 1998, 2, 20). The issue of whether Lizzie was masculine in character was a point on which the *World* and *Herald* engaged and disagreed during the investigation.

The *Herald* opposed the *World* by denying that Lizzie was the murderer and emphasizing her femininity. In the August 9 edition, the paper stated that the police might be close to arresting Lizzie, Emma, and John Morse for the crime, refusing to single out Lizzie. In that same article, the finger is pointed at Bridget Sullivan as likely connected with the crime:

> Very little has been said of Bridget Sullivan, the servant girl of the Bordens, and yet it is possible if she were closely examined she might be able to tell something of value. On Saturday night this girl left

> the house and stayed away until Monday morning at the home of a friend of hers, a woman named Harrington. The police let her go without opposition. No doubt the girl is honest. Nevertheless, it is obvious that under some circumstances a person in her position might, if she pleased, take with her any article the discovery of which about the house would be disagreeable. ("Borden Mystery may soon be Solved" 1892, 8)

As a member of the working class and in light of the strong anti-immigrant and anti-Catholic sentiment in the United States at the end of the nineteenth century, Bridget was a more likely suspect (Amott and Matthaei 1996, 114). Bridget was a woman too, but not of Lizzie's pedigree. The *Herald* also continued trying to reason how someone from the outside could have killed the Bordens, getting in and out of the house without being seen. Never does the paper dwell on the theory that Lizzie committed the crime. The *Herald* states that the only motive for a family member would be inheritance. Since Andrew had no will, if Abby died first her relatives would not be entitled to her widow's share of one third. However, even though the *Herald* presents a very plausible motive for a family member, and one of the daughters specifically to kill their stepmother and father in that order, the *Herald* denies that any premeditated motive for murder could exist and that there was any trouble within the Borden family. The *Herald* sticks to its theory that a deranged lunatic from outside the home killed the Bordens.

Lizzie was finally arrested on August 11 and the *World* ran her picture on the front page of the next day's edition, describing her as showing no outward emotion, remaining frigid: "There were no tears, nor faints, nor cries of excitement. She was very calm, and tonight rests quietly in a cell at the police station as though she were not accused of the most daring, cunning and skillful double murder ever committed" ("Guilt is Charged" 1892, 1). Even though Lizzie is portrayed here as not exhibiting the feminine traits

a woman just arrested for murder should, the statement of a detective reveals how Victorian era views of women delayed her arrest for almost a week: "From the very first day I believed that Lizzie Borden had a hand in the murders. It was a hard thing to charge a daughter with butchering her aged parents in that horrible manner, but … [e]verything pointed in her direction." The *Herald's* description of Lizzie's arrest was different:

> The wonderful courage and self-preservation that have sustained this extraordinary woman abandoned her in her chief hour of need. Very likely she had not been without some expectation that possibly such a fate was in store for her, yet at the reading of the warrant she fell into a fit of abject and pitiable terror. A fit of violent trembling seized her, and so complete was the collapse of her physical system weakened, no doubt, by the prolonged and terrible strain, that instead of the cell that had been prepared for her the matron's room in the central station was made her prison. ("Lizzie Borden under Arrest" 1892, 4)

In the *Herald's* report sympathy for Lizzie is evident and there is no indication that the *Herald* has changed its position on Lizzie's innocence. Accordingly, the description of her behavior is consistent with how a woman "charged with the murder and inhuman butchery of her father and mother" should act. The difference in the accounts of her arrest reflects the positions of the papers on Lizzie's innocence and capitalizes on the gender ideologies of how an innocent woman would behave. It also begs the question, Which reporter actually witnessed the arrest?

Besides the picture of Lizzie, Abby's picture appeared in the *World* before the trial in the August 11 issue, labeled "THE MURDERED WOMAN," to show Lizzie's stepmother as victim (1). When it came to Lizzie's father, the *World* never reran its picture of Andrew Borden at this time or even during the trial. The

Herald did include Andrew's picture with Abbey's and Lizzie's in its coverage the day before the trial began ("No Direct Proof against Her" 1893, 3). Catherine Ross Nickerson explains that in the Borden case the defense played on the desire of men to think of women, especially their own daughters, as loving and affectionate. While a woman killing her stepmother was not out of the question, no one wanted to believe a daughter capable of killing her own father (Nickerson 1999, 271). This view of father-daughter relationships provides a probable explanation for why Andrew's picture only appeared once in the *World*, which then backed away from visually showing the patricidal element of the crime, again demonstrating the influence gender ideology had on the *World's* picture selection. The *Herald* never suggested Lizzie killed her father to begin with, so publishing the picture of Andrew dead on the couch during the investigation and his portrait before the trial presented no problem for the paper.

Over the course of the investigation Pulitzer and Bennett had both expressed their views on whether a woman of Lizzie Borden's pedigree could have committed such a vicious crime. Pulitzer was convinced that Lizzie was the killer because menstruation and her family history of insanity had led to an uncontrollable rage and her masculine traits allowed her to execute the brutal homicide. Bennett was convinced that the properly feminine Lizzie was innocent because, even though some women did kill, the type of murder Borden was accused of committing was too masculine in nature. This particular crime demonstrated combativeness, not timidity. It was characterized by forethought and decisiveness, not spontaneity from an emotional outburst. Despite Pulitzer's opinion, by Victorian era logic, everything about the crime indicated that it was committed by a man except that there was no known man at the scene. It was a while before Lizzie got her day in court for an official verdict. In the meantime, the attention the *World* and *Herald* gave the case dwindled to almost nothing. When coverage finally did resume, perhaps the most

startling revelation was that the *New York World* now believed Borden innocent.

Lizzie's trial did not begin until almost ten months after her arrest. The headlines in the *World* at the time stated the central issue, "THE YOUNG WOMAN IS EITHER A MONSTER OR A BEING MOST CRUELLY WRONGED" ("The Case of Lizzie Borden" 1893, 1). The question is posed whether Lizzie could have split open her father's head and hacked her stepmother beyond recognition without displaying a sign of derangement when the neighbors arrived shortly after. Where Pulitzer had been biased toward Lizzie's guilt the year before, the *World* now suggested Lizzie might be innocent.

On the surface it might seem possible that the evidence convinced those covering the story for the *World* that Lizzie was innocent, similar to the switch the paper made between the first and second day of its coverage after the police suggested Lizzie was guilty. During the investigation the police presented the evidence as strong against Lizzie, and Lizzie did not yet have counsel to defend herself. As a result, initially the *World* may have been swayed by the biased information of her guilt provided by the police. Once she had a team of lawyers in place they were able to raise doubts about some of that evidence leading up to the trial, and it was at this time that the *World* changed its position. However, because the *World* had been so adamant about Lizzie's guilt, it is reasonable to believe persuading the paper to change positions would have taken time and warranted a discussion about the evidence that brought about that change. The switch was immediate, though, and the *World* never gave an explanation for it. In fact, the paper even denied that there was a change of opinion. Near the end of the trial the *World* claimed it had long professed Lizzie's innocence. This suggests the paper did not alter its view based on the evidence.

The nature of the story in the context of "Yellow Journalism" better explains why the *World* changed sides. A woman like Lizzie brutally slaughtering her stepmother and father

with a hatchet was a fabulously scandalous story. It had all of the components to write up the drama in the manner for which the *World* was known. Proclaiming Lizzie guilty maximized the intrigue of the tale, and was probably a correct assessment of the facts. Later, when it came to the trial, building up an image of Lizzie as an innocent woman wrongly accused of murdering her parents and facing execution made for an even more dramatic story than if the *World* had continued to cover the case from the perspective that a guilty woman was now getting what she deserved. The fact that the *World* tried to claim it supported Borden earlier strongly suggests the paper's goal had always been to manipulate the story to exploit the drama. In the end, the *World* praised the jury's verdict of "not guilty" – a far cry from where the paper initially stood.

As for the *Herald*, it continued with its presentation of Lizzie as innocent. The *Herald's* headline the day before the trial read, "NO DIRECT PROOF AGAINST HER" (3). Even though the *Herald* had been consistent in its argument throughout the case, the *Herald's* position also served an agenda. The *Herald* exhibited a determination to uphold the ideal that a woman like Lizzie Borden was incapable of committing a violent murder, at times acting indifferent to the evidence. Bennett tried to reason away a plausible motive and explain how anyone other than Lizzie could have committed the crime despite Lizzie's perfect opportunity. He continued to make the argument through the trial that Lizzie had to be innocent because women of her pedigree did not perpetrate axe murders.

The new alignment between the *World* and *Herald* was on display in the lead story two days before the trial started. The *World* opened with the statement that one theory of the crime was that Lizzie did in fact kill her father and stepmother in their home while another theory was that there was a "Jack the Chopper" on the loose. The paper lays out what must be believed in order to find Lizzie guilty:

The mere fact of a woman brought up in an atmosphere of wealth and what is called

> excellent social surroundings all her life, been [sic.] respected, and who had interested herself seriously in religious and charitable work – the fact of such a woman in some access of frenzy committing a butchery that would have taken the nerve of a Choctaw Indian squaw is perhaps conceivable. But if you believe Lizzie Borden guilty you have to believe she did this horrible thing; that she turned her prim, orderly New England home into a shamble, and waded in the blood of her father and mother, as a butcher wades in the blood of slaughtered animals. You have to believe that she did this not in any frenzy whatsoever, but with as much coolness and deliberation as she would rip a gown to pieces and plan the making of it over into some other form. ("The Case against Lizzie Borden" 1893, 1)

Rhetorically this statement distances respectable women from violence while expressly describing just how violent the crime was. A poor or "savage" woman of some other race might have committed such a crime. But a white woman of high social standing? That now seemed unbelievable to the *World*.

The Trial

With their coverage of the case renewed, both papers published stories and pictures designed to generate sympathy for Borden and portray her acting as a proper woman. The day the trial began the *World* headlines read, "BORDEN JURY CHOSEN," "Twelve Men, Good and True, Obtained Within a Few Hours," and "First Strong Point for the Defense is Lizzie Herself." All the key players in the trial were pictured with short articles discussing them (1, 8). The *World* assured its readers that Lizzie would receive a fair trial and put a human face on the

proceedings by showing the people involved with statements of their competency. The pictures also showed, however, that Lizzie, as a woman, was up against a criminal justice system dominated by men, all white, middle and upper class, U.S. citizens. The sphere of the criminal justice system was one in which women had limited participation, and even the men had a certain pedigree. There were no working class men or Portuguese immigrants on the judge's bench or in the jury box. The court was run by men of a high pedigree primarily to punish other men, often of a low pedigree. There were no female judges, few female lawyers, and an ongoing fight to allow women to serve on juries. Lucy Stone argued that in a case like Borden's, where a woman was on trial for her life, the alleged motive was enmity toward her stepmother, the principal witness against her was a woman, and the whole case was "enveloped in a womanly atmosphere, and attached by circumstances of a domestic nature, of which the average woman would instinctively, and simply because she is a woman, be a better judge than the average man…" (Stone 1893, 188). It made no sense to exclude women from the jury. Stone questioned whether Lizzie was getting a fair trial when a woman was brought into the legal domain of men. While Lizzie's presence demonstrates that women could find their way into this particular public sphere, it was not in a position of power. Gender-wise, she was out of place, which helped make her a sympathetic figure and raise concern about her fate.

After the first day of the trial, both the *World* and the *Herald* reported Lizzie fainted in court after some strong evidence was presented against her ("Miss Borden Faints" 1893, 5; "Miss Borden Fainted in Court" 1893, 7). These articles suggest that the trial was not starting well for Lizzie, though the real focus of the papers was to generate sympathy and show Borden exhibiting expected female behavior. The accompanying picture of Lizzie in the *World* was the biggest one printed to date. It gives the reader the closest look yet at the face of the woman accused of murder ("Miss Borden Faints" 1893, 5). The *Herald* selected a picture of

Lizzie sitting at the defense's table (Fig. 4). The judges, lawyers, and jury are all illustrated by un-shaded line drawings, so they

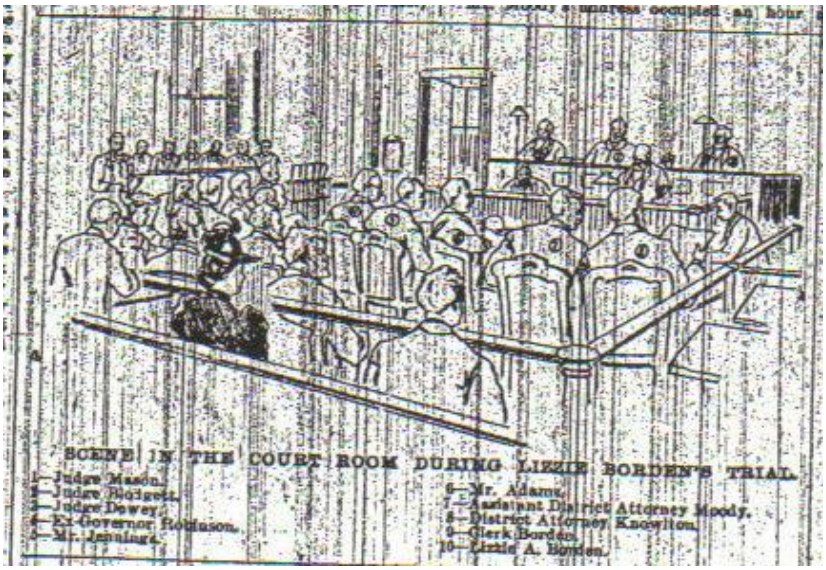


Figure 4: Lizzie Borden in court. Published in *New York Herald* June 7, 1893.

appear white. Lizzie's dress, hat, and hair are shaded black, distinctly setting her apart in the picture and making her stand out as the only woman ("Miss Borden Fainted in Court" 1893, 7). These same types of images, contrasting her as a woman in this sphere for men, continued throughout the trial. For example, the *Herald* printed a picture of the all male jury. The largest of the illustrations in the *World* gave a panoramic view of the courtroom, picturing the three judges presiding over the hearing, one of the prosecutors questioning a witness, and the jury. Lizzie is barely visible, sitting at the defense table with her lawyers ("Lizzie Borden Strong Again" 1893, 7; "In Favor of Lizzie" 1893, 1). She is a lonely figure amongst these men who have accused her of a horrendous crime the papers claim she did not commit.

Lizzie's femininity is especially contrasted with the masculinity of the men in court in scenes of her attorneys mounting her defense. For example, an illustration in the *World*

shows her attorney, George Robinson, cross-examining a police officer (Fig. 5). Robinson has his foot resting on a small table and is pointing at the man on the stand while the judge looks on ("Lizzie's Side Heard" 1893, 14). He comes across as dominating the situation. Likewise, her other attorney, Andrew Jennings, is pictured in a stance with one hand resting on a table, pointing at whomever he is speaking to, with one leg bent forward, as if he is moving toward the person ("All the Evidence In" 1893, 3).

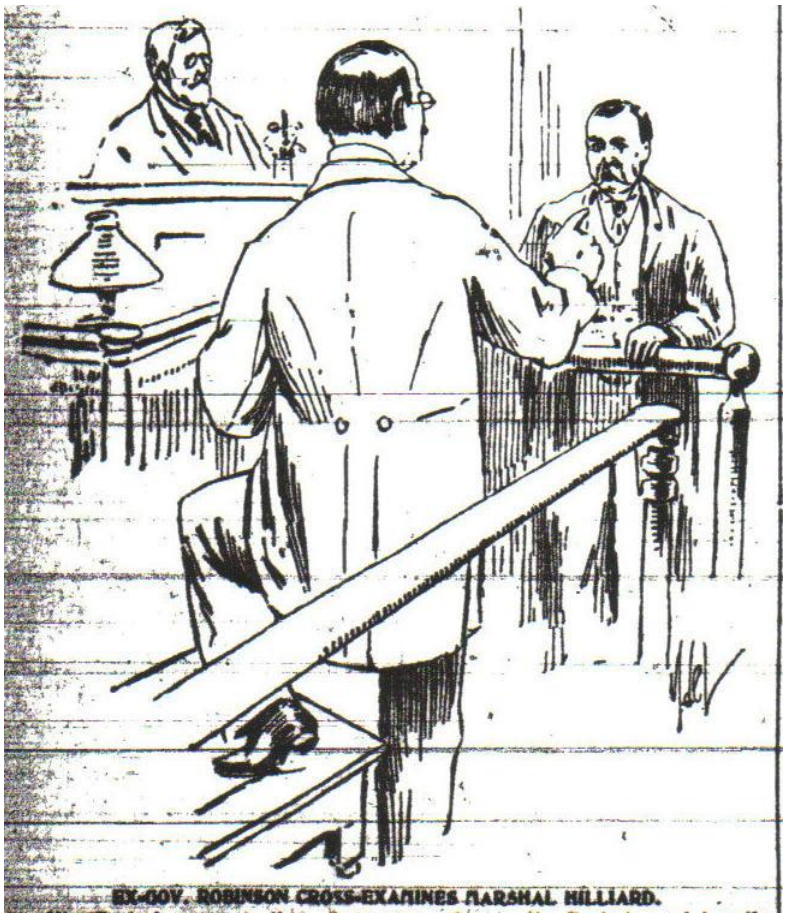


Figure 5: Lizzie Borden's attorney, George Robinson, questioning witness. Published in *New York World* June 16, 1893.

The body language suggests confidence and aggressiveness. All the pictures portray her attorneys in a "knight-in-shining-armor"

manner as they seek to defend the "damsel in distress." Her lawyers did well. As her side of the case was presented the articles became more favorable to her chances of acquittal, with headlines such as "Witnesses for the Prosecution Make Contradictory Statements for Mr. Robinson" and "Professor Wood Weakens the Case Against Miss Borden…." ("Found a Handle to the Hatchet" 1893, 4) The trial especially turned in Lizzie's favor when her lawyers got her testimony from the inquest excluded, which included contradictory statements as to times of her actions that morning and where she was during the murders ("Going Lizzie's Way" 1893, 1; "Miss Borden's Statements are Excluded" 1893, 5). While the emphasis was on contrasting the figure of Lizzie against all the men in court, both papers did print pictures of women as well, with the intent of highlighting the anomaly of the female presence but inadvertently demonstrating again that even a sphere as male-dominated as the criminal justice system could not entirely exclude women.

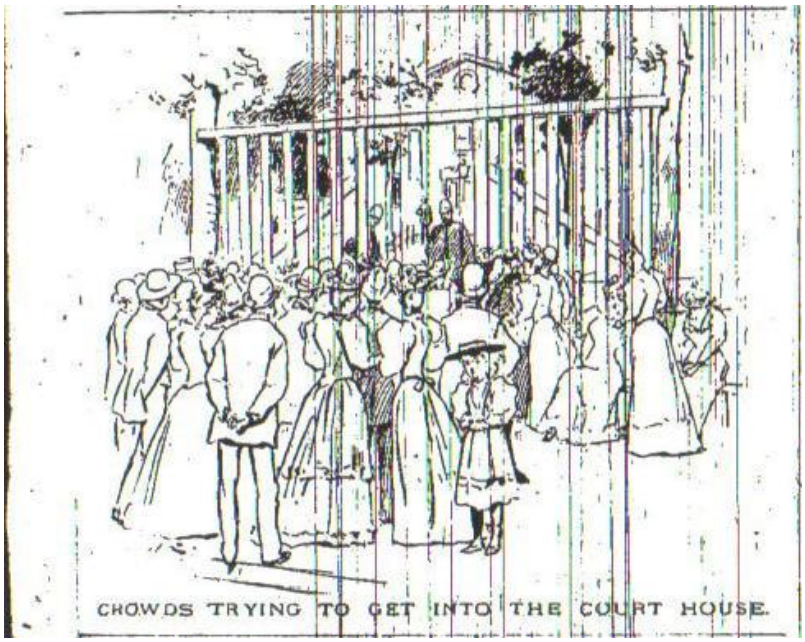


Figure 6: Picture of young girl outside courthouse during Borden trial. Published in *New York Herald* June 16, 1893.

One picture from the *World* is of a group of women in the audience, with the caption "WOMEN CONSTANT IN ATTENDANCE" ("Lizzie's Dark Day" 1893, 2). Here, the *World* plays on the gendered nature of the trial, suggesting that the women of Fall River, and everywhere, have a vested interest in Lizzie's fate. The one picture in the *Herald* that shows women is of a crowd outside the courthouse waiting to get in ("Defense opens for Ms. Borden" 1893, 7).

The most distinctly drawn figure in the picture, and the only one facing the direction from which the illustrator's perspective of the scene is drawn, is that of a young girl (Fig. 6). She is in a fancy dress and hat, a symbol of young, female innocence juxtaposed against the events taking place inside the courthouse as a result of the accusations against Lizzie Borden.

Figure 7: Lizzie Borden in prisoner's dock, crying. Published in *New York World* June 9 1893.

This girl is someone's daughter, just like Lizzie. She is angelic, serene, isolated, and, most importantly, harmless. She is

everything Victorian era women were supposed to be, symbolized through the innocent state of childhood, and everything the *Herald* would have its readers believe of Lizzie.

Views of Lizzie behaving in a manner expected of women appear throughout the course of the proceedings. On June 9 the *World* ran an illustration of Lizzie sitting in the prisoner's dock (Fig. 7). She appears to be holding a handkerchief to her face, as if crying ("Lizzie's Dark Day" 1893, 1).

No pictures in the *World* did anything to convey the suffering that Andrew and Abby Borden experienced, but this was one of several pictures that presented Lizzie as a suffering woman, charged with a crime she did not commit. The article that goes along with these illustrations tells of a friend testifying that Lizzie burned the dress she was wearing the day of the murder and that a bloody handkerchief was found. Similar to this picture, the *World* ran another illustration in its June 11 issue showing her from the side with her hand raised, completely covering her face, again, suggesting that she is crying ("In Favor of Lizzie" 1893, 2). The picture is marked "LIZZIE BORDEN'S USUAL ATTITUDE WHEN ADVERSE TESTIOMONY IS GIVEN." The *Herald* published an illustration of Lizzie sitting in the courtroom like the two in the *World*, but here her face is visible. She is frowning and appears to be on the verge of tears ("Knotty Point in the Borden Trial" 1893, 5). The pictures published in the *World* of Lizzie after the defense started presenting its case were of a different tone. In these illustrations Lizzie appears more upbeat now that the trial has begun to go her way. The images still show her in scenes that emphasize her womanhood, however. In one illustration she is seated in a chair, receiving flowers from her pastor, Reverend W.W. Jubb. The following day, Lizzie is shown speaking with her attorney. He is leaning forward as he talks to her, with his hand raised, pointing to her ("Lizzie's Side Heard" 1893, 14; "All the Evidence In" 1893, 3). In all of these pictures she comes across as the properly feminine lady, crying when she is accused of

wrongdoing, receiving flowers from a man, and also receiving instructions from a man. None depict her as capable of violence.

Conclusion

On June 20, 1893 Lizzie Borden was found innocent. The jury took little time in deliberating. The *World* again ran the picture of her it had published several times before. Below that was an illustration of the courtroom depicting one of the judges instructing the jury before they went out for deliberation. The final picture from the trial shows Lizzie entering the prisoner's dock for the last time. The headlines read "LIZZIE BORDEN FREE," "Found Not Guilty of Killing Her Father and Stepmother," "THE VERDICT RECEIVED WITH A TUMULT OF APPLAUSE," and "When Miss Borden Heard it She Fell as if Shot." The article about the verdict tells how one of the judges was moved to tears. The paper claims that the verdict was obviously the correct one and it is at this moment, in a case of amnesia on the part of those reporting the case, that the *World* had protested months before, at the time of Lizzie's incarceration, that there was not enough evidence to suggest she had committed the crime. Ultimately the jury gave in to common assumptions about women, especially those with high pedigrees ("Lizzie Borden Free" 1893, 1, 7); Jones 1980, 231). They answered the question of whether white, middle-class daughters are capable of violence with "not guilty."

The depictions of violence and suffering in the New York coverage of the Borden case were affected both by the gendered nature of the crime and journalistic style. Ladies were not supposed to kill – especially not their fathers, and the fact that a woman was accused of the crime impacted the way the case was talked about in the press and, even more so, how it was visually displayed. The journalistic style of the publishers was important in the presentation of the case and the manner in which they used the era's gender ideologies to portray Lizzie Borden. The *Herald* did not exploit the shocking nature of the crime or manipulate the story to maximize its dramatic effect the way the *World* did.

Nevertheless, even the *World* could not ignore the ideal perception of proper women. The *World* may have *talked* about Lizzie Borden as a coldhearted killer, going against everything that Victorian womanhood stood for, on those occasions when it was not holding her up as an example of a poor, suffering orphan girl being persecuted by the state. However, the paper never *showed* her as anything less than a lady by publishing any image that suggested she committed violence or caused the suffering of her family. The *Herald*, which typically did not publish as many images of violence as the *World*, was actually the more graphic paper in this instance in that it published the one picture of the murder because Bennett believed the crime was committed by a man. In these ways, the relationship between picture and text in both papers unwaveringly respected the late nineteenth-century image that proper women were not violent.

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DO THE KENTUCKY LEARNING GOALS ESTABLISHED IN THE 1990S PROVIDE STUDENTS WITH THE EDUCATION THEY PURPORT TO PROVIDE? A STUDY OF GRADUATES' PERCEPTIONS

by

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ABSTRACT

Using survey data collected over three semesters in 2009-10, the study examined the attitudes of Kentucky's high school graduates (who were then college freshmen and sophomores in a teacher education program at a large comprehensive university in Kentucky) concerning how their high schools had prepared them for college and work. Based on a court ruling in 1990, Kentucky had instituted a set of six learning goals and 70 academic expectations (sub-goals). Using a Likert scale, the survey asked the students about their beliefs concerning their achievement toward those goals and sub-goals. When describing their knowledge and skills in the various areas of the broad goals, the vast majority of the students felt the broad goals had been achieved. However, the survey data revealed that there were specific sub-goals in which the students did not feel educated. For instance, students determined overwhelmingly that they knew the social concepts (scoring a 1.11 on a -2 to +2 scale), but only a 0.75 (meaning that approximately 1 out of 5 students disagreed) on knowing the forms of government. In addition, the study revealed that there were some academic expectations that were never real goals and others that were hard to understand. However, it also revealed that in the areas of vocational preparation (e.g. writing a résumé) and

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practical living (e.g. maintaining a healthy lifestyle), the students agreed that they had been well prepared.

Introduction

Support for an efficient system of common schools has long been a serious problem in many rural Southern states. Prior to the early 1990s, Kentucky was not an exception. Kentucky's General Assembly had been content to allow their schools to rank among the least funded in the nation throughout its history (Clark, 1954, p. 213). In an effort to create better schools and a better educated citizenry, a group of superintendents from Kentucky's poorest districts sued the state, in 1985, claiming that the public schools were inequitable and inadequate to meet the demands of the new century. In 1989, the Kentucky Supreme Court ruled the entire system of schools to be unconstitutional (*Rose v. Council for Better Education,* 1989). The General Assembly responded with the Kentucky Education Reform Act of 1990 (KERA).

Following broad guidelines set by the court, KERA identified six Kentucky Learning Goals and 70 Academic Expectations. These goals and expectations were intended to set standards that describe an adequate education for Kentucky students and to form the basis for the school curriculum. (Day, 2003, p. 20). KERA's ambitious goals called for every student to score "proficient" or better on state tests, thus confirming (or not) the attainment of an adequate education.

The state's learning goals were derived from the court's description of the student learning outcomes that an adequate school system should produce (Day, 2003, p. 21). They covered basic communication and mathematics, and the ability of students to apply core concepts and principles from various disciplines (such as the arts, sciences, mathematics, social studies, and vocational studies). Other goals included self-sufficiency, responsible family and group membership, problem-solving, the ability of students to integrate new knowledge with existing knowledge, and the acquisition of new learning from various

media sources (Kentucky Department of Education, Combined Curriculum Document, 2006).

Background

What constitutes an adequate education for students is constantly in flux. In the early days of statehood, most Kentuckians were middling farmers who had little need for a classical education (with courses in Greek and Latin) for their children. Education in the common schools was tailored to the needs of citizens who went from the fields to the marketplace (Clark, 1954; Shaler, 1884). Basic reading and ciphering, at about the fourth grade level, were necessary as protection against being swindled in business. The test for literacy consisted of one's ability to sign his or her name. That basic type of grammar school learning didn't cost much but was adequate for its day.

By the end of the nineteenth century, a rudimentary education was no longer adequate. The impact of the industrial revolution with its technological advances raised the level of skill necessary for work in modern industries. The curriculum changed to meet this need as high schools began to emerge. Throughout the twentieth century, the one-room schoolhouses which dotted the state were slowly consolidated into the institutions most Americans think of as "school," while a greater percentage of Kentucky children became educated under compulsory attendance laws. Influenced by Progressive Era rejections of one-course-of-study-for-all, and of rote memorization as the primary means of instruction, the curriculum began to change as well. Students came to be seen as having separate destinies and therefore, educators reasoned, they needed different tracks of study. Increased emphasis was placed on education for better health and for vocational purposes, and science was thought of as the means to discovering a better life (Cremin, 1961, pp. viii-ix).

Propelled by the influential report "A Nation at Risk" in 1983 and its warnings that we were "raising a new generation of Americans that is scientifically and technologically illiterate," a

fledgling standards-based reform movement spread across America (National Commission on Excellence in Education, p. 12). The state began to propose specific learning goals for all students and held teachers responsible for their students' attainment of those goals. In 1990 the Kentucky Education Reform Act was enacted, and the Kentucky Board of Education was required to specifically identify those learning goals and sub-goals that would be assessed. This resulted in the 1993 implementation of Kentucky's Learning Goals and Academic Expectations throughout Kentucky's schools. Since that time Kentucky students have been tested annually to determine whether the schools have produced the desired outcome --with mixed results.

With that mind, one of the researchers decided to have his sophomore-level college students, in a teacher education program, learn about curriculum standards by examining their own attainment of Kentucky's goals and sub-goals. By this means, pre-service teachers would begin to understand the connections between what teachers teach and how students experience those learning objectives. Students were surveyed to determine their self-perception of how well they attained the learning goals and academic expectations. In addition to promoting the immediate course objectives, the survey produced insights from 264 pre-service teacher candidates who had experienced the curriculum as Kentucky high school students.

Methodology

The Instrument

The survey was introduced in an educational foundations class in a teacher education program in a large comprehensive university in the South. It contained 83 items. Seven queried demographic information, and the remaining 76 mirrored Kentucky's six Learning Goals and 70 Academic Expectations (sub-goals). Each of the goals and sub-goals was converted from a statement beginning with "Students are able to" to an "I can" statement. For instance, Goal 1, which states, "Students are able to

use basic communication and mathematics skills for purposes and situations they will encounter throughout their lives" became "I am able to use basic communication and mathematics skills for purposes and situations I encounter in my life." Because the survey was used as a teaching tool, this format was maintained throughout. Students had five options; they could choose *strongly disagree*, *disagree*, *no response*, *agree*, or *strongly agree*. Because the survey was developed to be a teaching tool demonstrating how goals and sub-goals inform instruction, all items were written in the positive.

The Participants

The survey was made available as an extra credit assignment to all students in the foundations course over three semesters. Approximately 150 students enroll in the course each semester. Of those students, exactly 300 students completed the survey, but only 264 of those students had presumably attended four years of high school in Kentucky. On the demographic items, students indicated their graduation date and the place of their graduation. The responses of students who had graduated before 1996, the first year when graduates would have come out of Kentucky high schools after having spent four years under KERA's Learning Goals and Academic Expectations (which were first implemented in the 1993-94 school year), were excluded from the data to be analyzed. In addition, the responses of students who had graduated from schools outside of Kentucky, who had received a GED, or who were homeschooled were excluded. This left 264 students. They represented 26 counties in Kentucky, with the largest number coming from the counties in the service area of the university (the South Central and Eastern regions of Kentucky).

The Analysis

The responses were converted to a numeric scale. *Strongly disagree* was represented by a -2, *disagree* was represented by a -1, *no response* was represented by 0, *agree* was represented by +1, and *strongly agree* was represented by +2. Using a formula that involved multiplication of the percentage of a given response times

the strength of that response, a product was determined for each level. Using a summation of those products, a numerical assignment between -2 and +2 was determined for the various categories (the goals and the sub-goals). As further explanation, the percentage of student responses in agreement (or disagreement) is provided in the narrative for those instances where that information adds depth to the findings. It should be noted that for those items on which several students responded *strongly agree*, the overall percentage in agreement may be less than for another item, but the number assigned may be greater because of the strength of the agreement.

Results

The Goals

The six goals all came out above +1 indicating that most students felt, at least when thinking globally about their education, that their high schools had prepared them well. The goals and the outcomes are shown in Table 1.

Table 1: The strength of agreement of the student responses concerning Kentucky's learning goals

Goal 1. I can use basic communication and mathematics skills for purposes and situations I encounter in my life.	1.50
Goal 2. I can apply core concepts and principles from mathematics, the sciences, the arts, the humanities, social studies, practical living studies, and vocational studies to what I encounter in my life.	1.28
Goal 3. I am self-sufficient.	1.53
Goal 4. I am a responsible member of my family, work group, or community, and I participate in community service.	1.40
Goal 5. I can solve problems in school situations and in a variety of situations I encounter in life.	1.19
Goal 6. I can connect and integrate experiences and new knowledge from all subject matter fields with what I have previously learned, and I build on past learning experiences to acquire new information through various media sources.	1.32

The goal receiving the highest agreement concerned self-sufficiency. Interestingly, the goal garnering the second highest mean was the one concerning using communication and mathematics. This was interesting because when the goals were further broken out by specifics in the sub-goals, of all the areas, math and the arts/humanities domains had the lowest overall means. The area of problem-solving was the lowest among the goals, but still 95 percent of the students agreed or strongly agreed. For the other five goals, three percent or less disagreed or strongly disagreed. Thus, there was strong agreement among the students that they had attained Kentucky's six learning goals.

The sub-goals of Goal 1

Within the broad area of using communication and math, the Academic Expectations (the sub-goals) contained twelve further specifics. These are shown, using abbreviated language along with their outcomes in order, in Table 2.

Table 2: Academic Expectations under Goal 1

Use References	1.43	Speak To Various Audiences	1.25
Make Sense Of Observations	1.42	Write For Various Audiences	1.22
Use Technology Appropriately	1.41	Make Sense Of Visual Art	1.00
Make Sense Of Messages	1.39	Use Math	0.86
Make Sense Of Reading	1.33	Make Sense Of Movement	0.83
Organizing Information	1.25	Make Sense Of Music	0.72

The five items with means above +1.30 all had less than three percent of the students disagreeing. The next three items with means above +1.00 all had less than seven percent of the students disagreeing. The four remaining items had between 19 and 25 percent disagreeing. So while the students globally agreed they could use communication and math, approximately one-fifth of them disagreed when asked specifically about art, music, and dance, as well as about math directly.

The sub-goals of Goal 2

The 38 Academic Expectations (the sub-goals) of Goal 2 are divided among the six domains taught in Kentucky public schools. When a mean of the means for each of the domains was determined, the results showed that students' strongest agreement was in the areas of vocational concepts and practical living skills. Of the remaining, the "big four" as they are commonly called in education, had a variety of outcomes. These means of the means, in order, are shown in Table 3.

Table 3: Strength of agreement for the sub-goals of each of Kentucky's six domains found within Goal 2

Vocational Concepts	Practical Living Skills	Social Studies	Science	Mathematics	Arts/ Humanities
1.43	1.27	1.12	1.07	0.94	0.68

Vocational Concepts

Within the broad area of vocational concepts, the three sub-goals included the ability to choose a career, the ability to write a résumé, fill out an application, and participate in an interview, as well as study skills and work habits. In all of these, there was strong agreement. In study skills and work habits, no students disagreed. In choosing a career, only three percent disagreed. In terms of the skills necessary to get a job (application, résumé, interview), nine percent disagreed.

Practical Living

Within the area of practical living, the academic expectations included students being able to maintain a healthy physical and emotional lifestyle, to make good consumer choices, and to be involved in community service. In all areas, students agreed at a level of +1.17 and above. The highest ranking sub-goal related to promoting a healthy physical lifestyle, with maintaining a mental and emotional health coming in a close second. The

percentage of students disagreeing on any of these aspects ranged from zero to nine percent.

Social Studies

Of the four remaining domains, social studies ranked the highest on its mean of the means. The sub-goals included the seven areas, using abbreviated language and in order of strength of agreement, found in Table 4.

Table 4: Strength of agreement of the individual Social Studies sub-goals within Goal 2

Interaction With Diverse Groups	1.39	Economics	1.03
Democratic Principles	1.23	Historical Perspectives	1.00
Understanding Group Relationships	1.24	Forms Of Government	0.73
Geography	1.13		

In the left-hand column, three to seven percent of the students disagreed. In the right-hand column, 11 percent of the students disagreed in the area of economics, 14 percent disagreed concerning history, and 22 percent disagreed concerning forms of government.

Science

For Goal 2, there were six science sub-goals. The areas using abbreviated language along with the outcomes are shown in Table 5 in order.

Table 5: Strength of agreement of the individual Science sub-goals within Goal 2

Changes In Nature	1.29
Static Aspects Of Nature & Movement Toward Balance	1.12
Analysis Of Systems	0.95
Identification Of Patterns & Their Use For Prediction	0.95
Scientific Thought & Use Of Scientific Method	0.92
Recognition Of Relationships Among Living/Non-Living Organisms	0.70

Fewer than six percent of the students disagreed with the first two concepts, but 12 percent to 15 percent disagreed with the next three. And, 22 percent disagreed that they could use the concept of scale and scientific models to explain the organization and functioning of living and non-living things and predict other characteristics that might be observed. The researchers postulate that the complexity of the item as written may have led to the large percentage of disagreement.

Math

In the area of math, seven sub-goals were identified. Those areas are shown in order in Table 6.

Table 6: Strength of agreement of the individual Mathematics sub-goals within Goal 2

Understanding & Use Of Number Concepts	1.07
Measurement	0.89
Understanding & Use Of Appropriate Math Procedures	0.82
Understanding & Use Of Space And Dimensions	0.80
Understanding & Use Of Math Change Concepts	0.76
Mathematics Logic	0.67
Statistics And Probability	0.61

The sub-goal related to the number concepts represented only 10 percent in disagreement, and measurement had 14 percent disagreeing. The next two had 18 percent and 19 percent disagreeing. The final three had 20 percent, 22 percent, and 26 percent disagreeing. This means that in five of the sub-goals related to math, approximately one in five students did not feel he or she had obtained these concepts. This is in extreme contrast to the fact that the students indicated they could use math when asked about it in the global sense (as Kentucky Learning Goal #1).

Arts and Humanities

In the arts and humanities, there were also seven sub-goals. Four related to art and three related to language. Because the way

the items were written seems to have influenced the outcomes, the items are listed in Table 7 exactly as they were worded.

Table 7: Strength of agreement of the individual Arts/Humanities sub-goals within Goal 2

Through the arts and humanities, I recognize that although people are different, they share some common experiences and attitudes.	1.31
I recognize and understand the similarities and differences among languages.	1.08
I understand how time, place, and society influence the arts and humanities such as languages, literature, and history.	1.02
I have knowledge of major works of art, music, and literature and appreciate creativity and the contributions of the arts and humanities.	0.80
I can create works of art and make presentations to convey a point of view.	0.78
I can analyze my own and others' artistic products and performances using accepted standards.	0.72
I understand and communicate in a second language.	-0.38

Obviously, this was the lowest area within Goal 2. This low ranking was greatly enhanced by the only negative mean found. The -0.38 for understanding and communicating in a second language represented 62 percent disagreeing, while 32 percent agreed, and only 6 percent strongly agreed. The three top areas had only 3 percent, 12 percent, and 11 percent, respectively, disagreeing. However, between 22 percent and 23 percent disagreed concerning their art knowledge and their ability to create and analyze art products.

The sub-goals of Goal 3

Within the area of self-sufficiency, the Academic Expectations (the sub-goals) contained seven further specifics. These are shown, using abbreviated language along with their outcomes in order, in Table 8.

Table 8: Strength of agreement of the sub-goals of Goal 3 (Self-Sufficiency)

Ethical Decision-Making	1.44	Resourceful/Creative	1.31
Self-Control/ Self-Discipline	1.39	Positive Growth In Self-Concept	1.30
Healthy Lifestyle	1.33	Adaptability/Flexibility	1.30
Learning On Own	1.34		

All of these indicated agreement by most of the students. Only three to four percent indicated disagreement on any of the sub-goals. The difference between agreement and strong agreement was evenly split on the first four items, but approximately only 1/3 of the students strongly agreed on the final two (self-concept and adaptability/flexibility). Still, in the area of self-sufficiency, most students agreed they had attained these skills.

The sub-goals of Goal 4

Within the area of being a productive member of one's family, workplace, and community, the Academic Expectations (the sub-goals) contained six further specifics. These are shown, using abbreviated language along with their outcomes in order, in Table 9.

Table 9: Strength of agreement of the sub-goals of Goal 4 (Membership in Family, Workplace, and Community)

Demonstrates Consistent, Responsive, and Caring Behavior	1.51
Accepts Rights and Responsibilities For Self And Others	1.44
Uses Productive Team Membership Skills	1.36
Uses Interpersonal Skills Effectively	1.34
Understanding Of, Appreciation For, and Sensitivity To A Multi-Cultural World View	1.33
Demonstrates An Open Mind To Alternative Perspectives	1.26

Again, all of the areas showed agreement. All except the last one had four percent or less expressing disagreement, and even the last one (having an open mind) only had six percent disagreeing. In all areas except for interpersonal skills, the responses were evenly split between agreement and strong agreement. For the

interpersonal skills, only approximately one-third strongly agreed, but again, students felt they had attained these skills overall.

The sub-goals of Goal 5

Within the area of problem solving, the Academic Expectations (the sub-goals) contained five further specifics. These are shown, using abbreviated language along with their outcomes in order, on Table 10.

Table 10: Strength of agreement of the sub-goals of Goal 5 (Problem-solving)

Uses Critical Thinking, Including Analyzing, Prioritizing, Categorizing, Evaluating, And Comparing, To Solve Real-Life Problems	1.31
Uses Decision-Making Process To Choose Among Options	1.24
Organize Information To Develop Or Change Understanding	1.22
Using Problem-Solving Process For Complex Problem Solving	1.16
Use Creative Thinking To Develop Or Invent Novel Constructive Ideas/Products	1.03

In problem solving, all of the areas showed agreement, and most had less than six percent disagreeing. However, in the lowest sub-goal, that of creative thinking, 13 percent disagreed. In all of the areas, approximately two-thirds agreed while less than one-third strongly agreed.

The sub-goals of Goal 6

Within the area of connecting learning and using media, the Academic Expectations (the sub-goals) contained three further specifics. These are shown, using abbreviated language along with their outcomes in order, on Table 11.

Table 11: Strength of agreement of the sub-goals of Goal 6 (Connecting Learning and Using Media)

Expand Existing Knowledge By Connecting New Knowledge, Skills, and Experiences	1.34
Connect Knowledge From Different Subject Areas	1.32
Use Prior Knowledge To Acquire New Knowledge, Develop Skills, and Interpret Experiences	1.27

In this area, again all of the areas showed agreement, and none of the three had more than two percent disagreeing. In all three areas, approximately two-thirds agreed while less than one-third strongly agreed.

Overall

Among the six goals and the 70 sub-goals, the outcomes for the goals were higher than the specifics of the sub-goals, but generally, all were positive. Only one sub-goal, that concerning speaking a second language, had a negative outcome. Still, among some of the sub-goals, approximately one-fifth to one-fourth disagreed. Vocational Skills and Practical Living outdistanced the four academic domains in percentage of agreement. Of those, Social Studies and Science had stronger agreement than did the areas of Math and Arts/Humanities.

Discussion

In looking at the outcomes among the goals, self-sufficiency came out the highest. The researchers postulate that this is probably related to the fact that the survey was administered to college students. If it had been administered to all students during their final month of high school, it might not have come out as high. The third highest of the goals concerned membership in one's family, work group, and community. Interestingly, the other four goals were all tested on the Commonwealth Accountability Testing System (CATS), the state-administered exam, but those two areas were not. Even on the sub-goals within those two areas, there was strong agreement, varying only from +1.51 down to +1.26.

None of the goals, when presented as global statements (e.g., Goal 1: I can use basic communication and mathematics skills for situations I encounter in my life), had more than five percent of the students disagreeing. This would seem to bode well for Kentucky schools. However, as is often the case, the devil is in the details. For instance, almost one-fifth of the students disagreed

with the statement, "I can use mathematical ideas and procedures to communicate, reason, and solve problems." It was even worse in the area of music, with fully one-fourth of the students disagreeing.

Within the sub-goals, vocational and practical living studies proved to be very strong. This indicates that Kentucky students felt the schools had adequately taught them basic work skills and what to expect when obtaining future employment as well as how to make intelligent decisions as a consumer and how to live a healthy lifestyle.

Among the so-called solid subjects (arts/humanities, math, science, and social studies), social studies came out with the highest agreement. It appears the schools are doing a good job in emphasizing the importance of diversity because that sub-goal came out the highest among the social studies ones. It was not surprising that economics was one of the lower ones in this area because students often state they have difficulty with concepts in the dismal science. However, what was surprising is that 15 percent of the students did not feel confident about historical perspectives and 22 percent disagreed that they knew about forms of government. History and the forms of government are taught throughout both the elementary and secondary years. This might, however, be related to a kind of American exceptionalism where students know about the American form of government but lack a particular interest in the governments of other nations.

The second highest "solid" was science. Again, most students felt confident within the specifics of this area, but 15 percent were not confident in the area of using the scientific method, and more than one-fifth felt unsure about being able to use scientific models for organizing living and non-living things. Again, these concepts are taught throughout both the elementary and secondary years. And, again, the students responding were college students!

Math came in third among the "big four" subjects, but it did have a significant number of students lacking confidence in all of its sub-goals except for the use of number concepts. For

measurement, 14 percent disagreed, even though the statement was simply: "I understand measurement concepts and can use them appropriately and accurately." Since rulers are required school supplies for first graders, this is definitely alarming. For four of the other math concepts stated as sub-goals (math procedures, space/dimension, math change concepts, and logic), between 18 percent and 22 percent of the students disagreed that they had obtained that knowledge. And, 26 percent felt unsure about using statistics or probability. The fact that approximately one out of five of these college-student respondents did not feel confident in math is a large area of concern.

While arts and humanities proved to be the area with the lowest overall mean, unlike math, there was a wide variety of outcomes among the sub-goals. The highest, with only three percent disagreeing, had to do with recognizing commonalities among people of different cultures. This sub-goal seems to be a bit of a repeat of an earlier social sub-goal, but was probably placed here because of the emphasis on multi-cultural literature in the schools. In both the social studies sub-goal and this arts and humanities one, only three percent of the students disagreed.

However, some sub-goals in the arts and humanities had a much larger percentage disagreeing. In the sub-goal of recognizing how time, place, and society affect language, literature, and history, the outcome (+1.02 representing 11 percent disagreement) was consistent with the earlier social studies sub-goal concerning historical perspectives (+1.00 representing 14 percent disagreement). In terms of art creation and art analysis, however, one in five students did not feel confident. And the only sub-goal that produced a negative outcome (meaning more students disagreed than agreed) was in the area of understanding and communicating in a second language.

So it definitely appears that the areas of the arts and foreign language are not being emphasized in the schools. This, of course, was not surprising. In the era of high-stakes assessment, where the arts have taken a back seat in the state assessment, many teachers

focus students' attention on the portions of the test that produce the most points. And there has never been a true effort to teach Kentucky students a second language: another example of American exceptionalism, perhaps.

Finally, the authors came to the conclusion that some of the academic expectations were written in ways that made their meanings unclear to the students. Some items were double-barreled expressions such as "accepts rights and responsibilities for self and others" which could force some students to answer differently for one part of the question than they would for the other. Another expectation says students will "make sense of movement" which is highly interpretative. Obviously, clarity, for both teachers and students, is needed in the goals and the expectations if either group is to determine if they are actually attained.

Significant Findings

1) Some of Kentucky's academic expectations were either unattainable or unclear as written.
2) Approximately one out of five students indicated that they had not obtained most of the mathematics knowledge and skills.
3) Vocational skills and practical living skills were perceived to have been achieved by almost all students.
4) Understanding of diversity and multiculturalism was also attained by most all the students.
5) Approximately one-fifth of the students do not claim self-efficacy in the areas of arts or foreign language.

Going Forward

Just as the minimalist education needed by Kentucky's earliest settlers gave way to a need for a twentieth-century work force based on the industrial revolution, today the United States faces the need for yet another major advance in the level of education. Driven by recent advances in communications and

technology, the American workforce finds itself in need of higher education just to meet the demands of entry level positions in today's corporations. The percentage of unskilled jobs has slipped throughout the twentieth century, and it is no longer reasonable to expect a person to be able to find a good job with only a high school diploma (Gibbs et al., 2005, p. iii). The new minimum standard for an adequate education seems to be an associate's or bachelor's degree or advanced vocational training. With anything less, it is unlikely that a person will be able to find a job providing the salary one might need to raise a family in today's economy.

At a recent meeting of the Prichard Committee for Academic Excellence, the Council of Chief State School Officers Executive Director Gene Wilhoit opined that the push for a more adequate education was prompted by what he called American complacency and our slipping international standing. "They're building a university a month in China," he told the group (Day, 2010). In reaction to this situation, in February 2010, Kentucky became the first state to ratify national core academic standards for its students (Warren, 2010). Its Board of Education has indicated that it plans to adopt the national standards in the areas of Social Studies and Science as soon as they become available. Since Kentucky's economic future is tied directly to the education of the next generation, it has never been more important for the state to assure that the curriculum of the P-12 system is well understood by future teachers.

With this in mind, the authors plan to create a new survey to assess student self-perceptions of their attainment of the national curriculum. Those standards claim to be fewer, deeper, and written to be more easily understood by students and teachers alike. Such mutual understanding of learning objectives will provide teachers with improved formative assessments of their students and should greatly benefit student learning. That will be important if Kentucky is to continue its push for better student achievement and a higher percentage of higher-educated

Kentuckians, both in college and through advanced vocational training.

Conclusion

Students in one of Kentucky's large comprehensive universities were surveyed to determine the degree to which they agreed they had attained Kentucky's six learning goals and 70 academic expectations. Overall, they felt that globally they had attained them, but when asked about the specifics, as many as one in five of the students disagreed that they had attained some of them. In addition, the survey indicated that the lack of clarity in the wording of the some of the academic expectations may have led to students disagreeing that they had attained them. Finally, the alarming findings included the fact that in some areas (particularly, concepts in math, the arts, and foreign language), fully one-fifth of the respondents (who were all attending college) did not feel they had attained the goals set forth by the state.

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INTEGRATING SERVICE LEARNING INTO COUNSELOR EDUCATION: APPLICATIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

by

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ABSTRACT

The counseling profession is a "helping profession" in which the majority of the work that counselors do is a service to clients being served and the community. Counselor educators prepare their students to serve the communities in which they work by providing guidance for ethical and competent care. Service learning is a viable way of fostering this ethic of care among graduate students and serves as a way to empower students to become more actively engaged in the communities in which they serve. This paper focuses on the research being done to integrate service learning into coursework and the clinical experiences of counselors in training. The benefits of this integration are aimed at both increasing comfort in using skills learned in the classroom setting and promoting more positive attitudes toward individuals from diverse backgrounds.

Introduction

Interest in service learning has increased in many fields of higher education within the last decade (Astin, Vogelgesang, Ikeda, & Yee, 2002). Community service has long been implemented in these settings, but more educators and administrators are beginning to understand the benefits of a

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different type of service to the community, a service that is more structured and enhances student learning, student skills, and student involvement. This distinct method of training is called service learning, and many have defined it as a unique way to integrate academic learning with community service (Kenny & Gallagher, 2000).

Service learning emphasizes the collaboration of community and academic relationships, while at the same time it promotes themes of civic, social, personal, and professional responsibility and integrates the facilitation of skills and knowledge learned in the classroom (Burnett, Long, & Horne, 2005). Although themes of community and service are often highlighted in reference to service learning, it should be noted that service learning is clearly distinguished from community service. Community service is composed of volunteerism, with the worker contributing to some beneficial community-oriented project. With community service the primary emphasis is on the service being provided and the primary intended beneficiary is the service recipient. Another very important point is that community service does not involve a link to curricula or structured learning activity, as does service learning.

Service learning is performed as a way of learning about concepts in a course or discipline and being able to apply learning outcomes. Service learning is also distinct from other forms of student outreach because it attributes equal weight to both service and learning goals. This form of experiential education allows participants to enhance multiple competencies while also having an opportunity to reflect on the experience (Kendall, Duley, Rubin, Little, & Permaul, 1986). This reflection is a key component by which service experiences are transformed into learning. Service objectives are linked by integrating the service experience within course content which occurs regularly throughout the duration of the course. Another important benefit is that service learning links concepts to learning and includes components that can be evaluated.

In the area of counselor education, this unique opportunity can enhance student learning as well as provide various opportunities for students to apply what they have learned in the classroom to real world experiences. It is essential that counselors in training acquire various competencies that are necessary for them to work with all types of clients from diverse groups and backgrounds while also promoting the advancement of society (Jett & Delgado-Romero, 2009). The American Counseling Association emphasizes this goal by stating that their mission includes: "to enhance the quality of life in society by . . . using the profession and practice of counseling to promote respect for human dignity and diversity" (ACA, n.d.). Service learning helps to promote this multicultural competency by allowing counselor education students to work with different groups, become socially involved with the needs of the community, and develop personal and social awareness through involvement in these experiential learning activities.

Not only can service learning promote multicultural competence and allow opportunities for students to show appreciation for diversity, but it can also be a rewarding and challenging experience that connects coursework and real life experiences. Not having much experience and involvement with "real" clients while taking coursework may leave students feeling apprehensive and ill-equipped to work effectively with clients. Benefits of integrating service learning into counselor education programs that could help address these feelings includes: promoting self-awareness, allowing for exposure, and improving students' effectiveness and comfort in working with diverse clients. Service learning would also be helpful because it encourages commitment to social action and advocacy for people from different groups, connects learning with the "real world," and broadens views of diversity issues (Burnett, Long, & Horne, 2005).

Previous research also supports these views. Berson (1993) reported that students who participated in service learning indicated increased levels of personal and professional growth.

Conrad and Hedin (1991) noticed an increase in problem-solving abilities, enhanced social and psychological development, and a more positive attitude toward others among students who participated in service learning activities. Service learning has also been linked to the development of several key dispositions among professionals, including commitment to the profession, increased democratic values, caring, and sensitivity to differences (AACTE, 2002).

Research in counselor education has indicated that service learning fosters students' multicultural competence (Burnett, Hamel, & Long, 2004), increases self-efficacy for novice counselor education trainees (Barbee, Scherer, & Combs, 2003), and helps students to make the connection between theory and practice (Arman & Scherer, 2002). Throughout the program students are reminded to "know thyself"; therefore, reflection activities such as journaling and follow-up discussions allow for increased self-awareness, a very important trait for a future counselor (Burnett, Long, & Horne, 2005; Corey, 2001).

Exposure to various groups in the community also provides for increased awareness of client and community needs and an increased connection to the community, as well as an increased growth in civic responsibility and advocacy for clients. This involvement promotes the perspective that students are benefiting by working with the community instead of solely working for the community (Burnett, Hamel, & Long, 2004). This is also supported by the Association for Counselor Education and Supervision (ACES, 1990) that prompts counselor educators to develop new models of counselor preparation through collaboration with community agencies. Educators are further reminded that these models should take into account the changing demographics in society while also considering the economic, social, and developmental needs of those being served (Campbell & Dahir, 1997; Council for Accreditation of Counseling and Related Educational Programs, 1994; Schmidt, 1999).

Program Planning and Implementation

When developing these programs it is important to integrate basic elements of service learning. These essential components include preparation and planning, collaboration, action, reflection, and finally evaluation. During the preparation and planning phase, it is important that educators partner with on-campus service learning specialists, who are often housed in the division of student life. These individuals assist with the planning of the project, offer connections to community resources and agencies, and explain ways in which course content can be effectively linked with service learning goals and outcomes. Next, in order to establish beneficial partnerships, it is important to collaborate with community agencies to facilitate a meaningful experience for both parties involved: the community agency and clients as well as the students who are offering the service.

Students begin to become involved with the service learning activity once they understand what service learning is, what the goals and expected outcomes of the project are, and what their roles will be. Next, students become actively engaged in the project by planning and discussing what is going to be done. Next, the important aspect of reflection comes into play. This experience will likely impact their attitudes and beliefs; therefore, sufficient reflection must take place. Finally, evaluation is essential in order to review effective and ineffective components of the experience.

Example of Service Learning Course and Project Implemented

Method

A qualitative approach was used to examine emerging themes identified through reflections in student journals. One benefit of qualitative research is that it offers a better look at understanding one's experiences. Students journaled about the experience from initial planning until the end of the project. It has been noted that reflection is one of the most integral components

that helps to transform experience into learning; therefore, journals and evaluations were reviewed to analyze emerging themes.

Participants

The students participating in this service learning experience were enrolled in a practicum class leading toward a master's degree program in mental health counseling and school counseling. Students were asked to name the population with whom they self-identified. From this information, the following demographic information was extracted. There were two male and twelve female students in the class. The racial or ethnic background identified by the all students was African American. Eleven students identified themselves as middle class, with one selecting high class. All of the students identified themselves as Christian. The students ranged in age from 23 to 62 years. No student provided information on sexual orientation or physical disability.

Procedure

Students were notified at the beginning of the course that they were expected to participate in a service learning project. In addition to weekly in-class sessions, students were required to participate in a service learning project at a local community agency. Students' participation in weekly classroom experiences included didactic instruction focusing on improving clinical skills, experiential learning activities, and peer learning. In partnership with the university's Center for Civic and Community Engagement, a list of local community non-profit organizations was obtained, along with their related needs. The instructor of the course and representatives from the university's service learning center collaborated to identify prospective organizations to serve that would allow integration of the course goals along with the university's service learning components. After a review of the needs of the agency, the agency selected was a local substance abuse treatment facility in a predominantly African American

community. The director of the agency indicated specific needs of their clients which included developing skills on anger management and job acquisition skills (e.g., help with résumé, interviewing techniques). The course instructor met with the agency director to discuss the goals of the service learning project to ensure that the agency's needs as well as the class's needs would be met.

The students were then divided into two groups on the basis of their choice of need requested, either anger management or job acquisition skills. They were also divided into smaller groups because group meeting space at the agency was limited. Students were allowed time during course sessions to develop their project and meet with their group to solidify the project. Students then worked with the clients at the agency for the remainder of the semester under the supervision of the course instructor. The course instructor visited the sites and participated in the group discussions with the students to help facilitate proper implementation of group sessions. Students were required to keep journals that included any personal reactions, self-disclosures, feelings about the group, and any impact on growth as a counselor and developmental growth. Other course assignments included the development of a protocol for the agency to use on anger management and job acquisition skills to be distributed to all clients entering the treatment program. In addition, students were required to complete a site evaluation, time log, and individual written report and to conduct a group presentation on the experience.

Results

Excerpts from student journals offered feedback on this experience, and themes that were highlighted include pre- and post-experience reflections, the impact on practical and clinical applications and skills, and students' attitudes toward individuals identified as addicts. Core themes and statements were also categorized and cross analyzed. Responses were grouped into three

categories, and based on these categories key themes were labeled and coded. The discussion will include: (1) Pre-Experience Reflections, (2) Post-Experience Reflections, (3) Clinical Impact, and (4) Students' Attitudes toward persons in recovery.

Pre-Experience Reflections

The pre-experience reflections indicated several areas of student concern, such as nervousness, resistance to working with this population, and lack of empathy for recovering addicts. The majority of the students admitted that they were nervous because they didn't know what to expect. They also stated that they had to remind themselves of the purpose of the project. Examples of student responses include:

- My emotions are all over the place. I am scared, nervous, uncomfortable, sad, and happy. Today we were informed that we are going to a rehab center. I am very nervous because I've never worked with clients who are trying to recover from an addiction. I don't know what to expect.
- When she was explaining to the class that we were going to make a visit to the facility, I was not happy. My reason for feeling uncomfortable and not too happy is because when I think of substance abusers, I think they are bitter and have really bad issues in their lives.
- I must admit I am a little nervous because I don't know what to expect and don't know if the residents will be receptive to us as a group.
- I have always had assumptions about addicts but never really looked into how they might feel as a person.

Students also reported that this would be a challenging experience because of their lack of exposure in working with this population, and also because of their own personal experiences with individuals with an alcohol or drug addiction.

- This experience is very personal to me because I personally have alcoholism in my family.

- As I think about my personal experiences, I wonder if people can truly recover from addiction.

Although acceptance and sensitivity to others' differences is stressed throughout the curriculum, students still expressed reservations and close-mindedness when asked to work with a particular population. Overall, the majority of the students had negative feelings toward visiting the site, as well as preconceived stereotyped ideas toward this group. Some entries expressed a theme that was consistent throughout the pre-experience reflections. Some of the assumptions were that addicts steal; they are manipulative, crazy, dishonest, dirty, and simply can't be trusted.

The purpose of a service learning project is to engage in activities that require open-mindedness and willingness to help. At the same time it is a learning environment for something new.

Post-Experience Reflections

Post-experience reflections indicated more positive feelings such as greater levels of happiness to have had the opportunity to engage in the experience. Students also reported decreased levels of anxiety when interacting with these individuals and expressed a degree of personal change, especially in the way they view others. Many wrote that they envisioned the experience to be totally different from what it actually was. They also expressed greater feelings of self-worth as a result of serving others. Examples of statements that describe this theme include:

- After participating I realize that although people have an addiction, they are still knowledgeable and intelligent human beings who just need help with a particular problem. I learned that experience is the best teacher.
- When I left the center, I was happy, not only because I was able to help the clients, but also because the clients helped me face some of my stereotypes and see things from another point of view.

- After working with the clients at the recovery center, I feel like I have really made an excellent choice by choosing counseling as my future career.
- Words cannot explain how just making a few visits can have such an impact on a person's life. I really enjoyed my service learning experience.
- I enjoyed working with my group members because we had time where we could meet up to prepare for this experience and everything fell into place. I felt comfortable just seeing how each individual was gaining something from our discussions.
- I like the fact that each person participated in the discussion and opened up in the group. I would love to do this another semester because this experience was better than I thought it would be.

After completion, students supported the project and expressed the need to have this type of experience integrated into more courses in the curriculum.

Clinical Impact

Students indicated that their skills were enhanced as a result of working with real clients. They stated that working in an actual group made them feel more comfortable using skills that were learned in the classroom. They expressed that they were able to engage in empathetic and active listening and noticed several verbal and nonverbal cues when engaging in conversations with the clients. Some also admitted that they were able to self disclose because of the level of comfort they felt in the group setting. Many stated that the skills learned in the classroom helped them to respond more appropriately in a therapeutic way instead of taking the comments personally and being defensive. One participant stated, "I have to say that when I first began this project, I wondered how this could benefit me. But after meeting the clients and hearing their struggles with how to control their anger, my

opinion changed. I saw I had something to give. I believe that the techniques and skills we offered were effective in addressing their anger management problems."

After completion of the service learning experience, students were also posed with two questions: Have your feelings toward working with individuals with addictions changed? Has your comfort level in working with this population changed? Initially, when introduced to the project, at least eighty-five percent of the students expressed some level of anxiety. The majority of them had negative opinions of individuals with addictions and had low levels of comfort in working with the addicted population. At the conclusion of the project, the students expressed a greater level of comfort in working with these individuals. Themes also highlighted a greater appreciation for working with diverse populations. Their negative assumptions were challenged and many realized that these individuals are just like them, but just needed to learn better coping mechanisms for handling life events and stressors. Brief examples of some of these comments include:

- My feelings have become more positive toward individuals with addictions.
- It was good to see that even though people have addictions, they still have some level of intelligence, they are human, and they can teach you something about yourself.
- My expectations of what an addict looks and acts like were wrong. Before participating in this activity I thought addicts were unkempt and had emotional issues that are visible. My feelings have changed as well. I realized that I should not make assumptions about people of particular groups.
- I admire these individuals and respect them more for having the courage to face the problem. It also has tremendously changed my comfort level.

- I see that these individuals are simply trying to get help and that is good. They are trying to make an effort to change for the better.

Limitations, Implications, and Future Training

Several limitations existed for this project. First, the project had a brief, short-term focus. Student feedback reflected a need to have worked with the agency longer than the short time frame allowed. Thus, based on student's feedback, they felt bound by time constraints which inhibited their work and learning with the agency. Second, even though university professors participated in some direct observation via participation in group discussions at the agency, no written feedback was solicited from either the clients or the agency personnel. The absence of this information limits the generalizability of the project, and future training programs may want to consider this aspect. Third, in spite of the usefulness of service learning components, they are time-consuming. Thus, significant time should be allowed in the pre-planning phase for development and implementation.

This project illustrated the importance of incorporating service learning into counselor education. As a result, those seeking to start similar programs should engage in assessment early in the project, allow sufficient time for completion of the project to increase learning outcomes, allow time for reflection throughout the project, extend orientations to include community organizations selected to work with, and enlist other faculty to implement similar projects in their courses (Burnett et al., 2004).

Recommendations for Integration of Service Learning in Counselor Education

Based on the results of the analysis of student comments and involvement with this service learning project, the following

recommendations are made to assist others in integrating service learning into counseling, education, and other related programs:

Preparation. Before the semester begins, contact with the university's service learning center should be made by the course instructor with regard to interest in a project. The instructor should also begin to prepare the course syllabus and include service learning goals and outcomes.

Consultation and agreement for collaboration. In cooperation with the office of service learning, the instructor should consult with suitable agencies to explore agency needs and course goals to determine appropriateness of service-learning collaboration. After a suitable match is determined both agencies should establish an agreement for collaboration on the project.

Student Orientation. Next, students should receive orientation about the service learning project which should include information on expected goals and outcomes of the experience. During this session, students should be given an opportunity to openly discuss questions and concerns.

Assessment. Needs-based assessments should be given to determine the needs of the agency as well as of the students involved in the project.

Implementation. After students have been oriented and needs assessment have been made, the project should be implemented under the supervision of the instructor.

Ongoing feedback. Throughout the project, continual feedback should be given by the agency as well as by students on ways to improve the implementation of the project.

Evaluation. After completion of the service learning project, both the participating agency and students should be asked to evaluate the effectiveness of the project. If results suggest positive outcomes, agency collaboration should continue to set the foundation for improvement in future collaborative projects.

Conclusion

Overall, students' journals reflected that the service-learning experience was meaningful and relevant to their development as counselors. This experience, for many of them, was their first exposure to persons with substance abuse issues. As the literature postulates, the benefits of incorporating service learning into counselor education courses are invaluable (Burnett et al., 2005; Burnett et al., 2004; Jett & Delgado-Romero, 2009). This experience with incorporating service learning into practicum courses emphasized the benefits of learning outcomes and their alignment of community goals. Additionally, the experience was extremely beneficial in the overall self-awareness of counselors in training and strengthened their connection to the local community and the challenges faced by these agencies.

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A GROUNDED THEORY OF BENEFICIAL INNER CITY REDEVELOPMENT

by

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ABSTRACT

Challenges facing residents of distressed communities in America are complex and multifaceted. These communities regardless of size have been impacted by a confluence of social, economic, and environmental factors that influence human development and human potential. From the complex relationship between socio-economic indicators, neighborhood, and human development outcomes emerges the case for inner city redevelopment. Thus, the purpose of this research was threefold: 1) to analyze and describe a portion of existing inner city redevelopment data giving consideration to social equity and environmental quality indicators; 2) to catalog inner city redevelopment data based upon salient recurring themes in both "successful" and "unsuccessful" redevelopment outcomes; and 3) to generate a logical explanatory framework of inner city reinvestment and redevelopment reconciling: a) leadership, collaboration, and political will b) education, training, and planning, c) financing, d) policy and regulations, e) land acquisition and environmental liability, and f) quality of life and marketability.

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Introduction

It is increasingly evident that where individuals live can significantly influence their life's course. Multiple spheres of influence converge on the lives of children, adolescents, and adults that impact human development outcomes which include: 1) individual characteristics, 2) family/home, 3) school, 4) peer group, and 5) neighborhood (Evans & Kantrowitz, 2002; Kanjee & Dobie, 2003; Leventhal, Dupere, & Brooks-Gunn, 2009; Popkins, Acs, & Smith, 2009). And, of these spheres of influence, an individual's neighborhood sets an important stage on which human development is shaped (Evans & Kantrowitz, 2002; Kanjee & Dobie, 2003; Leventhal, Dupere, & Brooks-Gunn, 2009; Popkins, Acs, & Smith, 2009).

People living "in high-poverty neighborhoods, with extreme levels of racial and economic segregation and inadequate public services . . . are at risk of a range of negative outcomes, [such as] poor physical and mental health, cognitive delays, risky sexual behavior and delinquency" underscore the putative relationship between socio-economic indicators, neighborhood quality and human development outcomes (as cited by Popkins, Acs, & Smith, 2007). The relationship between socioeconomic indicators, neighborhood, and human development outcomes can be illustrated in the following manner:

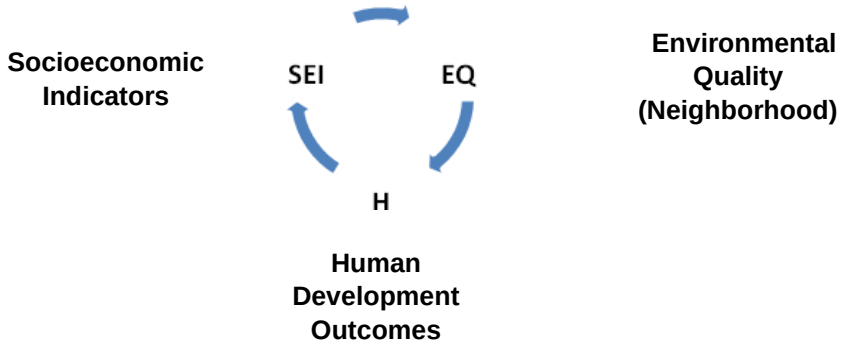

Figure 1 (Adapted from Evans & Kantrowitz, 2002)

Socioeconomic indicators such as inadequate economic opportunities, limited institutional resources, and unfavorable social exposures are associated with poor neighborhood quality, and in turn poor neighborhood quality is associated with adverse human development outcomes—outcomes that are disproportionately disparate to their counterparts residing in communities characterized with good overall neighborhood quality (Evans & Kantrowitz, 2002; Kanjee & Dobie, 2003; Leventhal, Dupere, & Brooks-Gunn, 2009; Popkins, Acs, & Smith, 2009).

Neighborhood Quality

It is well documented that profound disparities exist between real and ideal living conditions in neighborhood quality for many American citizens not only materially, but also in several less tangible contexts such as access and opportunity. Neighborhood quality can influence access to services as well as educational and employment opportunities. Access to good schools, public services, transportation, health care, and employment is strongly associated with neighborhood quality (Williams, 2001). Disparate access to services, "educational and employment opportunities can create and reinforce social disadvantage and translate into worse health, creating health disparities along both socioeconomic and racial or ethnic lines" (Cubbin, Pedregon, Egerter, & Braveman, 2008, p. 4).

These disparate conditions are correlates of historical gradients in education access, in economic opportunities, and in neighborhood assets. In recognition of this situation, it is evident that challenges facing residents of distressed neighborhoods are complex and multifaceted. Distressed neighborhoods have distinct social, economic, and environmental characteristics. These neighborhoods are generally characterized by a high density of Brownfield properties (urban site for potential building development), aging infrastructure, low performing schools, poor

environmental quality, relatively few cultural outlets, low tax base, low homeownership rates, and high unemployment rates (Hamlin, 2003; Immergluck, 1999; Newman, 2004). Distressed neighborhoods and communities share common factors that contribute to urban decay. Adapted from *Public-Private Partnerships for Inner City Development,* Table 1 illustrates a quasi-historical etiology of distressed inner city neighborhoods (Hamlin, 2003).

Table 1: Quasi-historical Etiology of Distressed Inner City Neighborhoods

Physical Development Issues	-American middle class demand for detached single-family home ownership on large suburban lots -Deterioration of inner-city infrastructure -Chaotic subdivision of inner-city land, characterized by irrational lot lines -Aging and obsolescence of commercial buildings -Decline of inner-city housing stock -Parking problems and congestion in an increasingly auto-oriented society -Mixing of incompatible land uses, which ultimately blights the affected area and reduces property values -Industry's need for more horizontally spacious and updated industrial plants
Economic Issues	-Bank red-lining -Low labor force skills -Investor perception of higher inner-city risk
Public Finance Issues	-Reduced tax base and tax revenues resulting from investment decline -Reduced quality of inner-city services and fiscal stress because of declining revenue sources -Perception of lower suburban taxes -Infrastructure that is expensive to repair or replace, yet discourages economic development when left unattended through deferred maintenance
Social Issues	-Perception of decline of inner-city schools -Increased inner-city crime -Mass in-migration to the inner cities of foreign immigrants and poor rural Americans -White flight to suburbs

Source: Public-Private Partnerships for Inner City Development (Hamlin, 2003)

Neighborhood quality—a putative factor in human development—not only represents the physical environment, but also embodies where individuals spend their time and with whom they spend it (Barnett & Casper, 2001; Connell, Abner, & Walker, 1995). Consequently, this context has considerable influence on the types and quality of interactions individuals will experience in their social setting and on subsequent human development outcomes such as a sense of competency, connectedness, control over their fate in life, and identity.

Human Development Outcomes

Human development involves "…several [synergistic] dimensions of the human experience … [including]… the social dimension, the economic dimension, and the environmental, technologic, health, and political dimensions … [and] …changes in one has an effect on others" (Swagger, 2000, p. 62). Human development is severely compromised by living in environments that are physically and mentally debilitating, and generally these environments do not foster creativity, thoughtfulness, innovation, invention, and entrepreneurship. Moreover, in compromised living environments, reading deficits in children, impaired cognitive and social development, and other environmentally acquired disadvantages are disproportionately unequal (Leventhal, Dupere, & Brooks-Gunn, 2009). Opportunities for these youths are severely diminished as a result of growing up in distressed communities when compared to youth from healthy communities. As they mature, these youth are at risk for numerous adverse outcomes ranging from dropping out of high school, being unemployed or underemployed, being dependent on public assistance, and being involved in juvenile delinquency or adult crime (Leventhal, Dupere, & Brooks-Gunn, 2009).

The World Bank Human Development Report (2006) documents an illustration of disparate human development outcomes through the lives of two South African babies, Nthabiseng and Pieter, born on the same day into very different

circumstances. The report depicts a portrait of the next twenty-five years of Nthabiseng's living conditions, an exhaustive cascade of harsh circumstances—including limited access to clean water, malnutrition, inadequate finances to afford schooling, unequal political power, and restricted access to credit—that impede her ability to develop and reach her human potential. Meanwhile, Pieter's access to clean water, nourishing food, and twelve years of schooling (coupled with his family's educational attainment), income, access to credit, and access to social and political capital have opened doors of opportunity to maximize his potential.

Because of poverty—and the resulting lack of educational, social, political, and economic opportunity—Nthabiseng will, likely, not give the world the gift of human ingenuity that was inside her at birth. Society now has a deficit of this child's future productivity, and her potential contribution to medicine, engineering, or agriculture. These obstacles to realizing full human potential affect us all, not just individuals living in such circumstances. They impede basic innate freedoms—to learn, to create, to invent, and to develop (Sen, 1999).

To enhance potential for positive human development outcomes, we must redress historic social forces through enhancing social equity meanwhile cultivating human capacity for those who are disadvantaged, and provide the necessary implements for them to create successful communities and environments that are the fertile grounds for seizing opportunity and realizing their own potential. Historic social and environmental injustices can be redressed through community development—or redevelopment—efforts, thereby enhancing social equity and positive human development outcomes for disadvantaged populations.

Socioeconomic Indicators

Effects of socioeconomic factors on human development outcomes have been well documented. Conger and Donnellan (2007) reported that "socially and economically disadvantaged

adults and children are at increased risk for physical, emotional, and behavior problems." Socioeconomic indicators are environmental measures reflecting economic opportunities, institutional resources, and social exposures (Pickett & Pearl, 2001). Economic opportunities, institutional resources, and social exposures (nurturing parents, family, supportive neighborhoods) provide a medium for meeting basic human needs and supporting human development. Ample levels of economic resources, institutional resources (quality schools, youth programs, health services) and social exposures correlate with better neighborhood characteristics and human development outcomes (Veenstar, Luginaah, Wakefield, Birch, Eyles, & Elliot, 2004). Conversely, neighborhoods with limited economic opportunities and resources, low social organization/social cohesion, diminished collective efficacy, and limited institutional resources are associated with poor neighborhood quality, and in turn poor neighborhood quality is associated with adverse human development outcomes. Evans & Kantrowitz (2002) document an inverse relationship between income (and other indices of SES) and environmental risk factors (i.e. neighborhood conditions, hazardous wastes and toxins, air pollutants, water quality, ambient noise, residential crowding, housing quality, educational facilities, and work environments). Further, Evans and Kantrowitz (2002) assert that such exposures are detrimental to health and well-being, noting that individuals with low socioeconomic status are disproportionately exposed to numerous environmental risk factors. The authors also emphasize the need to develop policies that redress historical social and environmental injustices prevalent among distressed neighborhoods and communities.

From Advocacy to Transformative Development

Advocacy planning emerged during the '60s and '70s and was to some extent institutionalized in the public arena as the leading approach to community development. Undergirding

advocacy planning is the idea that participation provides a platform or a voice for historically disadvantaged groups to improve their condition. However, what often emerged was only a shadow of real participation—where in fact decisions were made by those who always made the decisions because power asymmetries had not been factored in the process (Kennedy, 2007).

At present, advocacy planning differs from the traditional practice in that: 1) it has been reduced to who the participants are; 2) success is measured in number of products; and 3) instead of a democratic participatory process, it is largely representative. Although some progress is achieved, for practitioners it is noted that one pitfall to avoid is the thinking that administrators know what is best for residents, which ultimately leaves them out of the process (Kennedy, 2007). Consequently, other approaches have evolved.

One noted approach, the Community Transformation Model (CTM) advances empowerment and social change through a number of activism strategies which include raising awareness, education, training, coalition-building, technical assistance, and other forms of intervention (Gibbs & Prothow-Stith, 2004). These collaborative actions help facilitate the overall goal and vision of transforming a locality into a "successful community," or a community in which residents have access and opportunity to conditions that support positive human development outcomes (Gibbs & Prothow-Stith, 2004).

Asset-Based Community Development (ABCD) developed by McKnight and Kretzmann (1993, 1999) is an approach for transforming distressed communities which espouses the idea that "communities can drive the development process themselves by identifying and mobilizing existing (but often unrecognized) assets, and thereby responding to and creating local economic opportunity…[drawing] attention to social assets: the gifts and talents of individuals, and the social relationships that fuel associations and informal networks" (as cited by Mathie & Cunningham, 2003, p. 474).

Similarly, the Transformative Community Planning approach (TCP) "combines material development with the development of people, increasing a community's capacity for taking control of its own development" (Kennedy, 2007, p. 2). A vital element of transformative community planning is cultivating community capacity for critical thinking and planning which provides the impetus for developing sustainable projects and that can be replicated, thereby decreasing dependency on external resources (Kennedy, 2007).

The growing cognition of the limitations of advocacy, deficit-oriented, and reactive approaches that fall short of empowering individuals and groups to improve community conditions and human outcomes has spawned the development of approaches that are strength- or asset-based to facilitate empowerment. Whether mediated by assets or empowerment, transformational community development is an on-going iterative process that is dependent on the evolving capacity of all participants.

Methodology

Grounded theory is a research method first described by Glaser and Strauss in their 1967 book, *Discovery of Grounded Theory*. This study draws upon the flexibility of continued discovery—hallmark of the grounded theory approach (Glaser, 2004). Sources of data were collected at the outset for what they can contribute in regard to the setting under investigation. This research examined national and international inner city redevelopment literature, Brownfields redevelopment literature, regional government, municipality, and citizen publications, news articles, and interviews with economic development practitioners and city residents. Data were gathered through observation, formal or informal interviews, and written materials. Data were collected and concurrently analyzed with this research question emerging as analysis proceeded:

RQ1: What practices and conditions constitute "successful" inner city redevelopment or redevelopment that meets preliminary criteria for "success" based upon social equity and environmental quality indicators?

In this study, success is framed in the context of: 1) providing resources and access to elements demonstrated by neighboring successful communities; 2) enhanced social equity and environmental quality; and 3) cultivating human capacity for disadvantaged groups (Evans & Kantrowitz, 2003; Thomas & Hwang, 2002; Greenberg, Craighill, Mayer, Jukin, & Wells, 2001). Drawing heavily upon these boundaries, "successful re-development efforts," "beneficial redevelopment," and "successful communities" were defined.

Review of Inner City Redevelopment Literature

Despite a turbulent past, many inner cities have begun the journey of transformation into successful communities by using inner city redevelopment and community development as the primary conduit to enhance human development and economic development outcomes. Table 2 is a graphic review of extant literature on national and international inner city redevelopment based on the key components of the development projects. These components are further conceptualized into recurring themes or "domains."

Table 2: Catalog of Inner City Redevelopment Data

Location	Plan / Project Highlights	Key Components of Project ("Domains")	Successful Community Elements/ Concerns
Kansas City, KS (Wagner, 2003)	In 1966, The Center City Urban Renewal Project was a small part of a comprehensive urban renewal plan (composed of over 5 large-scale projects). Contemporary artist designed the controversial "Wilderness of Mirrors" based on "The Labyrinth of Solitude" by Octavio Paz. The resulting project was not sustainable due to public misinterpretation and disapproval. In essence, urban design is politically sensitive.	-Education (absent) -Massive public support (absent) -Political will (absent)	(Largely absent)
Kansas City, KS (US Mayors, 2001d)	Multifaceted collaboration including "churches, neighborhood groups, and developers to redevelop the inner core of the City's Northeast area […] primary focus of the program [was] to encourage home buying." Coalitions used CDBG funds for gap financing. Efforts resulted in a "61.9% increase in homeownership." The progress of several neighborhood projects (including "street resurfacing and rehabilitation of homes") was a catalyst for resident hope, involvement, and investment.	-Leadership & Collaboration -Financing -Public support	-Homeownership & affordable housing -Sense of community
Birmingham, AL (Connerly, 2002)	Despite traditional practices of "racial zoning" and the "routing of Interstates through Black neighborhoods," Central City residents were self-empowered through leadership, collaboration, and uniting to form a single voice. Instead of	-Collaboration	Sense of community

	demolishing Central City housing project (like several others in the Birmingham area), the city was pressured to renovate the living space of Central City residents. As a result, the aesthetic quality of the area vastly improved.		
Baltimore, MD (Howland, 2003)	-Former industrial sites were targeted for residential development. Initially, developers had cost-benefit concerns considering the area's housing market conditions. Later, several developers abandoned project due to environmental liability issues despite an NFA (or "no further action") letter – a provision of the Voluntary Cleanup Program (VCP). -Case highlights the importance of financing, policy, and environmental liability as these factors stifled the project.	-Policy & regulation -Massive public support -Collaboration -Environmental liability -Marketability	(Largely absent)
Charlotte, NC (US Mayors, 2001a)	Used a "proactive strategy" to curb Greenfield sprawl and to redevelop Brownfields. Created a centralized bureau to handle loans, "expedite Brownfield applications," and obtain permitting. Collaborated with "private sector developers, bank executives, and community leaders" to create a diverse governing body to execute development plans. Held public charrettes to involve community members. Maximized relationships with private sector in order to draw upon expertise (technical assistance).	-Policy & Regulation -Financing -Collaboration -Land acquisition & environmental liability	-Sense of community -Vibrant business climate
Houston, TX (EPA, 2003)	Several redevelopment projects including: an affordable housing development for seniors, a mixed-income apartment building, entertainment	-Financing -Policy and regulation (voluntary cleanup program)	-Recreational & cultural outlets -Job & labor market -Homeownership & affordable housing

	plaza, a village center, a civic plaza, two golf courses, an aquarium downtown with a meeting complex, and a $92 million Hobby Center for the Performing Arts.	-Environmental liability (VCP) -Collaboration (public private partnerships)	
Roxbury, MA (Jennings, 2004)	Community is in the planning stage of reinvestment and development. As part of the Roxbury Master Plan, the engaged parties concluded that "community participation" was crucial. Community participatory research will be the means of ensuring that strategies for reinvestment and redevelopment "…use the resources of the neighborhood and […] do not displace residents or small businesses" (Jennings, 2004). Note, displacement" is one social equity indicator underscored by Thomas & Hwang.	-Collaboration (community participation) -Leadership & Collaboration (Roxbury Neighborhood Council) -Planning (Roxbury Master Plan)	-Sense of community
Newark, NJ (Newman, 2004)	-Tenants of "Brick Towers" formed alliances (through collaboration), protested demolition of housing project, and demanded rehabilitation. -Residents took initiative to create financing package (with the help/expertise of private developer). -Stressed the importance of "homeownership […] as an economic development strategy." -Other city reinvestment resulted in "…corporate development, minor-league ballpark, cultural arts center, retail stores, and renovation […] of railroad station."	-Public support -Leadership & collaboration -Education, Training (technical assistance) -Political will -Policy & regulation (HOPE VI) -Marketability ("Suburban-style" retail stores)	-Homeownership & affordable housing -Sense of community

Columbus, OH (Jennings, 2004)	Black pastors and faith-based partnerships were critical factors in community development schemes.	-Collaboration -Education -Political will -Leadership	-Sense of community
Atlanta, GA (Osborne, 2006)	"BeltLine" redevelopment plan aims to "transform a[n] unused railroad into a 22-mile, in-town loop of parks, trails, and transit." Highlights resident concerns regarding displacement and the real parameters of the proposed "affordable housing." Highlights the need for inclusion and advocacy planning.	-Education -Public support (divided) -Political will (divided)	-Homeownership & affordable housing
Midtown, Cleveland (Winfield, 2001)	Midtown Cleveland, comprising "…businesses, nonprofit agencies, labor unions…[and] property owners," actively initiates redevelopment projects. The organization "provided the leadership, influence, financial resources, and long-term support that were essential…" for their efforts.	-Leadership & Collaboration -Financing	-Sense of community
District Six, Cape Town South Africa & Toxeth, Liverpool England (Uduku, 1999)	-Location stigmas, white flight, and severe poverty underscored racial, social, and political barriers to development. -Concerned with how real estate "speculation" and hasty redevelopment projects can lead to severe displacement – also termed "removals." Also, in response to virtual inability to secure financing, "pressure groups" emerged in order to get the people's issues heard by using the "arts, the press, and other forms of publicity." Still, there is no consensus around how to move forward and cost/benefit concerns continue stifle progress.	-Collaboration -Highlights the pressing need for political will and massive public support -Underlines the need for education and training to communicate the benefits of redevelopment -Draws attention to the need for government intervention (via incentives or otherwise) to absorb the financial risks taken by the private sector.	-Underscores importance of linking affordable housing to appropriate job/labor market

Redevelopment Data Condensed into Domains

Several recurring themes emerged from the body of knowledge regarding inner city redevelopment. From this, fundamental guiding principles for economic development application can be extracted using the following categories, or domains: 1) leadership, collaboration, and political will; 2) education, training, and planning; 3) financing; 4) policy and regulations; 5) land acquisition and environmental liability; and 6) quality of life and marketability.

Leadership, Collaboration, and Political Will

Leadership refers to "… motivating, and enabling others to contribute toward the effectiveness and success…" of their respective cause (House, Hanges, Javidan, Dorfman, Gupta, 2004, p. 15). Thomas and Hwang observed the detriment that can result from insufficient leadership, low levels of collaboration, and wanting political will (Thomas & Hwang, 2003). People with inadequate leadership skills, education, and awareness are left in vulnerable positions and have a lower propensity to make informed decisions while having a higher tendency to be taken advantage of (Thomas & Hwang, 2003).

One unique vessel of leadership can be found in faith-based institutions. In Columbus, Ohio and in Kansas City, Kansas the role of the church and of pastors had a significant impact on the empowerment of residents (Jennings, 2004; US Mayors, 2001d). Collaborative partnerships can play a role in education by making residents aware of the benefits of redevelopment which can foster public support and resident buy-in. Partnerships also strengthen the voice for redevelopment and can have influence beyond that of the members—to decision-makers. According to Howland (2003), Maryland residents "…lobbied hard for a residential development that would bring new customers and new life to the depressed [neighborhood]…and would infuse new energy into a

neighborhood teetering on poverty" (p. 372). Collaborations and networks can be leveraged for financing and for political backing. However, even in the absence of adequate financing and political backing, some incidents had a level of resident support such that projects still thrived (Connerly, 2002). Such episodes speak to the power of leadership, collaboration, widespread support, and a sense of community.

Education, Training, and Planning

Education, training, and planning are precursors to providing financing, policy assistance, land acquisition, and marketability in the sense that "buy-in" increases the number of residents in support of a given redevelopment scheme. Massive support (or a critical mass of people) can compel decision-makers, investors, and developers. Of significant importance, however, is the making of informed decisions. Training and technical assistance are also vital components of the inner city redevelopment process. Focus groups, leadership institutes, and education/awareness campaigns serve as tools to empower residents to make knowledgeable decisions and to take ownership of the redevelopment process. Wheeler (2004) encourages public charrettes noting that "participatory planning can help develop policies that are responsive to public needs, in particular the needs of constituencies that may not be represented within the political establishment or planning staff, such as lower-income communities and communities of color" (p. 46). Likewise, proper education fosters effective planning with long-term vision. Wheeler (2004) also notes how ill-informed decisions during the planning process can have detrimental effects on communities for several decades.

Financing

Financing is a critical component in moving the redevelopment project forward. Federal, state, and local government can play a crucial role in facilitating financing through tax relief and other incentives. In a series of three case studies,

Howland examined the conditions under which the private sector mitigated the costs of redevelopment and whether government intervention was required. The elements that affected private cost absorption versus government cost absorption were: 1) projected new use (marketability); 2) legal protection from lawsuits (policy and regulations); and 3) level of contamination (land acquisition and environmental liability)—three emergent domains of Beneficial Inner City Redevelopment (Howland, 2003). Steinacker (2003) also contends that "problems related to infill development can be classified into four categories: economic, environmental, financing, and political" (p. 495). These major concerns that Steinacker highlighted dealt with marketability, environmental liability, financing, policy and regulations, and political will—all of which further emphasize the emerging domains of Beneficial Inner City Redevelopment.

Policy and Regulations

Policy and regulations shape the environment for reinvestment and can foster both favorable and unfavorable conditions. Because of complications that combined insufficient policy assistance and environmental liability, several developers abandoned the Camden Crossing redevelopment project in Maryland (Howland, 2003). In the context of inner city redevelopment, many projects were expedited when regulations were relaxed (appropriately) regarding zoning, liability (e.g. NFA or "no further action" provides protection for developers under the Voluntary Cleanup Act), permitting, reducing paperwork, building, and rehabilitation codes (Dale, 1999).

Porter's Cluster Theory provides further support to this phenomenon. Porter's diamond model of Cluster Theory is a visual representation of: 1) factor inputs, 2) firm strategy, structure, and rivalry, 3) demand conditions, 4) related and supporting industries, and 5) government intervention (Porter, 2000). Consider, for example, the government's role in facilitating leadership (through leadership and technical assistance grants), financing (through tax

relief and other incentives), minimizing extensive paperwork (by relaxing regulations), and aiding with liability concerns (through policy). Task-Environment Theory studies provided an extensive foundation for Porter's Cluster Theory (Porter, 2000).

Organizational/Task-Environment theorists concisely refer to these domains as munificence, dynamism, and complexity (Castrogiovanni, 1991; Anderson & Tushman, 2001; Keats & Hitt, 1988; Dess & Beard, 1984). Either way, the bottom line of the concepts is essentially the same: Resource-rich environments with minimal "red-tape" are good for development. That is, development projects can freely progress when the avenues to these resources are clear of obstacles and extensive regulation (or when the policy environment encourages investment). For example, residents in Charlotte, N.C. employed a "proactive strategy" to redevelop Brownfields by creating a centralized bureau to handle loans, "expedite Brownfield applications," and obtain permitting. Moreover, residents developed relationships with "private sector developers, bank executives, and community leaders" to create a diverse governing body to execute development plans, thereby mitigating barriers to redevelopment efforts.

Land Acquisition and Environmental Liability

Land acquisition and environmental liability concerns are other factors that can either propel or hamper redevelopment projects (Howland, 2003). In an effort to acquire land, some redevelopment initiatives had to overcome hassles associated with contacting multiple property owners. Additionally, the level of environmental contamination affected the perceived risk of the developers (both financial and legal) and length of redevelopment projects (Howland, 2003).

To support redevelopment projects, municipal governments can take over title to the property. Local governments can use the following methods to acquire property: 1) eminent domain or condemnation; 2) tax delinquent property acquisition; 3)

demolition lien or other liens foreclosure; and 4) negotiated sale. These actions can serve as an essential driving force in redevelopment projects (Howland, 2003).

Marketability

Swagger (2000) defines economic development as "…the process of creating wealth through the mobilization of resources—financial, natural, human, technological, managerial—to create marketable goods and services" (p. 63). The domain identified as marketability refers to the level of appeal generated from redevelopment effort—to both residents and businesses (Blakely & Bradshaw, 2002; Greenberg et al. 2001). Because each domain of inner city redevelopment has potential ties to elements of successful communities, housing and homeownership are salient elements of successful communities that fit into the quality of life and marketability domain. Newman (2004) suggests that "cities see housing redevelopment as a key to drawing the middle class back" (p. 34). Further, Steinkacker (2003) holds that, "city politicians see infill development as a way to expand their tax base, attract more middle-class residents to the city, and build more affordable housing" (p. 492).

M. Murphy, founding director of Midtown Cleveland, affirmed that "inner city areas that reflect a war-zone image—barbed wire, bars over windows—are not going to be competitive (personal communication, March 10, 2006). Winfield (2001) reported that Midtown Cleveland members "pooled their money to pay for security patrols, street cleaning, and beautification projects" in order to deflect misperceptions of safety (p. 3). People prefer places that are safe and well maintained, quiet with friendly people, quality housing stock, and high performing schools. Conversely, residents dislike areas that are unsafe, physically blighted, and not attractive (Greenberg et al., 2001; Clay & Hollister, 1983; Greenberg & Schneider, 1996).

Consistent with Attraction Theory documented by Blakely and Bradshaw (2002) is the argument that a locality with a high "quality of place" attracts (or appeals to) high quality residents and businesses. J. Pipkin, an advocate of the "Quality of Place" perspective, holds that beyond quality of life concerns lie issues of quality of place (or QOP) which encompass public services and safety, affordable housing, quality education, entertainment outlets, job and labor market, and several other aspects of the community—or place (personal communication, April 8, 2006). In addition, Arora, Florida, Gates, and Kamlet (2000) contend that quality of place is "the bundle of goods and services that come under the broad rubric of amenities […] parks, neighborhoods, and broad social milieu" (p. 2).

Table 3 restates the six domains of beneficial inner city redevelopment (BICR). These are the basic components of redevelopment schemes. As there is no "cure-all" for inner city redevelopment, the reader should be reminded that these domains reflect salient themes in local, national, and international redevelopment practices and literature, and the dynamic nature of inner city redevelopment projects requires that they be cautiously approached as location-sensitive.

In general, the six domains of Beneficial Inner City Redevelopment (BICR) encapsulate the factors that need to be aligned in order to increase the likelihood of: 1) the project's completion, 2) the project's "success" (based on social equity and environmental justice indicators), and 3) the project's impact and efficiency.

Table 3: Summary of Recurring Themes in Redevelopment Data Condensed into "Domains"

DOMAIN	ILLUSTRATION
Leadership, Collaborations & Partnerships	-Unified Government of Wyandotte County/Kansas City Kansas (U.S. Mayors c); -Charlotte-Mecklenburg Development Corporation (CMDC) (U.S. Mayors a); -New Jersey residents independently sought the expertise of a private developer (U.S. Mayors, 2001 b).
Education, Awareness, & Planning	In Wyandotte County Kansas City, KS, residents were given a voice by being included in the planning process (US Mayors, 2001 c).
Financing	Richard Hamlin identified a number of public finance issues to as obstacles to inner city redevelopment. There are several creative ways to overcome financing hurdles. Yount & Meyer suggest maximizing the use of public monies, tax incentives, low interest loans, bonds, and venture capitalists (Yount & Meyer, 1997).
Policy & Regulations	CMDC established consolidated offices for financing, permitting, and Brownfield applications. Thus, reducing the burden of paperwork on developers (US Mayors, 2001 a).
Land Acquisition & Environmental Liability	-Houston and Maryland Brownfields were acquired by combining statutes and policies including the Voluntary Cleanup Program (or VCP). -After an evaluation of Michigan's Brownfield initiative, Hula (1999) compiled several recommendations–one of which was to "restrict liability associated with potentially contaminated land parcels" (p. 5).
Quality of Life, Aesthetics & Marketability	The market appeal of the projected redevelopment use generally determines the level of government intervention needed to offset private sector risk (Howland, 2003).

For the practitioner, such undertakings involve: 1) creating favorable conditions (by working to align the six BICR domains); 2) being cognizant of social equity and environmental justice indicators that define success or failure; and 3) transforming localities into successful communities. Figure 2 is a visual illustration of Beneficial Inner City Redevelopment.

Figure 2: Conceptual Framework of Beneficial Inner City Redevelopment

Discussion

Within the economic development profession, community development is also known as "product development" (Swagger, 2000; J. Edwards, personal communication, March 5, 2006). Among the widely known fundamentals of product development are housing, public safety, public services, infrastructure, basic industry, technology, and transportation. These are salient elements essential for meeting the overall goal and vision of transforming a locality into a "successful community," or a community in which residents have access to housing, fair and impartial market conditions, products and services, jobs, education, safety, good environmental quality, and cultural and recreational outlets—elements that, ultimately, promote human development (Gibbs & Prothow-Stith, 2004). However, a critical factor is that of mobilizing resources—human, social, political, natural, and fiscal—to convert inner-city images of disinvestment, poverty, blight, decay, and abandonment into vibrant cities in which residents have access to hope, to resources, and to basic human needs (Swagger, 2000).

Communities that are livable have strong, healthy economies that promote local enterprise, serve the needs of residents, and promote stable employment (LGC, 2006 a). Livable communities promote economic development initiatives that help to increase social equity and nurtures the natural environment (LGC, 2006 a). Table 4 encapsulates several elements of successful communities.

Inner city redevelopment has taken the shape of several widely-varying practices implemented locally, nationally, and internationally. Some cases reflect redevelopment efforts that: 1) satisfy several social equity & environmental quality indicators, 2) demonstrate having both impact and efficiency, and 3) lead to the creation of several elements of successful communities. Thus, redevelopment and overall community development aims to transform unsuccessful communities and poor environments into successful, equitable, and sustainable communities. Transformed

Table 4: Summary of Recurring Attributes of Successful Communities Condensed into "Elements"

ELEMENT	ILLUSTRATION
Good Environmental Quality	"Physical features (e.g., noise, malodor, (air) pollution, litter) as well as psycho-social features (e.g., crowding, sense of community, social safety risks) and features of the built environment (e.g., facilities and services) may be seen as determinants of environmental quality" (Gronigen, 1999 p. 11).
Homeownership & Affordable Housing	Rohe (1996, p. 35) notes that, "homeownership is one of the best ways to stabilize [neighborhoods] in decline … by [affecting] property values, physical condition of properties, and other social conditions such as school drop-out or crime rates." Further, the results of his empirical analysis supported the relationship between neighborhood stability and homeownership
Vibrant Business Climate & Entrepreneurship	Hamlin reports (2003 p. 2), "…entrepreneurial environments attract highly educated people who can invent, complete research, formulate entrepreneurial solutions, and feed each other's creativity through intense interaction."
Job & Labor Market	"Economic development efforts should be targeted to reducing poverty, by promoting jobs that match the skills of existing residents, improving the skills of low-income individuals, addressing the needs of families moving off welfare, and insuring the availability in all communities of quality affordable child care, transportation, and housing" (LGC, 2006 b)
Thriving Schools	The perceived quality of public schools affects business recruitment and retention (Wadley-Donovan, 2002). A 2004 study of business executives found that the quality of public schools was among 25 other factors that affect business location-decisions (Spielman, 2004).
Recreational & Cultural Outlets	Texas Chamber of Commerce reports that, "Recreation is an important aspect of quality of life, in that a good parks system contributes to the health of the residents of the city, provides an outlet for involvement by the young and old alike, and provides places to gather for special occasions. Parks can […] instill a strong sense of pride in the residents of a community."(McAllen, 2006 p. 2)
Public Services & Aesthetics	Researchers note that people prefer places that are safe and well maintained, quiet with friendly people, quality housing stock, and high performing schools. Conversely, residents dislike areas that are unsafe, physically blighted, and not attractive (Greenberg et al., 2001; Clay & Hollister, 1983; Greenberg & Schneider, 1996).

communities can function as human development incubators that foster freedom to learn, to create, to develop, and to progress.

Recommendations for Future Research

The current study reveals an insightful and multi-dimensional social process. Beneficial Inner City Redevelopment conceptual framework, which is grounded in data, unveils intrinsic connections among people and institutions regarding the overall process of inner city redevelopment. It opens several avenues for more research. In purview of this, future research endeavors that continue to refine each domain of Beneficial Inner City Redevelopment as it relates to the elements of successful communities are warranted. Further research that more deeply explores the identified elements of successful communities and discovers new elements of successful communities may yield promising results for practitioners. In addition, mixed-type qualitative and quantitative studies that develop a "scoring system" for successful communities could yield appealing results and could open doors for more accurate community comparisons. Also, Knowledge, Attitudes, and Beliefs (KAB) studies could be extremely useful in assessing the knowledge, attitudes, and beliefs of public officials, decision-makers, economic development practitioners, and other key personnel affecting economic development. Such KAB investigations can guide the production of educational media for economic development practitioners, public officials, and residents regarding: 1) elements of successful communities, 2) conditions that make inner city reinvestment worthwhile, 3) inner city redevelopment efforts based on social equity and environmental quality indicators, and 4) the process of transforming localities into equitable, sustainable, and successful communities.

Conclusion

The significant loss of human potential is a compelling motivation to undertake inner city redevelopment and community development projects. Further, the social injustices that result from systemic disinvestment, *de facto* socio-cultural segregation, and geographic concentrations of poverty are poignantly causative grounds to alleviate suffering and foster equal access to opportunity, to health, and to enhanced human development outcomes by creating successful communities. These impediments to attaining positive human development outcomes not only impact the individuals living in these circumstances, but also society at large. They obstruct fundamental inherent freedoms—to learn, to create, to invent, and to develop (Sen, 1999). To improve potential for hopeful human development outcomes, persistent unjust social and environmental forces must be redressed while cultivating human capacity for those who are disadvantaged, along with developing successful communities and environments that are the fertile grounds for taking advantage of opportunities to realize human potential.

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IQ PROFILE OF ATTENTION-DEFICIT/HYPERACTIVITY DISORDER: A PILOT STUDY

by
Regina Amason* and Nanolla Yazdani, Ph.D.**

ABSTRACT

This clinical study utilized the WISC-IV to examine the IQ profiles of twelve school-aged children diagnosed with ADHD. Profile analysis was applied to the ten core subtests and the Full Scale IQ scores to identify similarities among the comparatively high and low scores of these subtests. No similarities were found among the comparatively high scores; however, there were similarities among the comparatively low scores. The Processing Speed Index, composed of the Coding and Symbol Search subtests, was identified as the lowest area or relative weakness for a significantly high percentage of the participants. Moreover, this research suggests that the IQs of school-aged children with ADHD fall in all spectrums of the intellectual range.

Introduction

This clinical study seeks to discover generalized patterns within the IQ profiles of school-aged children diagnosed with Attention-Deficit/Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD). The research will examine the comparatively high and low scores displayed within the participants' IQ profile graphs. There has been a limited

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number of research studies utilizing different subtests in intelligence testing to aid with the diagnosis of ADHD by means of the exploration of subtest patterns. Though some studies suggest the use of subtests of intelligence tests to determine concentration and attention (Sattler & Dumont, 2004), the basis of their usage is not to provide diagnostic aid for the purposes of ADHD, but rather to determine the existence of such abilities. These factors in the Wechsler intelligence test use the scores on Arithmetic, Digit Span, and Coding subtests to measure attention and distractibility (Conners & Jett, 1999; Sattler & Dumont, 2004).

In the past decades, the question of whether intelligence tests can have some merit in the diagnosis of mental disorders has become a growing interest (Niklasson & Gillberg, 2009). The idea of intelligence tests having predictive properties in the diagnosis of mental symptoms is refreshing. The supporter of psychometric recognition of mental disorders has typically framed his or her argument in terms of profiling. Scientific literatures have shown a limited body of research dealing with the multi-faced usage of IQ testing. Typically, IQ testing is designed to reveal the innate abilities of humans with regard to some theoretical assumption about the components or definition of intelligence. However, the recent interest in profile analysis has given a greater weight to the idea of connecting these innate abilities to the symptomology. In other words, IQ may have some relation to the diagnostic criteria of mental disorders through profile analysis.

Traditionally, the diagnosis of Attention-Deficit / Hyper-activity Disorder (ADHD) has been based on the criteria addressed in the DSM-IV-TR, in conjunction with clinical findings. General practitioners, pediatricians, and mental health professionals involved in this diagnostic process used only criteria listed in DSM-IV-TR as a guide to diagnose this disorder. However, a number of researchers set in motion the use of intelligence tests to profile the symptoms of ADHD. These researchers (Alloway, Elliol, & Place, 2010) investigated the relationship between attention and working memory. The role of executive function and

visual-motor skills in children and adults through analysis of general intellectual ability and its relationship with ADHD profile (Niklasson & Gillberg, 2009) was also explored. Additionally, examining the cognitive profile of school-aged children referred to a specialist clinic for autism and ADHD (Hagberg, Miniscalco, & Gillberg, 2009) was considered.

Although some practitioners doubt that IQ and intelligence testing are effective for appropriate diagnosis, placement, and educational planning (Gresham & Witt, 1997), others support the use of intelligence tests (Keith, 1994) and advocate the use of profile or subtest analysis (Fiorello et al., 2007; Hale et al., 2001; Kramer, 1993; Pfeiffer et al., 2000). Proponents of profile analysis assert that by looking only at composite IQ scores, we lose valuable clinical and diagnostic data regarding an individual's cognitive functioning. In a survey conducted of 354 nationally certified school psychologists, 98 percent reported that they used either index scores or employed profile analysis (Pfeiffer et al., 2000). Those that favor profile analysis believe that it is a useful clinical tool that allows the clinician to look beyond the IQ; however, they do caution that this practice should not replace one's own skilled professional judgment (Fiorello et al., 2002; Sattler & Dumont, 2004; Wechsler, 2003b). Consequently, profile analysis has become popular in research within the past ten to fifteen years (Niklasson & Gillberg, 2009). Besides profile analysis, the association between IQ and ADHD has also been the subject of several studies. The results of some studies have suggested that children with ADHD might have unusually high IQs, implying that giftedness and ADHD are related (Kaplan et al., 2000). In addition, a number of researchers have inquired about the composition of IQ and Working Memory Index in individuals who were already diagnosed with ADHD (Frazier et al., 2004).

Attention-Deficit/Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD) is the most common neurodevelopment disorder of early childhood, and its definition has evolved greatly over past twenty years (Rowland et al., 2002). Presently, the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of

Mental Disorders, Fourth Edition, Text Revision (APA, 2000) recognizes ADHD as a disorder characterized by inattention, hyperactivity, and impulsivity. Diagnosis of ADHD based upon *DSM-IV-TR* requires six or more symptoms of inattention or hyperactivity-impulsivity. These symptoms must be exhibited before age seven and manifest in two or more settings with a clinically significant impairment in social, academic, or occupational functioning. Children may be diagnosed with ADHD under the following subtypes: ADHD, Combined Type (exhibiting both inattention and hyperactivity-impulsivity); ADHD, Predominantly Inattentive Type; or ADHD, Predominantly Hyperactive-Impulsive Type. Diagnoses tend to be made by pediatricians and primary care providers (Rowland et al., 2002).

The *DSM-IV-TR* offers a listing of numerous symptoms as diagnostic criteria for ADHD. Some of the symptoms of inattention include having difficulty with organizing tasks, being easily distracted by extraneous stimuli, and having difficulty sustaining attention in tasks. Hyperactivity involves acting as if one is "driven by a motor," excessive talking, and running around in situations in which this behavior is inappropriate. Impulsivity is exhibited by difficulty waiting one's turn, blurting out answers before questions are completed, and interrupting others. When determining the presence of ADHD, one must recognize that these symptoms must be present for six months or more (APA, 2000). A definitive cause of ADHD is yet to be determined. Neurobiology, environment, and social learning have all been speculations as to its origin (Conners & Jett, 1999; Purdie et al., 2002).

The prevalence of ADHD is reported as three to seven percent in school-age children in the *DSM-IV-TR*; however, prevalence rates vary widely in the literature (Schlachter, 2008). The American Academy of Pediatrics of AAPA (2001) estimates that ADHD affects four to twelve percent of school-age children. Prevalence rates have been reported as low and 1.7 percent and as high as 17.8 percent (Rowland et al., 2002). Regardless of the exact percentage, ADHD has had an increasing presence in the

general population (Purdie et al., 2002) and therefore warrants the attention of researchers and diagnosticians.

As earlier stated, the *DSM-IV-TR* (APA, 2000) recognizes ADHD as a disorder characterized by inattention, hyperactivity, and impulsivity. The degree to which the factors of inattention, hyperactivity, and impulsivity can be predicted by the configuration (profiling) of the WISC-IV subtests is the subject of this study. It is already evident that the subtests such as Coding, Digit Span, and Symbol Search have some predictive value with relation to ability to attend and concentrate on given tasks. This study specifically seeks to use the profile analysis method and apply it to the scores on the ten core subtests and the Full Scale IQ scores in order to identify similarities among the comparatively high and low scores evident on the scaled score profile graph.

Method

Participants

Twelve participants were recruited from the Jackson, Mississippi area. These participants ranged in age from eight to fifteen and had been diagnosed with ADHD. For the purposes of this study, the ADHD diagnosis had been determined for at least one year. Approximately 67 percent of participants were male while the remaining 33.3 percent were female. Fifty percent of the participants were Caucasian, 41.7 percent African American, and 8.3 percent identified themselves as Other. All participants volunteered for this study.

Instrument

The adolescents who participated in this study completed the Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children, Fourth Edition (WISC-IV) (Wechsler, 2003a; Wechsler, 2003b). The WISC-IV is an individually administered intelligence test designed to measure general intellectual functioning for children ranging in age from 6 to 16. More specifically, The WISC-IV measures one's

fluid intelligence, which is innate and is not affected by new knowledge (Neukrug & Fawcett, 2010). Along with fluid intelligence, the WISC-IV is intended to measure Working Memory and Processing Speed (Wechsler, 2003a). The WISC-IV comprises ten core subtests: Block Design, Similarities, Digit Span, Picture Concepts, Coding, Vocabulary, Letter-Number Sequencing, Matrix Reasoning, Comprehension, and Symbol Search. It also contains five supplemental subtests, namely Picture Completion, Cancellation, Information, Arithmetic, and Word Reasoning. An individual can attain a scaled score of 1 to19 on each of the subtests. The results of the WISC-IV yield four composite score indexes. These include Verbal Comprehension, Perceptual Reasoning, Working Memory, and Processing Speed, as well as the Full Scale IQ score.

During the scoring process, the scaled scores were graphed on the record form on its subtest scaled score profile. This graph provided a visual representation of the individual's comparatively high and low scores among the subtest areas. Within this study, the scaled scores of the core subtests were assigned a performance category of high, average, or low. A high score was considered 13 to 19. An average score was 8 to 12, and a low score was 1 to 7. The comparatively high and low scores of the IQ graph were analyzed for general patterns among the participants' scores and potential significance relating to gender.

Procedure

After informed consent was obtained from the parents or guardians and the assent form was completed by the participants, the WISC-IV was administered according to the standardized procedures outlined in the *Administration and Scoring Manual* (Wechsler, 2003a). Using the data obtained from the twelve participants, descriptive statistics were used to compute frequency mean scores and standard deviations for the ten core subtests and the Full Scale IQ. The comparison of male and female scores was achieved using cross-tabulations. Finally, cross-tabulations were

computed to examine the relationship between gender and the levels of performance (high, average, or low) on the subtests.

Results

Table 1 presents the means and standard deviations of the study measures, and Table 2 presents the identified commonalities within the IQ profiles of school-aged children diagnosed with ADHD with regard to gender. Table 2 focuses on the participants' performance within the Coding and Symbol Search subtests.

Table 1: Means and Standard Deviations of Study Measures for ADHD Participants

Measure	N	Minimum	Maximum	*M*	*SD*
Age	12	8.00	15.00	11.66	1.96
Block Design	12	5.00	13.00	8.66	2.64
Similarities	12	5.00	14.00	8.91	2.60
Digit Span	12	6.00	19.00	9.91	4.23
Picture Concepts	12	5.00	12.00	8.25	2.45
Coding	12	2.00	8.00	5.16	1.64
Vocabulary	12	4.00	13.00	8.41	2.93
Letter- Number Sequencing	12	1.00	12.00	8.66	3.14
Matrix Reasoning	12	7.00	11.00	9.33	1.49
Comprehension	12	6.00	13.00	10.00	2.25
Symbol Search	12	3.00	11.00	5.83	1.99
Verbal Comprehension	12	71.00	114.00	94.50	13.14
Perceptual Reasoning	12	77.00	110.00	92.33	11.61
Working Memory	12	74.00	129.00	95.75	15.67
Processing Speed	12	65.00	91.00	75.25	7.23
Full Scale IQ Score	12	72.00	112.00	86.66	10.79

Table 1 indicates that the mean score of eight subtests (Block Design, Similarities, Digit Span, Picture Concepts, Vocabulary, Letter-Number Sequencing, Matrix Reasoning, and

Comprehension) are between 8 and 10; however, the mean for Coding and Symbol Search was about 5.

Overall, no similarities were found among the comparatively high scores on the subtest scaled score profiles; however, there were some similarities among the comparatively low scores on the subtest scaled scores within the Processing Speed section. The Processing Speed section includes two subtests, Coding and Symbol Search. The Coding and Symbol Search subtests assess the individual's ability to attend and concentrate, which are common problem areas for individuals with ADHD. These two subtests, Symbol Search (*M = 5.83*) and Coding *(M = 5.16),* examine processing speed, rate of test taking, visual-motor dexterity, scanning ability, short-term memory, and visual-perceptual discrimination (Sattler & Dumont, 2004). Additionally, these findings indicate that the Full Scale IQ of children with ADHD falls in all spectrums of intellectual range in opposition to the previous research, which indicated that the IQ of students with ADHD falls within the unusually high range (Kaplan et al., 2000).

Table 2 shows the distribution of the comparatively low scores among the scaled scores of the Coding and Symbol Search subtests, with respect to the gender and classification of average and low distribution.

Table 2: Percentage of Performance in Coding and Symbol Search Based on Gender

Subtest	Gender	Average Scaled Score (8-12)	Low Scaled Score (1-7)
Coding	Male	0%	100%
	Female	25%	75%
Symbol Search	Male	37.5%	62.5%
	Female	100%	0%

The analysis of data in Table 2 indicates a uniform configuration of low performance on the Coding subtest for school-aged males (100%) and school-aged females (75%). Additionally, the low performance on the Symbol Search subtest among males (62.5%) was observed. However, 100 percent of the females demonstrated average performance in the Symbol Search subtest, and only 37.5 percent of males performed in the average range. This indicates that the processing speed and perceptual speed in females and males who are diagnosed with ADHD are different from one other, while the ability to concentrate and the ability to utilize cognitive flexibility are the same.

By combining the findings in Table 1 and Table 2, the role of the Processing Speed Index becomes significant for the use of profiling. By comparing the mean of the Verbal Comprehension Index (*M = 94.50*), the Perceptual Reasoning Composite Index (*M = 92.33*), and the Working Memory Index (*M = 95.75*) with the mean of the Processing Speed Index (*M = 75.25*), a gap of almost two standard deviations emerges. These differences signify the underlying abilities on which ADHD profiling can be based.

Discussion

The findings of this study extended the growing body of research indicating that patterns among the IQ profiles might aid as an additional diagnostic psychometric tool for ADHD. There is currently no established structure for diagnosing ADHD. The clinical assessment of ADHD does not presently include one specific test to determine diagnosis of ADHD (APA 2000; Frazier et al., 2004; Purdie et al., 2002; Staller & Faraone, 2006). Many kinds of individuals are involved in the assessment and diagnosis of ADHD – parents, teachers, pediatricians, psychologists, psychiatrists, other mental health specialists, neurologists, and general practitioners (AAPA 2001; Rowland et al., 2002; Schlachter, 2008). Because an authoritative measure for

diagnosing ADHD has not been devised, a battery of assessments is usually administered. These assessments may include, but are not limited to, clinical interviews, observations, rating scales, and neuropsychological tests (Conners & Jett, 1999). Since there is no specific educational test to determine an ADHD diagnosis (APA, 2000; Frazier et al., 2004; Purdie et al., 2002), the ADHD diagnosis of school-aged children may sometimes occur after several years of academic and social frustration. Practitioners could possibly benefit from a method or measure that would promote earlier identification of ADHD. The WISC-IV is commonly used in IQ testing and could be included within the battery of assessments to determine the diagnosis of ADHD.

There are limitations to this study. The study included a total of twelve participants ranging in age from 8 to 15. The participants were mostly identified as Caucasian or African American. In addition, all the participants were from the same geographical area. The limited sample size, lack of racial diversity within the sample size, and the narrow geographical area should be considered. The sample is not intended to be representative of the entire national group of school-aged children diagnosed with ADHD. Readers should consider this when applying the results of this study to a broader group of school-aged children with ADHD.

Our findings add to the body of research supporting the role of processing speed in determining the diagnosis of ADHD based on the inability to concentrate and attend (symptoms listed in the *DSM-IV-TR*). Since previous findings (Kaplan et al., 2000) showed that children with ADHD tended to exhibit deficits in working memory, sustained attention, motor control, and affect regulation, the data in this study might suggest that further research is needed to explore whether processing speed should be added to the list of deficits or symptoms. The comparatively low scores obtained in Coding and Symbol Search point to a weakness in concentration, dexterity, attentiveness, and the ability to focus.

The researchers suggest more research in the area of profile analysis as it relates to the diagnosis of ADHD. Future studies

should be expanded to include a larger number of participants from several geographic regions. The racial composition of the sample should also be more representative of the general population. Since the current study only included mostly older elementary and junior-high school students with ADHD, future research could explore profile analysis within younger elementary students with ADHD (kindergarten through second grade) using the WISC-IV as well as within adults with ADHD using the Wechsler Adult Intelligence Scale, Fourth Edition (WAIS-IV). The researchers also suggest that practitioners consider the use of profile analysis as part of current ADHD diagnosing. By paying attention to the relative strengths and weaknesses evident from the comparatively high and low scores of subtests rather than considering only the index scores, the practitioner may gain a plethora of valuable information about an individual.

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