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journal of global
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Journal of Global Citizenship & Equity Education
Vol 3, No 1 (2013)

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On Authentic Progress: From Globalization to Interconnectedness

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ABSTRACT: As a result of the lack of authenticity in modern standardized societies, an individual's identity and purpose are created through physical goods as opposed to the intrinsic appreciation of the individual's role in society. This creates a precise dichotomy between the affluent lifestyle of the corporate worker and human fulfillment and empathy. This paper demonstrates how a new form of education, which encompasses an existential framework of pedagogy, is able to foster empathic emotions in students leading them to make decisions that are aligned with a sustainable socio-economic model. The paper first outlines the ecological and human development problems caused by modern capitalism. Second, it analyzes the historical circumstances that have borne capitalism and explains, through sociological and anthropological theory, how the logic of capitalism has become ubiquitous, self-perpetuating and obsolete. Lastly, a transformation in education is proposed as a viable solution to overcome the mentioned cognitive trappings.

The most important human endeavor is the striving for morality in our actions. Our inner balance and even our very existence depend on it. Only morality in our actions can give beauty and dignity to life. To make this a living force and bring it to clear consciousness is perhaps the foremost task of education. The foundation of morality should not be made dependent on myth nor tied to any authority lest doubt about the myth or about the legitimacy of the authority imperil the foundation of sound judgment and action.

Albert Einstein qtd. in Raman, Dukas and Hoffman,
1979, p. 95

Introduction

Capitalism is the socio-economic framework that human kind has created as a by-product of its adaptation to the environment. The rationality of capitalism informs individual behaviour on a global scale, and such behaviour may not be compatible with the sustainability of the collective's long-term survival. This paper aims to explain how a change in educational methodology will enable future populations to engage in more sustainable lifestyles and considerations, thereby naturally redefining the current socio-economic framework for society.

Four focus areas constitute my analysis: (1) the ecological and human development problems caused by modern capitalism; (2) an analysis of why current methods to improve the ecological and

human development problems have not worked; (3) an engagement with the ontology of capitalism, aimed at demonstrating the creation of socio-cultural idioms, which have become cognitive traps preventing society's progression beyond capitalism. Identifying these cognitive traps leads the way towards a meaningful solution; (4) a transformation in education is proposed as a viable solution to overcome the aforementioned traps. This paradigmatic shift will enable the individual to detach from the current prevalent social reasoning of consumption and growth and become mindful of the requirements of the biosphere.

The ecological and human development problems caused by modern capitalism

Capitalism can be defined through two of its governing tenets. The first is constant improvement of products and services as well as increased mechanization and efficiency in the design, manufacturing and selling of these. The second is the veneration of individual liberty and that individual's ability to pursue continuous improvement and be a moral arbiter (Berenbeim, 1997). Capitalism enables human kind to be efficient on large scales through standardization. As was the case with scientific management during the industrial engineering era, efficiency in process requires the mechanization of human activity. As the globe becomes increasingly interconnected and its individuals socially bound, in order to maintain efficiency, capitalistic processes and economies of scale are more prevalent and more optimized. In order to sustain seamless global trade and human interaction, as well as increased material desire, the system requires the mechanization of lifestyle. The problem is that by relentless increase in efficiency of process, capitalism imposes onto nature a dangerous burden.

In view of an increasing global population and an increased desire for economic growth, it becomes clear that capitalism, as it exists today, will breach the natural limits of the environment (Leonard & Ariane, 2010, p. xiv-xv; Jackson, 2009, p. 8). Knowledge of this conundrum is increasingly ubiquitous and urgently necessitates a solution[1].

> The ecological principle of interdependency states that all beings depend on their survival on the web of other beings that surrounds them, ultimately extending out to encompass the whole planet. The extinction of any species, diminishes our wholeness, our health, our own selves; something in our very being is lost. (Eisenstein, 2011, p. xvii)

Apart from the biosphere, capitalism also hinders on the individual's ability to attain personal fulfillment. The mechanistic lifestyles and material aspirations necessary for the growth of this system reduce one's ability to reach the mental dispositions leading to sustained happiness. Due to a lack of community and of uniqueness within standardized societies, the individual loses ability to find an authentic identity and purpose. This occurs since increased standardization leads to economies of scale, which provide for stringent competition against more unique products and services.

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[1] Perpetual increase in consumption and economic growth lead not only to the detriment to the environment but also to an inequality of resource distribution around the globe (Leonard, 2010, p. 242). This in turn, results in the impoverishment and suffering of many nation states, as well as a power struggle in attempting to secure natural resources (Jackson, 2009, p. 5). Overall, disrupting the global social balance as such may engender the demise of the quality of life of global populations in the future (Jackson, 2009, p. 65).

Dr. Paul T.P. Wong (2009) has created an existential positive psychology framework, which demonstrates how existential questions must be embraced in order to achieve fulfillment. More specifically he explains that "it is only through embracing life in its totality and wrestling with ultimate concerns that we can uplift humanity and improve the human condition" and that these "painful human strivings" are what "Western societies' consumer culture wants us to ignore" (Wong, 2009). Psychologist Tim Kasser (2002) postulates as well, that the more the individual places value on material goods, the more scarce the positive emotions the individual is able to have and the less value he or she places upon the environment, social needs, and empathy towards others (Kasser, 2002, p. 111). Since one of the axioms of capitalism is material production efficiency, individuals become increasingly preoccupied with material possession. Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi (2004) substantiates the point further by explaining that materialism, through its consummation of the human psychic energy prevents man's psychological evolution. Preoccupation with conventional trivial pettiness, such as that found in mainstream culture, interrupts the individual's ability to think about genuine self-interest; the individual consequently becomes unable to create an identity outside of society and self-actualize.

An analysis of why current methods to improve the ecological and human development problems have not worked

Through its mechanization of global processes, capitalism has become systemic enough within society that it becomes difficult to envision alternative feasible socio-economic systems. The first curtailing impossibility of current solutions is thus the systemic nature of capitalism. The enterprise of growth has become so prevalent and demanding of the people that one does not have enough time in the day to contemplate these matters, let alone undergo a change in lifestyle. The system creates non-human corporate entities that are not "aware" of the crisis or of the need to act against it. Their sole reason for existence is profit. These entities imprison individual freedom not only by imbuing superfluous values within cultural mores but also by imposing an enormous dedication of time to keep the system afloat.

The second problem is the public's lack of depth in its understanding of the materials economy, and its impact on the biosphere. This hinders the individual's ability to make decisions that will truly reach the heart of the matter. In many cases, academia subdivides what is an interdisciplinary matter into narrow schools of thought so as to achieve optimal specialization of the future worker (Maxwell, 2007). Consequently, the individual is not able to harness information variegated enough so as to propose or choose affecting action. Modern society worships science and its methods of knowledge creation: to break down and analyze the individual constituents as opposed to understand the matrix of relationships of the interconnected whole (Rifkin, 2009, p. 594-600). As such, regardless of whether an individual is aware of the ecological and social problems and regardless of whether that individual is empathetic enough to care genuinely for our global community, the individual does not have the possibility, on a societal scale, to make the decisions that would improve this situation.

Both the ecological and social problems are nonetheless a highly prioritized matter at the governmental level, and there exist systemic attempts to adopt a widespread socio-economic reform that could ameliorate these such as the conferences led by the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development. The disastrous fallacy of such endeavours is the lack of a single authority, powerful enough, to deploy a policy change as radical as that which would reconvene the logical reasoning of the entire society. Undertakings to inform the populace so that it adopts a new pattern of behaviour and to unify nation-states towards a common sustainable goal through

enterprises, such as the Kyoto Protocol, have failed (Glover, 2012). These require the support of supranational legislative authorities. Such authorities do not exist.

Hopes of salvation currently reside within technological innovation: the achievement of optimized means of resource harnessing and recycling. To ensure a foreseeable future by 2050, society will not only have to drastically reduce carbon emissions but will also have to physically remove carbon from the atmosphere (Jackson, 2009, p. 80). Society's reliance upon such hope is nothing more than a gamble with fate and society needs to look elsewhere lest it continues to endanger its means of survival.

The solutions enacted thus far have not proven to work because these manifest within the confines of the current cultural selection: the confines of economic reasoning. To change the cultural selection of the population is to change the logical reasoning and thus the meaning map of the individual. Education alone, as a mechanism of promulgating meaning, is ubiquitous enough to enact a change on a societal scale.

An engagement with the ontology of capitalism, aimed at demonstrating the creation of socio-cultural idioms, which have become cognitive traps preventing society's progression beyond capitalism

In order to propose an education model as the sustainable solution to the aforementioned dilemmas, it is important to first understand how society as a whole, finds itself amidst this situation. Within the context of a global society, the historical formative logic of capitalism is problematic. This system has become a self-contained, independent entity and is no longer guided by the actions of the individuals. Instead, this entity creates the logic that results in these actions. Essentially, capitalism has evolved past the boundaries of a mere economic methodology and has become the culture and lifestyle of the global human collective. Such finite parameters infringe upon the individuals conscious mobility and thus freedom.

A strong historical influence of current social behaviour and of the genesis of capitalism is the protestant ethic. According to Crowell (2004), Max Weber argues that through the religious dogmas of Calvinism, the Western world began to value the concepts of discipline and the accumulation of wealth for future use (Crowell, 2004, p. 4). Weber posits that the conversion from Catholicism to Calvinism resulted in a severely increased requirement of discipline and thrift in order to obtain salvation. It is this very behaviour, he explains, that was required to modify capitalism into what it has become today. Eternal afterlife is what validated the logic behind hard work, discipline and abeyance of life, which is exemplified through the rigorous and frugal lifestyles of monks and ascetics. Weber further states that capitalism was the change from ownership as a means of survival to a means of increasing wealth (Crowell, 2004, p. 11). This led to man's perception of money being a means to an end: the creation of more money. Prior to such logic, money was merely an instrument used as a temporary medium of exchange. Weber's implied statement is that individuals began to devalue time; one was no longer concerned with having spare time outside of work (Crowell, 2004, p. 10). This makes sense in view of the protestant reasoning that dedication leads to eternal salvation. Religious deliverance and after-life have faltered as ideology and are no longer systemic concepts as they were in the 16th century in the western world, however discipline, hard work, growth and accumulation of wealth are the remaining values of that ideology. Outside of the context of eternal salvation these concepts make no sense. Today's increasingly atheist society is no longer governed by an ethos of "righteousness" or "reason" since there is no longer as strong a code of religious moral guidance and thus, these concepts are free to dictate human behaviour.

It is important to understand society's failure to evolve past this logic in order to propose viable means to circumvent the problems at hand. Durkheim's (1995) sociological theory of the timeless endurance of mental logic and Sahlins' (1976) anthropological theory of cultural hegemony are explanations of the subtle constructs of this logic. Durkheim posits that socially created mental concepts are timeless since they are self-validated through social interaction. These concepts govern human behaviour by creating the decision-making map in the mind of the individual (Sahlins, 1976). The modern capitalistic problems stem precisely from this timelessness. These are aged concepts that create a logical truth and morality in a modern world that is faced with different circumstances than those that existed when these concepts were conceived.

Capitalism, as it has from its beginnings, functions on the logic of growth, production and consumption: concepts that arose as a result of the needs of the community at one point in time. "It is medieval political theology, not modern liberal thought, which provided for an ontologization of the consumer. This in turn, directly pertains to the questions of the legitimacy of consumer society per se, of consumer decisions in particular and of their sources of legitimacy" (Schwarzkopf, 2011, p. 106.) More precisely, consumer logic has become a deeply revered dogma that is no longer necessary and has become dangerous for humankind's survival in today's society which is facing new needs: resource preservation and global community. Society has never had the freedom to question or make a decision regarding this logic since it is borne organically through history and culture.

Marshal Sahlins (1976) classifies the idea of aged ideology as "historical materialism" and explains "it accepts the practical interest as an intrinsic and self-explanatory condition, inherent in production and therefore inescapable in culture…there is no material logic apart from the practical interest and the practical interest of men in production is symbolically constituted" (Sahlins, 1976, p. 206-207). This delineates the reason why it is difficult to escape this ideology. Society has created a logic of material production that has become culture; and thus trapping within production, through culture, the conception of practical interest that it requires to progress. "Just as science often projects culture onto nature, so economics takes culturally determined conditions as axiomatic" (Eisenstein, 2011, p. 17). Cultural phenomena emerge organically (i.e. critically unquestioned by the individual) and thus come to be perceived as "natural" – a condition by which said constructs receive legitimacy in the minds of the populace. As a result society is essentially failing to question the logic of practical interest because it has become a cultural norm. By what means then, can society leap outside of this self-perpetuating cultural loop guiding global behaviour?

Sahlins (1976) differentiates between capitalistic and more primitive society by pointing out the differences in the creation of cultural norms. In primitive society the division between economic, socio-political and ideological spheres is mediated by the idiom of kinship whereas in capitalistic society the division is mediated by the idiom of production (Sahlins, 1976, p. 211). If production governs the ideological and social spheres, capitalism becomes a self-perpetuating production system that creates ideology, which further promotes itself. It can be concluded that perhaps the solution to this conundrum is to shift from production towards kinship as the governing cultural idiom.

Let us briefly turn to evolutionary psychology to understand how kinship as a governing logic can lead global behaviours astray of production and consumption. Group selection is the decision-making process governing individual behaviour aimed at protecting the group to which the individual belongs in order to ensure its survival. The hallmark of group selection is that the survival of the group comes *prior* to the individual adhering to her immediate needs and desires (May, 1975). Ecological studies show that within the process of decision-making, cultural selection

will always predominate group selection. In the case of a capitalist society this means that the individual's disposition to select against that which destroys the natural environment keeping her alive loses prominence (Sahlins, 1976, p. 208). The individual person is not aware of her interconnection to the environment and to distant global populations and thus does not prioritize to protect them. This means that kinship and economic ideology have become mutually exclusive and this isolates the essentials of survival (kinship) outside of cultural selection. Essentially, the society has blinded itself from the requirements of its survival. In contrast, since an animal does not function through culture, it is able to see that the requirement for its survival is the very community which supports it and will act to protect its tribe even at times when this means risking its own life (May, 1975).

Through his concept of false consciousness Marx (1994) echoes the same idea. He argues that the solution is the education and awareness of the proletariat (Marx, 1994, p. 131). Scale, however, is the pivotal difference between society today and society during Marx's time. Currently, the forces of globalization have erased physical boundaries between groups of people so that activities are no longer localized. The Occupy Wall Street movement demonstrates this phenomenon clearly. As such, in contrast to that of an animal, humankind's "tribe" is no longer kin, town, urban agglomeration, or nation-state. It is increasingly cognized as a global whole. "The consumer society is now, to all intents and purposes, a global society" (Jackson, 2009, p. 52). The future survival and well-being of current human society is thus dependent upon the balance between populations on a global level as well as with the environment, and not only between the proletariat and the bourgeois. One of the tasks of education therefore becomes to foster a global understanding of the interdependency between all populations on the planet and the environment.

Though our society has become globally interconnected through the shrinkage of time and space, its individual constituents are still physically separated. This prohibits any one person from developing an emotional connection to distant populations and unseen natural degradation. As such, beyond fostering a mere understanding at the cognitive level, education must also act to evoke an empathic connection in people and thus to activate an emotional response. This will enable the person to care authentically for those distant others and for nature, and to modify her decision-making map and prioritize behaviours accordingly.

> If we can harness holistic thinking to a new global ethics that recognizes and acts to harmonize the many relationships that make up the life-sustaining forces of the planet, we will have crossed the divide into a near-climax world economy and biosphere consciousness (Rifkin, 2009, p. 600).

As explained in the following section, education can act to expand an individual's critical-reasoning capabilities, enabling that person to become aware of the interdependence of all things. Secondly, through existential teachings, education can increase the empathic connection between that individual and the rest of global society and nature. Reason and empathy are the solutions that will lead forth the fallout of certain obsolete societal values of today. As such an individual's decision-making map (cultural selection) will organically begin to encapsulate those factors required for the survival of the global community: global populations and the natural environment.

A transformation in education is proposed as a viable solution to overcome the mentioned traps

As it is constructed today, popular education curriculums are not correctly equipped to encourage sustainable behaviours nor to change the current paradigm. For one, current curriculum relies heavily on the scientific method for knowledge accumulation and not enough on more traditional forms of teaching such as storytelling. The current knowledge-creating infrastructure can only explain mechanical processes and serves solely to break down and analyze individual parts. Though science is tremendously important and understanding the individual parts is necessary in all pursuits of knowledge, modern society, alongside this perspective, requires a holistic understanding of the matrix of life, including emotion, authenticity, and purpose. Axiomatically, the scientific method dictates that if one constituent of whole cannot be empirically defined, the legitimacy of the whole is rendered moot. Incidentally, many of the arts are increasingly dismissed from any form of decision-making regarding economic, social or political spheres. Secondly, the scientific method and economic science demand objectivity and increased standardization. This pattern of thinking trains individuals to spot the outliers and to deem "weird" that which in reality is merely misunderstood. A recalibration of the equilibrium between the sciences and the arts within every discipline of education could therefore circumvent capitalism's current problems.

Herman Hesse's novel, *Der Glasperlenspiel*, is a very close representation of how education can act as the driving force for this paradigm shift. Through this work of fiction Hesse creates a utopian society, which embodies the synthesis of his lifelong proliferation of philosophical ideas. He creates a society that attains balance through the protection and veneration of intellectual values: critical-reasoning and the pursuit of critical-reasoning for its own sake (Hesse, 1990, p. 19). Hesse advocates education's role as the perpetual questioning of the logic and moral values of society in order to assess whether it can ensure humankind's survival. He prophesizes that it will be the extinction of spiritual values and art from education that will result in the fall of Western society (Hesse, 1990, p. 24-25). In order to remediate this fall, the futuristic society instates the Intellectuals as governing body; namely those who work to protect and develop the integrity of Reason.

Hesse's prophecy seems to have been quite an accurate forewarning since there exists within society today an alarming duality between critical-reasoning (Reason) and pragmatic logic. Reason is the quintessence of Hesse's utopia; it is taught as a synthesis between all disciplines, mixing both exact science as well as the arts. He describes it as a universal language across and common to all schools of thought – math, science, literature, music, et cetera (Hesse, 1990, p. 15). This interdisciplinary property enables the concepts nascent of this language to translate across all disciplines. In so doing they sift through and exclude superficial values. Altogether, Hesse's novel ascribes the reform of education as the salvation of humanity, which entails the shift in logic from pragmatism and social status to wisdom and reason. Wisdom and reason are a sustainable and utilitarian logic because these habilitate the populace to change its moral values contingently according to the current challenges at hand.

For more specific and realistic changes to current education tools, Hesse advocates the use of the Socratic method and experiential learning[2] (Otten, 1977, p. xiii). These methods, similar to those promoted by Sir Ken Robinson (art and creativity) and by Harold Innis (intellectual conversation) are the catalyst for the inhibition of philistine and superfluous values[3] (Azzam, 2009; Watson, 2006). Harold Innis asserts that the media imposes, onto the individual, imminent "cultural baggage," which is a knowledge monopoly. This mechanistic process, he argues, would lead to "the transmission of order, obedience, and an absence of potentially contestatory thinking" and the solution to which is intellectual conversation (Watson, 2006, p. 411).

In addition to the above advocated changes in education, Jeremy Rifkin (2009), in his tome *The Empathic Civilization,* explains that most relevant to humanity's current dilemma is the requirement of increased empathic abilities. Rifkin presents an alternative curriculum for elementary school education which is centered on developing empathic abilities. He posits this education is necessary to reach sustainable behaviour since it augments the individual's awareness of the interconnection between everything on earth.

> The new biosphere learning environments provide a new type of open classroom to prepare succeeding generations for the next phase of human consciousness – the extension of the central nervous system of the human race from the geosphere to the biosphere (Rifkin, 2009, p. 612).

The solution to the sustainability conundrum thus becomes finding a realistic method to introduce the aforementioned holistic teachings into popular culture. A practical method of doing so is to adapt the current curriculum, so as to re-incorporate the arts, which can imbue students with critical-reasoning abilities, and which can foster an empathic emotional response towards distant global populations and the natural environment.

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[2] Otten explains that Hesse advocates the Socratic method and experiential learning as new means of education (Otten, 1977, p. xiii). The Socratic method is the way by which education can strive to reach the purity of concepts described in *Der Glasperlenspiel*. The questioning of every concept to its core leads to the discovery of incoherent logic, essentially sifting through concepts and associations towards truth and enabling for an understanding of human motivation, including the accumulation of wealth, economic growth, social status, and consumerism. Experiential learning allows for understanding as opposed to memorization. It is futile to compress facts into short-term memory without knowing the importance of those facts or placing them within a meaningful context. A narrow discipline has little value for humanity when it is not rooted within the matters of the world at large and learnt sequentially in order of importance of these matters. Such a composition of teachings that allows for a meaningful and sustainable understanding of the various disciplines would be very hard to achieve. Conversely, the fact that these are not placed within an appropriate context, or any context at all, prevents logic to transpire across all disciplines. Experiential learning is a solution to this conundrum. As opposed to attaining understanding through formal systems, one learns through experience. Essentially this is learning through direct interaction with reality as opposed to accumulating knowledge through abstractions of reality. As per the example provided by *Der Glasperlenspiel*, learning of all disciplines occurs primarily through music, meditation and intellectual debates.

[3] The studies of Harold Innis and Sir Ken Robinson are strong complements to the said educational methods. Sir Ken Robinson (2009) preaches that education should promote the aesthetic arts and creativity so as to balance out the current hegemony of pragmatic logic. He posits that creativity and unique individual preference and desire will lead to society's ability to deal the sporadic evolution of problems that it will face in the future (Azzam, 2009, p. 22).

Daniel Kalderimis argues that existentialism, as a practical theory of moral philosophy, leads to empathy. Using his logic it becomes easy to understand the genesis of empathy and to elaborate on Rifkin's rationality:

> The empathetic predisposition that is built into our biology is not a fail-safe mechanism that allows us to perfect our humanity. Rather, it is an opportunity to increasingly bond the human race into a single family (Rifkin, 2009, p. 614).

Kalderimis (2010) postulates that the teachings of an Existentialist Framework can lead the individual to understand another person's equal reality and capacity for thoughts and expression, enabling that individual to take into account the consequences of action on other people (Kalderimis, 2010, p. 86). As explained by Sartre, "by choosing for yourself, you choose for all people; on the basis that to choose is to affirm the value of the thing chosen" (Kalderimis, 2010, p. 87). This empathic state is also termed "authentic living," or the ability of "facing up to the true responsibility of living in a world where meaning and ethics are subjective" and not "pretending an objectivity, or constraint where none really exist" (Kalderimis, 2010, p. 85). Therefore, existentialism not only enables the individual to care for others equally regardless of their dissimilarity but also provides for the freedom to make decisions outside of the realm of cultural convention.

Kalderimis (2010) explains that through reflection and creativity, man becomes sincere to his own affinity. To appropriate meaning to that affinity which is intrinsic to each individual and which is not socially determined incidentally creates authenticity and a shift from scarcity to abundance. The individual thus creates a genuine, subjective definition of beauty, enabling him to share, understand and love this same genuine subjectivity in other people. In so learning to appreciate life in itself, capitalistic society will naturally progress to devalue material things and thus loosen its desire for increasing wealth, utilitarianism and consumption. Without this paradigmatic shift in reasoning and behaviour, our society may miss the threshold of ability to remedy its problematic circumstance.

It would prove futile to attempt to imitate the educational model imagined by Herman Hesse in his Utopia Der Glasperlenspiel, however, as listed above, there are specific adaptations to current curriculum, which can commence the paradigm shift towards a sustainable society and towards the natural evolution of capitalism, as it exists today.

These include: (a) mandating a more balanced curriculum by promoting the arts as equally mandatory subjects alongside other specializations in order counteract the popular scientific-method type of mindset promoted by current education systems. This in turn enables for a more holistic pattern of thought and conveys more clearly the interconnection between otherwise ostensibly disconnected parts of the system; (b) using the Socratic method and intellectual conversation as the means of education so as to foster the critical-thinking skills that enables an individual to think for herself and to perpetually and contingently question the correctness of what is being learnt; (c) including an existential framework of mores as a mandatory part of the curriculum in order to foster empathy and thus lead the learners to make decisions that take into consideration other distant populations and the environment.

Conclusions

The people of the globe are becoming increasingly interconnected into a singular collective. Individual actions are no longer isolated; instead, they aggregate and affect those from all corners of the planet, including and especially the environment. Lamentably, the curtailing problem of the current capitalist system is the fact that aged cultural mores have fixated production and consumption as the logical governing axioms for societal structure and progress in terms of social, economic and political spheres. In order to escape these governing fundamentals, the current system must imitate primitive societies and use kinship as the dominant governing logic to structure society. This will enable humankind's decision-making map (cultural selection) to encompass and prioritize that which ensures its sustainability and survival: global populations and the natural environment. It is a new form of education, through its power of invoking critical inquiry that will enable the individual to surpass the cultural idioms created by capitalism and to foster the sense of interconnectedness needed for the survival of biosphere. Holistic education, coupled with an existential framework of mores, will empower the individual with both an understanding of the great matrix of the biosphere and the empathy required to make decisions that take into consideration the well-being of all people of the globe. Moreover, this form of education will empower the individual to see beyond culturally propagated ideologies and engender her own source of rationality and reason. This is also the only point in time when a person can claim they are authentically free.

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They Want to Be Global Citizens – Now What? : Implications of the NGO Career Arc for Students and Faculty Mentors[4]

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ABSTRACT: Once faculty have inspired their students to want to become global citizens, many of these students will approach them for advice about careers that will enable them to live out their commitment to global justice. This article seeks to inform such discussions by providing students and their faculty mentors with information to help consider whether the NGO sector is a good fit for the student, how to prepare for it, and how to advance within it. It does so by providing a snapshot of the nonprofit/NGO career arc based upon analysis of 220 responses to a survey conducted in 2010 of staff of "NGOs that advance human rights" located in Ontario, Canada. Topics discussed include: the importance of when people take an interest in the sector; the relationship between campus clubs and volunteering and NGO careers; the importance of the BA versus the MA to employability; the typical career pattern; what recent entrants might learn from more established staff; types of specific occupation in the sector; how executive directors differ from other staff; and patterns related to gender within the sector.

Margaret Brigham (2011) has defined global citizenship as "an ability to act with a global mindset based on an application of values, ethics, identity, social justice perspective, intercultural skills, and sense of responsibility" (p. 29). This paper is not about the meaning of global citizenship. Rather it concerns something corollary to global citizenship education that should be of interest to the faculty members who teach it as well as their students. Many faculty members work hard to inspire students to care about global justice and to act upon a sense of responsibility; these same faculty members often find students respond by seeking to learn more by enrolling in more of their courses and majoring in their programs. Students also respond by asking for advice about career options that will allow them to put what they have learned into practice. For many faculty members this poses a difficulty either because most of their professional work experience is limited to academia or, if they have worked outside academia, it is unlikely to be in all the fields their students might be interested.

I teach in a Human Rights program; others may teach in International Studies, Political Science, Sociology, International Development, Global Studies, Peace Studies, Women's Studies, Geography, or any of a number of other programs that open doors to conversations about global citizenship. Many of the students we inspire, just like a reported 23% of American liberal arts students who planned to enter the workforce upon completing their BA (Koc, 2010), are interested in working in the nonprofit sector, often for nongovernmental organizations (NGOs). What many students may not know, however, and what many faculty members may lack the experience to teach them, is how to assess whether such a career would fit with their temperament and how to prepare for and advance through such careers. This article aims to assist faculty and students by sharing analysis of the results of a survey that helps map out key features of the NGO "career arc."

Two definitions of the word "arc" make it an apt metaphor for the career. One, the arc as "a continuous progression or line of development" (*Merriam-Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary* (11th ed.)), presents the career as having a beginning and extending out before the graduate through his or her adult working life. Another definition, the arc as "something arched or curved," reminds us that, much like standing on an arc, at any point along the career path it can be impossible to see what lies ahead over the "horizon." This inability to see over the horizon can make it difficult for students to assess whether a career started right out of college may still be attractive to them in ten or twenty years. It also makes it difficult for students and NGO staff in their early years of their careers to know how best to prepare to advance in their careers. When these present and former students approach professors, career counselors, and other mentors for guidance, many, especially those who have not worked in this sector, can find it challenging to provide informed advice.

At present, there is little literature that adopts the perspective of students and faculty mentors. In the nonprofit leadership and management literature, scholars have adopted theoretical perspectives to typologize career patterns, assess executive director competencies, and evaluate the "quality and sustainability" of employment in this sector (Ahmed, 2005; Almond & Kendall, 2000; Driver, 1980; Harrow & Mole, 2005; Suarez, 2010); they have also adopted managerial perspectives to better understand how to motivate, manage, and retain employees (Akingbola, 2006; Ban, Drahnak-Faller, & Towers, 2003; Kim & Lee, 2007; Kunreuther, 2003; Lee & Wilkins, 2011; Onyx & Maclean, 1996; Turner & Maher, 2009). Scholars in other disciplines have adopted a primarily curriculum-development perspective to assess the career relevance of, and to suggest improvements to, their degree programs (Breuning, Parker, & Ishiyama, 2001; Collins, Knotts, & Schiff, 2012; Dolan, 2002; Fletcher, 2005; Haas & Robinson, 1998; Herman & Renz, 2007; Kuh, 1995; McKinney, Saxe & Cobb, 1998; Peters & Beeson, 2010; Sagen, Dallam, & Laverty, 2000; Wilson & Larson, 2002; Robinson, 2013). Scholars have rarely explicitly drawn out the implications of their studies for students or early career employees, and these comments have usually been brief and were made only in passing (Haas & Robinson, 1998; Koc, 2010).

This article seeks to address this gap by adopting the perspective of students, their faculty mentors, and early career NGO staff. It does so by developing a partial snapshot of the NGO career arc based upon the results of an exploratory survey conducted in 2010 of staff working in the Canadian province of Ontario. The article reflects upon aspects of this career arc from pre-career experiences through workforce entry and, for some, the pinnacle of executive directorship in light of relevant literature. By providing a view over the horizon of this career arc, this article aims to help students, staff, and their mentors to make more informed decisions about whether this sector is a good fit for their abilities and personalities; to help students and staff determine how to prepare for the next stages in their careers; to add credibility to this advice by basing it upon the responses of people who actually work in the sector; and, in the process, to demonstrate the value of this line of research. It is hoped that the article finds its way into syllabi of undergraduate career preparation courses.

After describing the survey's method and limitations, the article discusses the findings in five sections that address pre-career experiences, career patterns, types of occupations, how executive directors are different, and the role of gender. Further references to the literature are made where relevant.

Survey Method and Limitations

This article draws upon selected results from an online survey of staff at Ontario-based NGOs that advance human rights that was conducted in 2010 using Survey Monkey. The survey was designed to achieve both practical pedagogical and scholarly research objectives. Its pedagogical purpose was to inform curriculum development in an interdisciplinary undergraduate program in human rights; its scholarly purpose was to solicit answers to questions that could inform the publication of research papers on three related, but distinct, topics: the workplace relevance of social science/liberal arts BAs (Robinson 2013); the focus and self-representation of Canadian NGOs that advance human rights; and, the purpose of this article, to inform the provision of credible insight to students considering careers in the NGO sector.

The questionnaire included 65 questions. This article draws upon responses to questions that addressed respondents' personal and educational backgrounds, the nature of their current positions, the skills they believed were required to be successful in their positions, and, where the respondent had experience, opinions related to hiring entry-level employees.

The survey was conducted using a two-step non-probabilistic snowball-type sampling method. First, research identified over 1000 organizations that were reduced to 126 after reviewing organization websites for fit with the study's parameters: the NGO must have staff physically located in Ontario and the NGO must "advance human rights." For this study, an organization was considered to "advance human rights" if one of the following applied to it: (i) it says that advancing human rights (or rights found in the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms) is its core purpose or is part of its core purposes; (ii) it says it uses human rights to advance its core purposes; (iii) it justifies its core purposes, at least in part, in terms of human rights; (iv) it includes itself in CharityVillage.com's (a leading Canadian nonprofit website) directory under the heading, "Human Rights and Civil Liberties." In the second step, staff members were invited to participate either directly or, where contact information was not available online, by asking executive directors to forward invitations to staff. Whether contacted by email or through regular mail, respondents were provided with a unique identification code to ensure that only appropriate respondents completed the survey. Overall, 220 individuals, including 34 executive directors, responded and 201 surveys were completed in full.[5] SPSS was used to collate the responses and, where appropriate, analyze them using chi-square tests of cross-tabulated categories, analysis of variance, and the Mann-Whitney U test; findings that were statistically significant are noted as such in the text.

The study's objectives and its exploratory nature led to it being limited to Ontario-based NGOs that advance human rights. Thus, caution should be exercised in generalizing the nature of the NGO career arc beyond the geographical Ontario context and the subset of NGOs that advance human rights. While such caution is indeed warranted, there are good reasons to believe that the findings discussed here offer insight into NGO careers more broadly. For instance, considering the geographic context, it is quite common in the literature to report on studies limited to federal states

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[5] This sample size compares well with that of other published studies on the NGO sector (for instance, Onyx & Maclean had 162 usable responses (1996), Haas & Robinson 208 (1998) and Kim & Lee 198 (2007)).

or provinces or even sub-regions within these (see for example, Haas & Robinson, 1998; Kim & Lee, 2007; Onyx & Maclean, 1996; Suarez, 2010). The jurisdiction in this study, the Canadian province of Ontario, is Canada's largest province, has over 13 million inhabitants, and is home to Canada's capital, Ottawa, and its largest city, Toronto. As such, it has much in common with other English-speaking industrialized democracies.

The study's focus on NGOs that advance human rights is also not as limiting as it first may seem. Besides being an apt focus for a paper intended to provide career advice to students motivated by global citizenship education, this subset of NGOs actually includes a wide range of organizations. Reflecting the well-documented trend that has seen long-established NGOs adopt the normative language of human rights (Chong, 2009; Hopgood, 2009; Kindornay, Ron, & Carpenter, 2012; Nelson & Dorsey, 2008), when asked about the central focus of their current employer, survey respondents identified a broad range of concerns, including international development (23%), human rights and civil liberties (18%), poverty/social justice (13%), education (9%), health (7%), research and policy development (6%), children, youth and families (5%), disabilities (3%), and women (3%). The scope of their employers' focus also varied, ranging from those that were purely local to those focused on provincial, national, and international levels. Finally, the organizations also varied in size with about one-third of respondents indicating they worked in organizations with 1-10, 11-50, and 51+ employees.

Still, while the findings discussed in this article are likely generalizable to a wide range of NGOs in English-speaking industrialized democracies, they are likely less applicable the more a particular subsector of NGO differs from NGOs that advance human rights. For example, their reliability is likely to decline: as the average size of NGOs in a sector increases; the more NGOs rely upon staff who hold specialized professional credentials rather than liberal arts and social sciences degrees; and the less an NGO's main focus is similar to those listed above (for example, those concerned with the arts; culture and heritage; animal welfare; and sports and recreation).

Pre-Career Experiences

This section reviews responses concerning key aspects of pre-career experiences. The observations should be of particular interest to students considering career options, and faculty and other mentors offering advice.

Table 1: When respondent first took an interest in working for an organization like his or her present employer

When respondent first seriously considered working for an NGO	
In high school or earlier	23%
During first degree or diploma	25%
During post-graduate study	12%
After entering the workforce	36%
Don't Remember/Other	4%

It is never too late to take an interest in the NGO sector.

Some undergraduates, when encountering other students who "have wanted to work for an NGO for as long as they can remember," may be intimidated into thinking that it is just too late for them to even try. While one might think that the earlier a person took an interest in the sector, the more likely he or she would be to find employment and to be successful in it, the results suggest that this is not necessarily the case.

There does *not* appear to be a strong relationship between when a person took an interest in the sector and their subsequent employment. Respondents (N=220) were approximately evenly divided between early interest-takers (48%), defined as those who started seriously considering working for an organization like their present employer during high school or prior to completing their first post-secondary program, and late interest-takers (48%), who started later. In fact, 36% of respondents did not seriously consider the sector until after entering the workforce.

Of course, the fact that late interest-takers work in the sector does not necessarily mean that the sector is a good fit for them. One way this might be expressed is by their leaving the sector quickly after entering. To test this possibility, respondents were divided between those who have worked in the sector for five years or less (85) and those who have worked longer (132) (presumably sufficient time to determine whether the sector is a good fit); this revealed no statistically significant difference between early and later interest-takers. Finally, comparison using another proxy for fit – becoming an executive director – also failed to reveal a statistically significant difference between early and late interest-takers.

Thus, whatever causes people to become early or late interest-takers, it does not appear to be correlated with suitability for work in the NGO sector. Faculty and other mentors should feel confident when encouraging late interest-takers to explore this career option.

Participation in campus clubs and volunteering is correlated with careers in NGOs.

This claim finds support from a number of aspects of the survey. For instance, when asked to rate a number of pieces of advice for obtaining a good entry-level job in an organization like the one for which they work, 46% of respondents rated "Volunteer with Any NGO" as "Vital." A relationship between participation in campus clubs and volunteering and NGO careers is also suggested by the fact that that 63% of survey respondents indicated they had participated in such organizations (even more may have been involved in volunteering in general, but the survey did not ask about that). This rate is similar to the percentages of nonprofit staff found to engage in volunteering in Australia (70%) (Onyx & Maclean, 1996, p. 339-40) and the United States (73%) (Lee & Wilkins, 2011, p. 51). The strength of the connection is also supported by Lee and Wilkins' (2011) comparative study of public and nonprofit managers in which they found that "people who volunteered were more than 10 percent more likely to work in the nonprofit [than in the public] sector" (p. 53). Finally, this relationship finds support in respondents' subjective perceptions of its value. When asked if they thought their experience in campus clubs and volunteering (which was specified as campus-based clubs, associations, campus chapters of nonprofits/NGOs, student government, etc.) helped them obtain their first post-graduation job, 44% said they thought it had impressed the organization that hired them; an additional 6% indicated that their first job was with an organization to which they had belonged as a student.

But, "just" belonging does not appear to help much.

The importance of active participation stands out when attention is limited to the 63% of respondents who participated in student clubs and volunteering. For instance, while 63% of those who had held executive positions believed their involvement helped them get their first job, this was only true of 27% of those who never served as an executive (p<0.01). Even more striking, seven of the eight respondents who obtained their first job with an organization to which they had belonged as a student had served in an executive role. A similar pattern emerged when the number of organizations to which respondents reported belonging was considered: while only 27% of those

Table 2: Relationship Between Types of Participation In Student Clubs and Volunteering and Perception That Participation Helped Respondent Obtain First Job

How Those Who Participated in Student Clubs and Volunteering Participated	% Expressing Belief That Participation Helped In Obtaining First Post-Education Employment	
Served in Executive Role	63%	
Never Served in an Executive Role	27%	
Belonged to 1 Organization		27%
Belonged to 2-3 Organizations		51%
Belonged to 4+ Organizations		73%

Table 3: Relationship between when respondent first seriously considered working for an NGO and whether respondent participated in campus clubs or volunteering

When first seriously considered working for an NGO	Have you ever belonged to a community college or university student organization (e.g., campus-based clubs, associations, campus chapters of nonprofits/NGOs, student government, etc.) (N = 219)	
	Yes	No
In high school or earlier	80%	20%
During first degree or diploma	69%	31%
During post-graduate study	67%	33%
After entering the workforce	45%	55%

p < 0.001.

who belonged to just one organization thought their participation helped them obtain their first job, this was true of 51% who belonged to 2 or 3 and 73% of those who belonged to 4 or more (p<.01). Students are often told that the real value of joining clubs and volunteering requires active and engaged participation; this advice can now be backed up with empirical evidence based on the experience of people who work in the sector.

The value of community service learning courses.[6]

When read in the light of what has been suggested to this point, Table 3 raises serious concerns about the possibility that there may be many students who could become late interest-takers and find rewarding careers in the NGO sector, but do not because they are never exposed to it. While the survey, by its very nature, did not gather data on those who never took an interest in the sector, comparison of late interest-takers to early interest-takers indicated that the later someone takes an interest in the sector, the less likely he or she is to engage in behaviours that correlate to subsequent employment in the NGO sector: early interest-takers were more likely to participate in campus clubs and volunteering (74% versus 51% for late interest-takers (p<0.01)), to have belonged to more than one organization (84% versus 70% (p<0.05)), and to have served in an executive position (71% versus 55% (p<0.05)). These findings suggest the following question: how many more late interest-takers might have found rewarding careers in the

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[6] The author has discussed the curricular implications of the findings of this survey elsewhere; see Robinson (2013).

NGO sector if they had been exposed to it as undergraduates? This question points to a potential value of placing community service learning courses (that require students to work with NGOs and, usually, to write reflection papers) in our programs. This is important because it might provide late interest-takers an opportunity to explore this viable career option which they may never have discovered on their own.

The BA is sufficient to secure entry-level positions.

I have often heard it suggested that students must possess an MA to pursue a career in this sector. It would appear to be supported by Haas and Robinson's (1998) finding that master's degrees were preferred by nonprofits for filling "middle or upper management positions" (p. 356). This study suggests that while this may be true for middle and upper managers, it is not the case for recent graduates seeking entry-level positions.

This claim finds support in responses to a number of questions. For instance, when asked directly, only 16% of respondents rated a master's degree as "Vital" for securing a good entry-level job. Similarly, when those who had experience hiring entry-level employees (N=155) were asked about the desirability of various credentials for entry-level positions, more rated the BA as "Highly Desired" (46%) than the MA (31%). The employability of the BA was reinforced by examining the highest educational credentials held by respondents in their twenties, those most likely to hold entry-level positions: BA (53%), BA plus post-graduate college diploma[7] (14%), MA (24%), and college diploma (2%). Thus, students who want to gain practical experience after earning a BA, or who just want to take a break from their education, do not appear to be harming their chances to start a career in this sector.

A post-BA credential appears increasingly necessary to progress in the sector.

This claim is supported by a number of findings. First, when comparing the highest credential held by respondents aged 30 and over, most of whom should be beyond entry-level positions, the MA was more widely held (39%) than the BA (25%) ($p<0.01$). In fact, 64% of those aged 30 and over held a post-BA credential (e.g., post-grad college diploma, MA, LLB, PhD). This is similar to the 70% Haas and Robinson found in Santa Clara County, California (1998, p. 357), and higher than the 53.1% Lee and Wilkins (2011) found among American nonprofit managers (p. 51).

Further analysis suggests that the perceived need to obtain additional credentials is increasing. For instance, when respondents were divided by age in decades, the average number of years between when they earned their two most recent credentials was shown to be declining: 30s: 5.5 years; 40s: 5.6; 50s: 10.5; 60s+: 13.8. The increasing pressure to earn a post-BA credential is also suggested by the generally increasing percentage of people who had earned their post-BA degree while they were in their twenties: 30s: 39%; 40s: 21%; 50s: 18%; 60s: 33%.[8]

While the BA appears to be sufficient for obtaining entry-level positions, students need to be advised that if they intend to pursue careers and advance in this sector, they will likely need to earn a post-BA credential. This also means that undergraduates who are hoping to enter this sector need to be reminded of the importance of maintaining grades that will gain them admission to desirable

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[7] This is a condensed version of a community college program that is offered to students who already possess a university degree or college diploma.

[8] Those holding PhDs were excluded from this calculation as their educational trajectory tends to differ markedly from those pursuing terminal MAs.

MA, Law, or other relevant programs. As for when it is best to pursue a postgraduate credential – immediately upon completing the BA or after obtaining some work experience – the survey offered no insight. As for which credential to pursue, students might begin by consulting works by Ahmed (2005), Dolan (2002) and Haas and Robinson (1998).

Career Patterns

This section discusses features of NGO careers that apply to most staff regardless of their particular occupation: the typical career pattern and differences between recent entrants and those more established in the sector.

The typical career pattern is the spiral career.

While NGO and public sector careers are both likely to appeal to those who find intrinsic rewards in serving their community, each sector tends to support distinct career patterns that some individuals will find appealing and others unattractive. As Michael J. Driver (1980) has argued, "organizations and groups can…develop prevailing career concepts [which include] specific assumptions about reward systems, career paths, the role of development and training, and basic attitudes towards human beings" (p. 12). Driver has described four career concepts of which the linear concept is typically associated with the public sector and the spiral concept is typically associated with the nonprofit sector (see also Ban, et. al., 2003; Harrow & Mole, 2005; Kim & Lee, 2007). This study affirms the association between the NGO sector and spiral careers. The distinctions Driver drew between spiral and linear career concepts provide an excellent comparative framework for students and their mentors to evaluate the potential fit with temperaments and other aspirations.

Onyx and Maclean (1996), following Driver, suggested that career concepts can be distinguished by three key features: "extent and direction of job change, pattern of work values, and preferred organizational processes" (p. 332). Regarding the extent and direction of job change, the linear career "embodies the notion that a career is a series of upward moves within a field. There may be changes in organizations to avoid blocking but the key ingredient is steady upward movement" (Driver, 1980, p. 10). The spiral career, by contrast, "is seen as a cyclic process in which one changes field or major direction in cycles of about five to ten years. There may be upward movement within a cycle, but the shift between cycles is often lateral" (Driver, 1980, p. 10). Regarding values, linear careers appeal to "those who value prestige, management skills, high income, power and achievement"; spiral careers appeal to those who cherish work they consider "*both* socially worthwhile and personally rewarding," and that provides "opportunities for self-development," involves new challenges, requires creativity and multiskilling, and permits them to exercise of autonomy. Finally, regarding organizational settings, linear careers are usually pursued within large, hierarchical structures, spiral careers within "open system[s] with low structure" (Onyx & Maclean, 1996, p. 332, 341, emphasis in original).

Consistent with the cyclic nature of the spiral career, survey respondents reported patterns of fairly frequent changes in positions within and across organizations and sectors. Those respondents who had worked 10 years or more in the NGO sector since completing their most recent education (N = 104) reported holding an average of 2.5 positions (with the same or a different organization) per decade, about 4 years per position. This compares with Onyx and Maclean's (1996) finding of an average of 3.6 positions over the last ten years, or 2.8 years per position (p. 336). While respondents' careers appeared to become more settled as they aged – the average time they reported spending in their most recent position increased steadily with age (20s: 2.3 years; 30s: 3.9; 40s: 4.5;

50s: 5.9; 60s+: 6.0) – the average was still consistent with Driver's five to ten year cycles. Respondents also reported much movement between organizations: 68% reported having worked for more than one organization and, of those, 38% reported having worked for two organizations, 43% for three to five, and 10% for more than six. They also reported much movement between sectors: 30% had worked in one other sector, 6% in two, and 2% in three; among these 20% had experience working in government, 20% in the for-profit sector, and 8% for a union. Even the direction of movements between organizations resisted the linear pattern: only 15% report having moved exclusively between organizations like their present employer; only 35% worked exclusively with organizations like their present employer since entering the subsector; and fully 51% report having moved back-and-forth between organizations like their present employer and organizations with a different focus.

Table 4: Percentage Selecting Reasons for Choosing to Work in Nonprofit/NGO Sector

Reason	%
Commitment to Social Change	82
Philosophical or Political Commitment	53
Volunteer Experience	30
Personal Life Experience (For Example, Former User)	23
By Chance/Through Networking	23
Religious Commitment	12
Influence of Family (e.g., Parents)	11
Other	10
Hours/Location Convenient for Family Commitment/Lifestyle	9
Study Placement	8
Only Job Available	5

Respondents' motivations and values were also consistent with the spiral career. When asked why they chose to work in the nonprofit/NGO sector (Table 4) the top reasons they cited reflected the desire for work that is *socially worthwhile*: commitment to social change (82%), and philosophical or political commitment (53%). No other reasons were chosen by more than a third of respondents. Similarly, when asked to rate each of 14 possible reasons for finding *their present position* attractive, the top reasons respondents rated as either "Attractive" or "Very Attractive" (Table 5) were consistent with spiral career motivations: work that is *socially worthwhile*: contribute to social change (97%), organizational philosophy (83%), work on human rights issues (86%); *challenges and opportunities for self-development*: interesting/challenging work (96%), extend personal skills (86%), career opportunities (68%), change of pace (60%); access to decision-making (74%), influence policy development (72%), work independently (65%). Conversely, values associated with the linear career ranked consistently low: increased salary (42%), greater prestige (40%), more budget responsibility (32%). Finally, while one might suspect that insecurity of employment is the real reason for the cyclic pattern of respondents' careers, this is not supported by the reasons they gave for entering the sector ("only job available" ranked last at 5%), or for finding their current position attractive: previous job ended (29%), job security (37%).

Table 5: Percentage Selecting Reasons for Finding Present Positions "Attractive" or "Very Attractive"

Reason for Finding Present Position Attractive	%
Contribute to Social Change	97
Interesting/Challenging Work	96
Good People to Work With	87
Extend Personal Skills	86
Work on Human Rights Issues	86
Organizational Philosophy	83
Network with Other Agencies	75
Access to Decision-Making	74
Influence Policy Development	72
Career Opportunities	68
Work Independently	65
Change of Pace	60
More Staff Responsibility	56
Good Management Structure	52
Convenient Location	51
Work with New Client Group	51
Training Opportunities	49
Create a New Service	46
Increased Salary	42
More Flexible Hours	41
Greater Prestige	40
Job Security	37
More Budget Responsibility	32
Previous Job Ended	29
Less Management Responsibility	10

The results also provided indications that respondents worked in organizational settings with features typically associated with the spiral career: relatively small, flat/non-hierarchical, emphasizing multiskilling more than specialization, and facilitating "interpersonal closeness" (Driver, 1980, p. 14) or what Onyx and Maclean (1996) call a "social dimension" (p. 338). As for size, the majority of respondents (69%) reported working in organizations of less than 50 people: 1 to 10 employees (33%); 11 to 50 (36%); 51+ (31%). Low levels of specialization and an emphasis on multiskilling were suggested by the fact that, when asked to indicate the percentage of a typical week they devoted to each of 11 significant functions (e.g., budgeting & financial management, project management, providing service to clientele, etc.), respondents reported performing an average of 7.5 functions in an average week. That such multiskilling is a characteristic of the sector and not just of small organizations was suggested by the fact that the average number of tasks performed was almost identical for staff working for organizations with 50 or less employees (7.5) and those with more than 50 (7.4). Finally, the relevance of interpersonal closeness/a social dimension was suggested by the fact that 87% of respondents selected "good group of people to work with" as one of their reasons for finding their present position attractive (Table 5).

One lesson of this section is fairly clear: students considering careers in the NGO sector should be encouraged to seriously consider whether they would be happier pursuing a linear- or a spiral-patterned career. For example, are they more interested in status and promotions or in doing work that is socially worthwhile while exercising a fair degree of control over the nature of their job? Students should also be made aware that, while it is never good practice to accept and to leave jobs lightly, they should make decisions about pursuing new positions within the sector in view of the fact that relatively high rates of turnover are normal as they are rooted in the very nature of this sector: junior employees often return to school; spiral careerists tend to leave their positions to seek new challenges.

More established staff members tend to work in smaller organizations and place greater emphasis on management and financial skills.

The survey facilitated comparisons between "recent entrants" (treated as those in their twenties) and more established staff (those aged 30 and above) that identified patterns that should be of interest to students, new staff, and their mentors.[9]

Comparison of employment data between recent entrants and established staff suggested a general pattern whereby staff often began their careers in larger organizations but tended to move to smaller organizations as they gained experience. This was suggested by the fact that recent entrants were disproportionately employed in larger organizations-they constituted 46% of respondents who reported working in organizations with 51+ employees, but only 19% of those in smaller organizations ($p<.001$)-and that the average age of staff in smaller organizations (43) was significantly higher than in larger organizations (38) ($p<.01$). Sadly, but not surprisingly, recent entrants' connection to the workplace also appeared to be more tenuous: while they held a proportionate share of full-time jobs, they were overrepresented among those holding contract positions: they held 42% of contractual positions, but only 23% of ongoing positions ($p<.01$). The positions of recent entrants also appeared to be slightly, but significantly, more specialized as measured by the average number of types of tasks they perform in a typical week (7.1 versus 7.9 for those 30+ ($p<.05$)). Thus, recent entrants working in larger organizations would be well advised to network with more senior colleagues in smaller organizations to learn why they work in these organizations and, if the reasons prove desirable, how to prepare to obtain such positions.

Other comparisons suggested that people's priorities may change as they become more established in this sector. For instance, when asked why they found their current position attractive, recent entrants placed greater emphasis than established staff on characteristics related to *becoming established in the workforce* (training opportunities ($p<.05$), career opportunities ($p<.001$), job security ($p<.05$)), *gaining status and broadening experience* (greater prestige ($p<.01$), more staff responsibility ($p<.05$), work with new client group ($p<.05$)), as well as change of pace ($p<.05$) and good people to work with ($p<.001$). When asked about the importance of various skills and competencies to success in their positions, more established staff placed greater emphasis than recent entrants on skills and competencies related to *management and finance*: ability to hold effective meetings ($p<.05$), negotiation skills ($p<.001$), accounting, budgeting, financial management ($p<.05$), grant writing ($p<.001$), understanding the government context ($p<.001$), and understanding of nonprofit law/legal issues ($p<.05$). This comparison provides an excellent example of the value of looking over the horizon of the career arc. As Ban et al. observe, it is often the case that "people in nonprofits have backgrounds in social work, theology or humanities that do not provide them with adequate management skills" (2005, p. 149). With knowledge of the priorities of more established staff, students and recent entrants may accelerate their careers by taking courses or seeking experiences to help develop them earlier.

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[9] Age was used as a proxy for being established staff rather than position in the organization because the generally flat structure of these organizations makes it very difficult to determine a person's status from their job title.

There is No Such Thing as a "Job in an NGO"

Another important consideration for those contemplating careers in this sector is the actual types of occupations people fill. This section summarizes what the survey suggests about the range of occupations within the sector.

The sector maintains a variety of types of position.

The survey asked respondents for job titles (actual or descriptive) that indicate what they do in their present positions. These responses informed the creation of a typology of nine types of occupation in the sector (Table 6). Given the small numbers in some of the occupational groups, the percentages should only be treated as a general indicator of the relative size of the categories in the sector. If a distinction is made between core staff, whose occupations are closely related to the organization's defining mission, and support staff, who perform functions that are vital to the life of the organization as an organization, but involve skills that are not closely related to its defining mission (Internal Operations and Administrator/Executive Assistant), then a first observation is that core staff positions make up the overwhelming majority of occupations in the sector. Within core staff, Program Management, at 42%, was by far the largest type of occupation. This included job titles related to creating, managing, delivering, and promoting the organizations' programs. The next largest category was Executive Director (16%). While this proportion may seem large, it is less surprising once it is recalled that one third of respondents work for organizations with 1 to 10 employees. The Executive Director category was followed by Advocacy (11%) and a number of other core staff occupations clustered around 5-6%: Managing Youth, Volunteers, Campus Chapters, and/or Membership; Fundraising; Public Relations/ Communications; and Research.

Table 6: Top Three Functions Performed by Position Types

Type of Position	1st	2nd	3rd
Program Management/ Coordinating (42%)	Project Management	Providing Services to Clientele	Networking/ Liaising with Other NGOs
Executive Director (N=28)	Public Relations, Public Speaking, Public Advocacy	Project Management	Managing Employees
Advocacy/Outreach/ Public Engagement/ Education (11%)	Public Relations, Public Speaking, Public Advocacy	Networking/ Liaising with Other NGOs	Project Management
Management of Youth, Volunteers, Campus Chapters, or Membership (6%)	Project Management	Providing Services to Clients	Managing Volunteers/ Student or Local Chapters
Communications/ Media/Public Relations (6%)	Public Relations, Public Speaking, Public Advocacy	Project Management	Managing Volunteers/ Student or Local Chapters
Fundraising/ Development (6%)	Project Management	Fundraising (Other Than Grants)	Networking/ Liaising with Other NGOs
Research (5%)	Providing Services to Clients	Monitoring Human Rights Violations: Information Gathering, Research, and Documentation	Project Management
Internal Operations (4%)	Budgeting & Financial Management	Providing Services to Clients	Grant-Writing & Follow-Up
Administrator/ Executive Assistant (4%)	Providing Services to Clients	Budgeting & Financial Management	Fundraising (Other Than Grants)

To gain a general sense of the mix of functions associated with each occupation, answers to the question concerning the percentage of a typical week respondents devote to each of 11 functions were compared to produce Table 6 which shows the top three functions associated with each position category. While the functions, and especially their ranking, represented in Table 6 should be treated as illustrative rather than definitive, the take away point for students and their mentors should be that there is no such thing as a "job in a NGO." Rather, there are a wide range of specific occupations, each with its own mix of responsibilities and, thus, each suited to people with different temperaments, abilities, and skill sets. Students would be well advised to learn about these different positions and to avail themselves of low-risk opportunities to give them a trial run through student

clubs, volunteering, and internships. Students should also be aware that specialized courses and training programs exist to prepare them for many of these occupations, such as fundraising and development, event management, volunteer management.

Besides providing a very general basis for comparing NGO sector occupations, two other lessons can be drawn from Table 6. First, those considering careers in this sector would do well to seek opportunities to gain skills and experience in project management as this is the only function that is listed for all types of core staff. Second, students who presently lack skills related to management functions should not consider this an insurmountable barrier to entering the sector as these functions do not rank highly amongst the work performed by core staff. But, as noted in the comparison of recent entrants to more established staff, students should be advised to seek opportunities to develop such skills as soon as possible.

How Executive Directors Are Different

Students and recent entrants who hope to become executive directors will likely be interested to know what this survey indicated about executive directors. While NGO executive directors who responded to this survey (N=34) did not differ significantly from their colleagues with respect to the reasons they entered the sector, key differences did appear with respect to why they found their present positions attractive and the functions their positions require them to perform.

With respect to why they found their present positions attractive, the executive directors' responses differed from their colleagues' by placing significantly greater emphasis on "influence policy development" ($p<.01$), "access to decision making" ($p<.05$), and the more linear-career oriented characteristic, "more budget responsibility" ($p<.05$). Their colleagues, conversely, placed more emphasis on factors Driver (1980) has associated with the spiral career pattern: growth (training opportunities ($p<0.05$), and career opportunities ($p<0.05$)) and nurturance (good people to work with ($p<.05$), good management structure ($p<.05$)) as well as job security ($p<0.01$). To clarify, the point is not that these motivations ranked especially high for executive directors or their colleagues, but they did differ and the differences were statistically significant.

Regarding the work their positions required them to perform, executive directors' responses suggested that they spent more time performing management functions than their colleagues. In particular, executive directors indicated they spent statistically significantly more time performing the following functions: budgeting and financial management ($p<.001$), managing employees ($p<.001$), public relations, public speaking, and public advocacy ($p<.05$), and, less clearly related to management, fundraising (other than grants) ($p<.001$). The emphasis on management is reinforced by the one function executive directors indicated that they spent statistically significantly less time performing than their colleagues: providing services to clientele ($p<.01$). The emphasis on management is also reflected in the skills that executive directors placed significantly greater emphasis on than their colleagues. These related to management (entrepreneurship ($p<.001$), ability to manage human resources ($p<.01$), accounting, budgeting, financial management ($p<.001$) understanding nonprofit legal issues ($p<.001$)), representing the organization (public relations ($p<.05$), networking (public-private-nonprofit) ($p<.05$)), and fundraising (grant writing ($p<.001$), fundraising (other than grants) ($p<.001$)). The recurrence of fundraising supports Dolan's finding that fundraising and grant writing were the top two training needs identified by nonprofit executive directors he surveyed (2002, p. 281).

While it is not likely to come as a surprise that executive directors spend more time than their colleagues performing management functions and that they place greater emphasis on management skills, what may be surprising is how strikingly this sets them apart from their colleagues and the

spiral career pattern. The differences between the nature and requirements of executive directors' work and that of most other positions in the NGO sector raise two questions. First, why would someone who was attracted to a sector dominated by the spiral career pattern want to take on such a position? The survey had nothing to offer in answer to this question, but it seems reasonable to advise students and staff contemplating becoming executive directors to consider these differences carefully in light of their own interests and inclinations. Second, how can prospective executive directors develop the skills the position requires when these skills do not appear to be required to perform successfully in other positions within these organizations? While the survey did not address this second question directly, it allows consideration of how present executive directors may have prepared.

Suarez found that only 56% of the nonprofit leaders in his sample "had any management experience before assuming their current position" (2010, p. 701). On reflection, this is not surprising given the few opportunities to develop management experience that are likely to be found in a sector characterized by generally flat, non-hierarchical organizations. How then did many of them develop the skills required of executive directors? One possibility, education, is supported by the fact executive directors in this study's sample tended to be more highly educated than their colleagues: 74% of the executive directors held a post-BA credential compared to 53% of their colleagues ($p < 0.05$). The breakdown by highest credentials held was: PhD: 12%; MA: 35%; MBA: 9%; Other MA-level management degree: 6%; and post-grad diploma: 12%. This is very similar to what Suarez (2010), who only tracked advanced university credentials (MA, MBA, PhD, etc.), found in the San Francisco Bay area (p. 702). It is also worth noting that, while it has been suggested that business credentials are becoming more valued in the nonprofit sector (Murray, 2008), the results of this survey supported Suarez's (2010) observation "that management credentials generally have not been necessary for attaining a leadership position in the nonprofit sector" (p.701; Haas & Robinson, 1998, p. 356).

Another possibility is that they may have developed skills through prior experiences. This seems to be borne out by the fact that executive directors tended to have been employed in the sector longer than other staff (an average of 17 versus 11 years ($p < 0.001$)). They may also have developed useful skills through experience they gained working in other sectors. Since completing their most recent degree or diploma, 47% of the executive directors reported having worked in another sector: 32% in the for-profit sector, 32% in government, and 6% in unions. It seems likely that, had they been asked this question with regard to their entire careers, the percentages would have been even higher.

Those contemplating becoming executive directors in the NGO sector should realize that this will require developing many skills that are not otherwise highly valued in the sector and that they will likely have to look elsewhere – returning to school or working for a time in another sector – to develop these skills.

The Role of Gender

This final section discusses three observations that the data suggested about the role of gender in the sector: increasing feminization; a disproportionate number of male executive directors; and a relative openness to women seeking leadership positions.

The workforce appears to be becoming increasingly feminized.

It is well known that workers in this sector are predominantly female: 71% of respondents to this survey were women; Almond and Kendall (2000) reported a figure of 67% for the United Kingdom (p. 216); Onyx and Maclean cited a 70% to 80% figure for the United States and reported 79% for their Australia sample (1996, p. 336). What may be surprising is that analysis of this study's data suggested that the proportion of women may be increasing: while 65% of those aged 30+ were women (a ratio of almost two-to-one), this was true of 86% of those in their twenties (a ratio of more than four-to-one) (p<.01). This finding suggests a need for more research, both to determine if the pattern suggested here holds up more broadly and, if it does, to determine why it is occurring since it is consistent with both the possibility that fewer young men are entering the sector than in the past and that women are leaving the sector at disproportionately higher rates than men as they age.

Women are proportionately underrepresented among executive directors.

For a sector whose workers are 70% to 80% female, women represent a surprisingly small percentage of those holding top executive positions: this study found they held 50% of the positions; Suarez (2010) reported figures of 66% for the United States nationally and 54% for his sample from the San Francisco Bay Area (p.700); and a recent report from the United Kingdom suggested that women hold only 25% of senior officer positions at the largest charitable organizations (Jarboe, 2012).[10] Not only did this study find that 1 in 4 male respondents were executive directors compared to only 1 in 10 female respondents (p<0.01), but analysis of the data also suggested that this situation does not appear to be improving: when executive directors aged 50 and over were compared to those under 50, males turned out to be more overrepresented among executive directors in the younger cohort (16% are executive directors compared to 5% of females) than amongst those aged 50+ (38% versus 22%). The word *appear* is used advisedly above since while this finding may reflect an increase in male overrepresentation, it is also consistent with what could be a static pattern of women moving into leadership roles later in their career than men.

While this finding requires further research, analysis of the present data suggested some avenues for further study. The overrepresentation of males among executive directors does not appear to be explained by differences in educational backgrounds: the survey revealed no statistically significant difference between males and females regarding post-BA credentials. Nor did the survey provide any support for the possibility that men are treated preferentially: there were no statistically significant differences between rates at which men and women were employed full- versus part-time or between those employed on an ongoing versus contractual basis. Differences between men and women's prior experience in other sectors appears more promising, but the difference found in this survey (44% of men had such experience compared to 34% of women) was not statistically significant. A final possibility is that, on average, the men and women who are attracted to work in the sector differ in their motivations and attitudes to the functions required by their work in ways that lead disproportionately more men to seek and retain executive director positions. Since the present study was not designed to explore this question, the meaning of the gender differences it reveals with respect to attitudinal questions is not obvious: while men placed greater emphasis than women on the opportunity to "influence policy development" as a reason for finding their present position attractive (p<.05) and on "entrepreneurship" as a skill they considered

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[10] The report's focus on the largest organizations likely underrepresents the percentage of women executive directors for the sector as a whole since Harrow and Mole (2005) found that the proportion of male executive directors increase as organization size increases (p. 86).

important to success in their position (p<.05), women placed greater emphasis than men on ability to work with a team (p<.05), interpersonal skills (p<.05), and ability to work with the unknown (p<.05) as important to success in their positions. Clearly there is more here to be learned and the approach taken in this survey suggests some useful ways to set about it.

Nevertheless, the NGO sector is a promising destination for women seeking leadership opportunities.

While the 50% representation of women among executive directors appears low when compared to their 71% representation among respondents, it actually compares favourably with other sectors. For instance, in Canada in 2012, the nonprofit organization Catalyst reported that women held only 18% of senior officer positions among the Financial Post 500 leading for-profit companies and only 27% of such positions in Crown corporations (Catalyst, 2013, p. 1). Recent statistics for the United Kingdom have suggested a similar comparison between large charitable and large for-profit organizations (25% versus 4%) (Jarboe, 2012). Thus, while the news is not all good, the study did suggest that for young women seeking opportunities to attain top leadership positions in their chosen careers, the nonprofit sector offers relatively better opportunities than the for-profit sector.

Conclusion

This article began by noting a problem faced by many faculty members involved in various forms of global citizenship education: once we have inspired students to care about global justice and to desire to act upon it, students often come to us seeking advice about career choices in sectors in which we have little or no personal experience. By discussing findings from a survey of staff working in one of the sectors many of our students are likely to work in – the nonprofit/NGO sector – this article has gone some distance toward addressing this problem and, one hopes, demonstrating the value of research that adopts the perspective of students and their mentors with the aim of helping them gain a view over the horizon of prospective career arcs.

As an attempt to respond to a perceived need, the snapshot of the NGO sector career arc that has been developed here should help facilitate better advice and more informed decision-making about career choices and career preparation. It has provided much for those contemplating careers in the sector to consider: the value of active participation in student clubs, volunteering and service learning courses; examples of what the spiral career pattern means in practice and why people enjoy it; evidence of the openness of the sector to late interest-takers, to those whose highest credential is a BA, to those presently lacking management   skills, and to women seeking leadership opportunities, but also evidence of the need to obtain further educational credentials and to develop management and financial skills over time, especially if one hopes to become an executive director; examples of the various types of position that the sector offers and encouragement to gain knowledge of them early and to identify specific educational and other opportunities to prepare for them. In addition to this, for those who find themselves mentoring students, the article has provided evidence to back up their advice based on the experience of those who work in the sector.

As social science research, the study has both affirmed much that has been noted in the existing literature and added to it incrementally in several ways: by asking staff and executive directors about their pre-career experiences, directly soliciting opinions about the value of various educational credentials and extracurricular experiences; by providing a rudimentary typology of positions in the NGO workplace; and by identifying key differences between executive directors

and other staff. The study also raises questions, the answers to which would further enhance our ability to mentor students and staff. Some were noted above concerning trends related to gender. Focusing as it did on people currently employed in the sector, the survey also left unanswered other questions about the career arc, the answers to which would be of great interest to students and their mentors: why do people leave the sector?; what are the typical ages and stages at which they leave?; where do they go?

If part of what we do as professors and teachers is motivate students to want to be good global citizens, then we also take on an obligation to provide them with good answers when they ask what to do next. A career in the NGO sector is one of the most obvious choices for students seeking to put their concern for global justice and sense of responsibility into practice. This article, it is hoped, has gone some way toward helping the reader prepare to answer student questions. It has also shown that there is much more to be discovered, documented, and shared.

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Intentional Worlds and Global Citizenship

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ABSTRACT: We examine the influence of students' understanding of intentional worlds on antecedents, identification, and outcomes of global citizenship. The intentional worlds scale contains four dimensions (cultural grounding of psychological experience, culture as socially constructed, dynamic construction of culture, and subjective experience of reality) that load on a higher-order latent construct representing a belief in intentional worlds. The belief in intentional worlds predicts antecedents (normative environment, global awareness), antecedents predict global citizenship identification, and identification with global citizens predicts prosocial outcomes (intergroup empathy, valuing diversity, social justice, environmental sustainability, intergroup helping, responsibility to act). Overall, the results show that a greater understanding of culture as fluid and dynamic predicts greater global citizenship identification.

Psychologists have long contemplated and examined the interplay between cultures and individuals (see Oishi & Graham, 2010; Shweder & Sullivan, 1993). In his treatise of cultural psychology, Richard Shweder (1990) defines the discipline as the study of intentional worlds. Intentional worlds are described as meaning-filled sociocultural settings constructed by prior generations that influence, and are influenced by, individuals inhabiting those environments. Sociocultural settings are meaning-filled because they contain mental representations (e.g., beliefs, desires, emotions) from people inhabiting those environments. Because culture shapes people, and people shape culture, the two are inextricably linked and are mutually constituted in a dialectical relationship. To simplify, and for the purpose of the present paper, Shweder's main points about culture as intentional worlds include: (1) intentional worlds are filled with cultural patterns inherited from prior generations, (2) the worlds are subjectively experienced as reality, (3) intentional worlds direct and shape human experience, and (4) individuals actively facilitate, repress, and transform the cultural stuff that makes up the intentional world. In the present paper we examine the influence of belief in intentional worlds on antecedents and outcomes of global citizenship identification.

The dialectical relationship between psychological processes and culture has been elaborated on in subsequent discussions of the mutual constitution of mind and psyche (e.g., Fiske, Kitayama, Markus, & Nisbett, 1998) and the patterns view of culture (e.g., Adams & Markus, 2004). Although the concept of mutual constitution and patterns view of culture are consistent with the notion of intentional worlds, the researchers highlight the two halves of the mutually constituted relationship. The first half of the dialectical relationship (i.e., culture influences individual) posits that individuals inhabit socially constructed and historically evolved everyday worlds that afford particular cultural patterns (e.g., social representations, identities, beliefs, values, norms, habits, motivation, desires) that provide scaffolding for experience and direct behavior toward collectively desired ends (Adams, Salter, Pickett, Kurtis, & Phillips, 2010). In other words, psychological experience is culturally grounded (Adams & Markus, 2004), or stated differently, psychological experience is culturally constituted (Adams, 2012). The second half of the dialectical relationship (i.e., individual influences culture) posits that individuals actively select cultural patterns that they reproduce, modify, or reject and through everyday actions inscribe patterns back in the intentional world (Adams et al., 2010). In other words, cultural worlds are dynamically constructed (Adams & Markus, 2004), or stated differently, intentional worlds are psychologically constituted (Adams, 2012).

Understanding Culture

A recent trend in organizational psychology is the examination of cultural intelligence or cultural competency. Openness to new experiences and exposure to other cultures (e.g., travel abroad) predict greater cultural intelligence, and outcomes include greater sociocultural and psychological adjustment when traveling, less emotional exhaustion, greater interpersonal trust and cooperation when working with diverse others, and greater ability to adapt and work effectively in international contexts (see Ng, Van Dyne, & Ang, 2012). The research examining cultural intelligence thus far indicates that the perception of one's knowledge of culture has an impact on how individuals view the world and work within that world. However, the most popular measure of cultural intelligence fails to assess respondents' perspective of culture. Individuals may view culture as a monolithic entity or as intentional worlds and report similar scores with respect to their degree of cultural intelligence.

Belief in, or understanding of, intentional worlds may relate to how individuals perceive the world and others in the world. For example, Adams and Markus (2004) detail the negative outcomes of viewing culture from an entity perspective (e.g., greater tendency to stereotype, homogenize, essentialize, and reify social categories) versus viewing culture from a patterns perspective (e.g., patterns are implicit and explicit, historically derived and selected, mental and material, and culture and psyche are mutually constituted). The patterns view of culture is reminiscent of the concept of intentional worlds and is purported to reduce the likelihood of reifying and stereotyping others. Indeed, Shweder (2000) asserts that holding the "correct" perspective of culture can reduce the negative outcomes of viewing differences between people in the globalized and multicultural world. In effect, viewing the world through an intentional worlds lens may influence the perception of the self and others in the world.

Although indirectly, Adams, Edkins, Lacka, Pickett, and Cheryan (2008) provide evidence for the notion that viewing everyday issues through an intentional worlds lens has important implications for the perception of racism. Adams and colleagues presented White college students with tutorials regarding racism reflecting topics from mainstream psychology textbooks, a sociocultural account (with an emphasis on mutual constitution and intentional worlds), or no

tutorial was presented. Students exposed to the sociocultural tutorial were less likely to perceive racism as originating from individual biases and more likely to perceive racism as systemic than students in the other conditions. Thus, educating students about racism from a sociocultural approach (derived from an understanding of mutual constitution and intentional worlds) led students to perceive racism as more systemically based than those who were presented with current mainstream presentations of racism or no presentation. Although viewing events through an intentional worlds perspective is related to a lower likelihood of viewing individuals as causal agents of racism, awareness or belief in culture as intentional worlds may have other positive outcomes such as engendering greater global citizenship identification.

Global Citizenship

The increasing globalization and interconnectedness of the world affords individuals the opportunity to construct or self-identify with more inclusive superordinate social categories (Arnett, 2002). One such identity — global citizen — is defined as awareness, caring, embracing cultural diversity, promoting social justice and sustainability, and a sense of responsibility to act (Reysen, Larey, & Katzarska-Miller, 2012). Recent empirical research conducted by Reysen and Katzarska-Miller (2013a), shows that greater identification, or psychological connection, with global citizens predicts greater endorsement of prosocial values, including intergroup empathy (felt connection and concern for people outside one's ingroup), valuing diversity (appreciation and interest of diverse cultures), social justice (endorsement of human rights and equitable treatment of others), environmental sustainability (concern for and connection to the natural environment), intergroup helping (desire to aid others outside one's ingroup), and a responsibility to act (felt duty to act for the betterment of the world). The results are consistent with a social identity perspective (Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987), as greater identification with the group global citizen predicted greater adherence to the group's content or meaning (i.e., prosocial values). Antecedents to global citizenship identification include the perception that valued others (e.g., friends, family) in one's normative environment prescribe being a global citizen and one's perceived global awareness (knowledge of and connection to the world).

Theoretical discussions often highlight global awareness as an antecedent to global citizenship (Hanvey, 1976; Haydon, 2006; Schattle, 2008; Walkington, 1999). For example, Hanvey (1976) described increasing levels of global and cultural awareness as a template to explain individuals' evolution to taking a global perspective. Hanvey posits that individuals start with (1) an awareness that others differ in their view of the world (and the other's view is shaped by unknown influences), leading to (2) greater factual knowledge of the world, which leads to (3) greater cross-cultural awareness and the ability to empathize with others, and finally (4) an increasing understanding of the underlying systems of global dynamics. It is at this higher level of awareness that Hanvey suggests individuals are able to understand that the world is complex, interconnected, culturally constituted, historically evolved, and humans have choices in the construction of future global patterns. Although not explicitly stated, the higher levels of global awareness, or global consciousness, are similar to an understanding of intentional worlds. In effect, the awareness of global dynamics and human choice that lead to a global perspective may reflect a greater understanding of culture, and more specifically an understanding of intentional worlds.

Understanding or belief in the dynamic nature of intentional worlds may reflect a more holistic perception of the world. For example, global citizenship education proponents (Pike, 2008; Selby, 1999; Young, 2010) stress the importance of teaching students to view the dynamic interconnectedness of relations in the world to engender global citizenship. The concept of intentional worlds is reminiscent of this worldview that is purported to engender global citizenship.

A greater understanding of intentional worlds may therefore reflect greater global awareness and subsequently influence one's identification with global citizens.

Current Study

The purpose of the present study is to examine the influence of a belief in intentional worlds on antecedents, identification, and outcomes of global citizenship. Prior research (Reysen & Katzarska-Miller, 2013a) shows that one's normative environment and global awareness predict global citizenship identification, and global citizenship identification, in turn, predicts endorsement of prosocial values. Research has begun to show that cultural competency has beneficial outcomes such as positive interpersonal relations, effective intercultural work practices (Ng et al., 2012), and reduced likelihood of locating racism in biased individuals (Adams et al., 2008). In line with suggestions from global citizenship education theorists (e.g., Hanvey, 1976; Haydon, 2006; Pike, 2008; Selby, 1999; Young, 2010) understanding the dynamic nature of culture may lead to greater global awareness. Therefore, the belief in intentional worlds (i.e., socially constructed and inherited, subjectively experienced as reality, culture shapes individuals, and individuals shape culture) may predict greater awareness of the world and one's interconnectedness to others in the world.

To test this notion, we administered measures of belief in intentional worlds and antecedents, identification, and outcomes of global citizenship to a sample of university students. Because there are no published intentional worlds scales, we used the present study as an opportunity to construct such a measure. Based on prior theorizing regarding intentional worlds (Shweder, 1990), mutual constitution (Fiske et al., 1998), and the patterns perspective of culture (Adams & Markus, 2004), we expect the construct of belief in intentional worlds to be comprised of four factors reflecting the belief that culture is (1) socially constructed and inherited, (2) subjectively experienced as reality, (3) conditions and shapes individuals, and (4) reciprocally shaped by individuals embedded in those worlds. Furthermore, based on prior discussion of global citizenship education (e.g., Hanvey, 1976; Pike, 2008; Selby, 1999; Young, 2010) we predict that a greater belief in intentional worlds (i.e., understanding of dynamic cultural interrelationships) will predict greater perceived global awareness. However, we are unsure whether a belief in intentional worlds will influence the perception of one's normative environment as prescribing global citizenship. The moderately strong relationship between normative environment and global awareness reported by Reysen and Katzarska-Miller (2013a) suggests that the belief in intentional worlds may increase the salience of others in one's normative environment as valuing the identity. Lastly, we expect to replicate the prior structural model of antecedents and outcomes of global citizenship identification shown in prior research.

Method

Participants and Design

Participants ($N = 815$, 58.7% women; $M_{age} = 28.30$, $SD = 9.37$) received partial course credit or extra credit toward their college course at Texas A&M University-Commerce. Students from a variety of college courses (e.g., psychology, political science, anthropology, marketing, English, business, sociology) were solicited to participate in the present study, constituting a convenience sample. Participants completed measures regarding global citizenship, belief in intentional worlds, and demographic items. With the exception of demographic information, all items utilized a 7-point Likert-type scale, from 1 = *strongly disagree* to 7 = *strongly agree*.

Measures

Global citizenship.

We adopted 22 items from prior research (Reysen & Katzarska-Miller, 2013a; Reysen et al., 2012) to assess antecedents, identification, and outcomes of global citizenship. Four items (e.g., "My friends think that being a global citizen is desirable") assessed the perception that others in one's normative environment valued being a global citizen ($\alpha = .90$, for a review of Cronbach's alpha as a measure of scale reliability see DeVellis, 1991). Four items (e.g., "I understand how various cultures of this world interact socially") assessed global awareness ($\alpha = .80$). Two items (e.g., "I strongly identify with global citizens") assessed global citizenship identification ($\alpha = .91$). Two items (e.g., "I am able to empathize with people from other countries") assessed intergroup empathy ($\alpha = .77$). Two items (e.g., "I am interested in learning about the many cultures that have existed in this world") assessed valuing diversity ($\alpha = .83$). Two items (e.g., "Those countries that are well off should help people in countries who are less fortunate") assessed social justice ($\alpha = .70$). Two items (e.g., "People have a responsibility to conserve natural resources to foster a sustainable environment") assessed environmental sustainability ($\alpha = .77$). Two items (e.g., "If I could, I would dedicate my life to helping others no matter what country they are from") assessed intergroup helping ($\alpha = .73$). Lastly, two items (e.g., "Being actively involved in global issues is my responsibility") assessed responsibility to act ($\alpha = .81$).

Intentional worlds.

An initial pool of 53 items was constructed that reflected prior descriptions of intentional worlds (e.g., Shweder, 1990; Adams et al., 2010). Additionally, participants indicated what cultural space they were referencing while completing the measure. Participants indicated thinking about American culture ($n = 441$, 54.1%), multiple national cultures ($n = 139$, 17.1%), cultures related to ethnicity ($n = 108$, 13.3%), a non-US national culture ($n = 83$, 10.2%), and various other regional (e.g., southern US) or religious cultures ($n = 44$, 5.4%).

Results

Intentional Worlds Scale Construction

Because no measures exist to assess the extent to which individuals endorse or believe in intentional worlds, we examined the factor structure of the 53 items. To reduce possible gender bias in the final measure, we first conducted *t*-tests on each item and omitted items that showed significant gender differences (17 items omitted). To reduce possible differences in the final measure due to participants referencing different cultures (e.g., US vs. multiple cultures) we omitted items that showed significant differences between the culture that participants considered (4 items omitted). The remaining 32 items were examined in a series of principal components analyses. Both orthogonal and oblique rotations indicated that a four-factor solution best fit the data (see Table 1 for items and factor loadings). Factor One, "Cultural Grounding," contained items related to the influence of culture on individuals (eigenvalue = 4.99, 41.59% variance, $\alpha = .80$). Factor Two, "Social Construction," included items related to the social construction of intentional worlds (eigenvalue = 1.18, 9.85% variance, $\alpha = .78$). Factor Three, "Dynamic Construction," contained items related to one's perceived agency to modify and change culture (eigenvalue = 1.11, 9.28% variance, $\alpha = .77$). Factor Four, "Subjective Experience," contained items related to the

subjective experience of culture as reality (eigenvalue = 1.04, 8.64% variance, α = .74). Due to the high percentage of variance accounted for by the first factor and the scree plot suggesting a one-factor solution, we next examined the measurement model of the scale with the prediction that the four components will load on a higher-order latent factor representing belief in intentional worlds (for a review of measurement models see Kline, 2005).

Competing Measurement Models

We examined potential measurement models with Amos 19. Model One tested whether all the items loaded on a single factor representing belief in intentional worlds. Model Two tested whether the four components identified in the prior principal components analysis showed appropriate fit. Model Three tested whether the four components identified in the prior analyses loaded on a higher order latent variable representing belief in intentional worlds. As shown in Table 2, the lowest AIC and ECVI scores indicted that the four components loaded on a single higher order latent factor. The final model showed appropriate factor loadings on the four components and the components loaded on the second-order factor (i.e., belief in intentional worlds). The standardized beta factor loadings for the final belief in intentional worlds scale are shown in Figure 1.

Intentional Worlds and Global Citizenship

To examine the association between the components of belief in intentional worlds and antecedents, identification, and outcomes of global citizenship we conducted zero-order correlations. As shown in Table 3, each subscale of the intentional worlds scale was significantly positively correlated with the global citizen variables. To test the influence of participants' belief in intentional worlds on antecedents, identification, and outcomes of global citizenship, we conducted a structural equation model using Amos 19 (bias-corrected bootstrapping, 5,000 iterations, 95% confidence intervals). Due to the related nature of the prosocial values to one another (and the antecedents to one another), we allowed the disturbance terms for these sets of variables to covary. Two error terms for global awareness items were allowed to covary. We evaluated model fit using the normed fit index (NFI) and the comparative fit index (CFI), for which values greater than .90 are acceptable (Hu & Bentler, 1995). Following Browne and Cudeck (1993), we set the root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA) value of .08 as an acceptable level.

Items loaded well on each of the factors, including cultural grounding (.72 to .79), social construction (.67 to .82), dynamic construction (.67 to .79), subjective experience (.51 to .84), normative environment (.79 to .86), global awareness (.51 to .91), global citizenship identification (.91, .92), intergroup empathy (.71, .88), valuing diversity (.84, .86), social justice (.70, .76), environmental sustainability (.74, .85), intergroup helping (.75, .80), and responsibility to act (.78, .87). The predicted model adequately fit the data, $\chi^2(496)$ = 1507.67, p < .001; RMSEA = .050, CI{.047; .053}, NFI = .903, CFI = .932.

As shown in Figure 2, cultural grounding (β = .82, p = .001, CI = .739 to .877), social construction (β = .77, p = .001, CI = .677 to .841), dynamic construction (β = .75, p < .001, CI = .684 to .812), and subjective experience (β = .74, p = .001, CI = .668 to .798) loaded on the belief in intentional worlds latent variable. The belief in intentional worlds predicted normative environment (β = .38, p < .001, CI = .294 to .456) and global awareness (β = .52, p < .001, CI = .436 to .592). Normative environment (β = .58, p < .001, CI = .506 to .653) and global awareness (β = .37, p < .001, CI = .292 to .450) predicted global citizenship identification. Global citizenship identification predicted intergroup empathy (β = .73, p < .001, CI = .664 to .780), valuing diversity (β = .64, p <

.001, CI = .587 to .698), social justice (β = .46, *p* < .001, CI = .378 to .541), environmental sustainability (β = .48, *p* < .001, CI = .413 to .548), intergroup helping (β = .46, *p* < .001, CI = .378 to .532), and felt responsibility to act (β = .70, *p* < .001, CI = .636 to .753).

The indirect effect of belief in intentional worlds was reliably carried by normative environment and global awareness on students' identification with global citizens (see Table 2 for standardized betas of indirect effects and 95% bias-corrected confidence intervals; all indirect effects were significant at *p* < .001 two-tailed). The belief in intentional worlds also significantly predicted greater prosocial values through normative environment, global awareness, and global citizenship identification. The influence of normative environment and global awareness on prosocial values (e.g., social justice) was reliably carried by global citizenship identification. In effect, participants' belief in intentional worlds predicts greater normative environment and global awareness which then predicts greater identification with global citizens and subsequent endorsement of prosocial values.

Discussion

The purpose of the present study was to examine the influence of a belief in intentional worlds on antecedents, identification, and outcomes of global citizenship. We hypothesized, and found, that the intentional worlds scale included four dimensions: (1) psychological experience is culturally grounded, (2) culture is socially constructed and inherited, (3) culture is dynamically constructed, and (4) everyday experience of reality is subjective. Second, we hypothesized that a greater belief in intentional worlds would predict greater global awareness. This hypothesis was supported as participants' belief in intentional worlds predicted global awareness, as well as, participants' perception that their normative environment prescribes being a global citizen. Third, we hypothesized, that the results would replicate Reysen and Katzarska-Miller's (2013a) model of antecedents and outcomes of global citizenship identification. As expected, the antecedents predicted identification, and identification, in turn, predicted prosocial values. Overall, the results support the notion that endorsing the dynamic understanding of culture as intentional worlds predicts greater global citizenship identification and prosocial values.

Global Citizenship

Prior research (Reysen et al., 2012; Reysen & Katzarska-Miller, 2013a) shows that one's normative environment and perceived global awareness predict greater identification with global citizens, and global citizenship identification predicts greater endorsement of prosocial values (intergroup empathy, valuing diversity, social justice, environmental sustainability, intergroup helping, responsibility to act). The present results replicate the structural model of antecedents and outcomes of global citizenship identification. Although the concept of global citizenship may appear ambiguous due to the variety of perspectives (e.g., education, psychology, political science) from which theorists discuss and debate the concept (Reysen et al., 2013a), the results of the present study point to a consistent associative pattern of global citizenship identification mediating the relationship between antecedents and outcomes. Following the theoretical framework of social identity perspective (Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Turner et al., 1987), when global citizen identity is salient, the more individuals experience a connection with the group the more they will adhere to the normative patterns reflecting the meaning of the group (i.e., prosocial values and behaviors). The model also highlights the antecedents to viewing the self as a global citizen.

In the present research, global awareness (perceived knowledge of the world and one's interconnectedness with others in the world) and one's normative environment (valued others prescribe global citizen identity) directly predict the degree to which individuals view the self as a global citizen. However, aspects of one's sociocultural settings that are associated with one's normative environment and global awareness remain largely unexplored. Recent research shows that participating in college courses infused with global curriculum increases one's global awareness (Reysen et al., 2012). Greater factual knowledge about the world predicts normative environment and global awareness (Reysen, Katzarska-Miller, Gibson, & Hobson, 2013). Furthermore, participating in social groups that prescribe a global citizen identity predicts normative environment and global awareness (Plante, Roberts, Reysen, & Gerbasi, in press). However, a variety of educational techniques and informal social interactions outside of traditional instruction (e.g., study abroad, model UN, examining subject matter from different perspectives) may enhance students' degree of identification with global citizens (for a review of global citizenship within educational settings see Reysen & Katzarska-Miller, 2013b). Following suggestions from global citizenship education theorists (Pike, 2008; Selby, 1999; Young, 2010), the present study examined whether understanding or endorsing the belief that culture functions as intentional worlds (e.g., culture is dynamic and interconnected) predicts global citizenship antecedents.

Belief in Intentional Worlds

The perception that one is culturally competent is related to a number of beneficial outcomes (Ng et al., 2012). Yet, one's understanding of culture can vary from a reified nationalistic view to viewing culture as fluid and dynamic (Adams & Markus, 2004). One's perception of culture may influence how one views the world (Shweder, 2000). For example, taking a sociocultural (e.g., intentional worlds) view of racism leads to understanding the phenomenon as systemically based rather than locating racism in individuals' minds (Adams et al., 2008). The concept of intentional worlds (Shweder, 1990), together with later conceptualizations of mutual constitution (Fiske et al., 1998) and patterns view of culture (Adams & Markus, 2004), describe culture as (1) socially constructed and inherited, (2) subjectively experienced as reality, (3) conditioning individuals at one moment, and (4) dynamically constructed by individuals embedded in that culture.

Due to lack of measurement tools to assess endorsement of culture as intentional worlds, the present results offer initial evidence of a factor structure and predictive validity for the intentional worlds scale. Distinct from prior cultural competence measures (see Ng et al., 2012), the intentional worlds scale assesses participants' degree of understanding culture from a patterns perspective. After removing potentially gender and reference-culture biased items, the final measure showed four dimensions loading on a single higher-order latent variable. The four dimensions reflect the four main components of a belief in intentional worlds. The first factor, "Cultural Grounding," taps the belief that psychological experience is culturally grounded (i.e., culture shapes people). The second factor, "Social Construction," taps the belief that cultures are socially constructed by prior generations of human actors. The third factor, "Dynamic Construction," taps the belief that individuals have agency to reject, modify, or appropriate aspects of culture that then dynamically construct culture. The fourth factor, "Subjective Experience," taps the belief that one's experience of reality is subjective and that others' realities differ from one's own. We suggest that higher scores on the belief in intentional worlds scale represent a greater understanding or belief of culture as fluid, dynamic, subjective, evolved, and mutually constituted with individuals embedded in that culture.

Based on the notion that an understanding of the dynamic and interconnected nature of the world leads to greater global citizenship (Pike, 2008; Selby, 1999; Young, 2010), and the apparent overlap between descriptions of global awareness with the concept of intentional worlds (e.g., Hanvey, 1976; Haydon, 2006), we examined the influence of a belief in intentional worlds on antecedents, identification, and outcomes of global citizenship. The results of the present study show that individuals who express a greater belief in culture as intentional worlds view valued others in their normative environment as prescribing a global citizen identity and perceive one as globally aware (i.e., knowledge about and connected to others in the world). Furthermore, the belief in intentional worlds indirectly predicted greater global citizenship through the antecedents, and predicted endorsement of prosocial values through the antecedents and global citizenship identification. The results support calls (e.g., Young, 2010) for global citizenship education to highlight the dynamic nature of culture and the world's interconnectedness. Based on the present results, perhaps requiring greater instruction to teach students about culture is advisable. Understanding or viewing the plurality of cultures through an intentional world lens predicts greater global awareness and perception of a supportive normative environment, global citizenship identification, and endorsement of prosocial values and behaviors.

Limitations

The present study is limited with respect to the generalizability of the results. Participants included college students at a single university. The results may differ for participants embedded in other cultural settings or from other populations (e.g., older adults). However, prior research in other cultural spaces suggests that the associations between global citizenship identification and prosocial values are relatively consistent across diverse samples (Katzarska-Miller, Reysen, Kamble, & Vithoji, 2012). The current results are correlational. Thus, it is impossible to determine whether a belief in intentional worlds leads to changes in global citizenship or whether, conversely, identification with global citizens leads to a belief in intentional worlds. Further research is needed that experimentally manipulates participants' belief in intentional worlds and assesses changes in degree of global citizenship identification. The present results may not be ecologically valid. Further research examining real world situations (e.g., helping behavior) would be fruitful. We used Cronbach's alpha to calculate the reliability of the measures in the present studies. Although this is most common indicator of reliability, the statistic may not be the most reliable measure for ordinal items (Gadermann, Guhn, & Zumbo, 2012). Similarly, caution is warranted in interpreting the amount of variance accounted for with principle components analysis (Costello & Osborne, 2005).

Additionally, the present results provide only initial evidence of the factor structure and convergent validity of the belief in intentional worlds scale. A confirmatory factor analysis with a second participant sample is needed to examine the reliability of the factor structure and associations with similar and dissimilar constructs. For example, the belief in intentional worlds should be related to greater appreciation for cultural diversity, cultural intelligence, and endorsement of the notion of concepts such as White privilege. Lastly, although the present results replicate prior research (Plante et al., in press; Reysen et al., 2013; Reysen & Katzarska-Miller, 2013a; Reysen et al., 2012) examining the structural model of antecedents and outcomes of global citizenship identification, there may exist unmeasured variables that are not currently included in the structural model.

Conclusion

The present study examined the belief in intentional worlds on antecedents, identification, and outcomes of global citizenship. A greater belief in intentional worlds predicted viewing valued others in one's normative environment as prescribing a global citizen identity and one's self as globally aware. Normative environment and global awareness (antecedents) predicted greater global citizenship identification, and identification predicted greater endorsement of intergroup empathy, valuing diversity, social justice, environmental sustainability, intergroup helping, and felt responsibility to act for the betterment of the world (outcomes). The belief in intentional worlds predicted global citizenship identification through the antecedents and endorsement of prosocial values through the antecedents and global citizenship identification. Together, the results support greater educational focus on the dynamic and interconnected nature of the world to engender global citizenship identification and subsequently influence individuals' prosocial values and behaviors.

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Table 1 Factor Loadings for Exploratory Principal Components Analysis with Varimax Rotation of Intentional Worlds Scale

Item	Factor Loadings			
	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4
Item 1: What people think of as essentially "them" is a reflection of what their culture values and desires.	**.815**	.104	.175	.208
Item 2: By engaging in everyday behaviors people are reinforcing the behaviors that are desired by my culture.	**.767**	.238	.177	.117
Item 3: People in one's culture value certain behaviors that other people reproduce in everyday interactions.	**.751**	.216	.197	.236
Item 4: National identity is created by previous generations of people.	.156	**.817**	.097	.159
Item 5: Prior generations of people have unknowingly constructed a world that is full of patterns of behavior.	.168	**.770**	.161	.116
Item 6: People live in culturally created worlds that prior generations of people have built.	.201	**.748**	.214	.250
Item 7: People do not simply do what their culture tells them to; they have the ability to change their culture.	.076	.180	**.816**	.167
Item 8: People's everyday actions can influence others and modify the culture.	.261	.163	**.795**	.088
Item 9: People can pick and choose what aspects of their culture they enact in their daily lives.	.207	.112	**.717**	.225
Item 10: An individual's subjective experience of reality differs from everyone else's experience of the world.	.242	.194	.150	**.796**
Item 11: Everyone inhabits different cultures and has different views of the world.	.224	.146	.157	**.795**
Item 12: There is no such thing as "objective reality" because everyone experiences the world differently.	.077	.150	.150	**.681**

Note: Final solution. Factor 1 = "Cultural Grounding," Factor 2 = "Social Construction," Factor 3 = "Dynamic Construction," Factor 4 = "Subjective Experience."

Table 2 Fit of Competing Measurement Models of Belief in Intentional Worlds

Model	Model Fit Statistics					
	χ^2 **(df)**	**CFI**	**NFI**	**RMSEA{90% CI}**	**AIC**	**ECVI{90% CI}**
Model One: Single Component	916.82 (54)	.762	.751	.140{.132, .148}	964.82	1.19{1.07, 1.31}
Model Two: Four Components	97.54 (48)	.986	.974	.036{.025, .046}	157.54	.194{.164, .233}
Model Three: Four Components/One Dimension	99.02 (50)	.986	.973	.035{.025, .045}	155.02	.190{.160, .230}

Note: Model Three is the predicted model with four components loading on a higher order single latent factor.

Table 3 Means (Standard Deviation) and Correlations between Belief in Intentional Worlds and Global Citizenship

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1. Cultural Grounding	1.0	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
2. Social Construction	.48	1.0	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
3. Dynamic Construction	.49	.44	1.0	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
4. Subjective Experience	.50	.46	.44	1.0	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
5. Normative Environment	.26	.22	.27	.24	1.0	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
6. Global Awareness	.35	.37	.37	.32	.41	1.0	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
7. Global Citizen ID	.27	.22	.28	.24	.68	.62	1.0	--	--	--	--	--	--
8. Intergroup Empathy	.28	.32	.32	.32	.42	.54	.59	1.0	--	--	--	--	--
9. Value Diversity	.25	.30	.27	.28	.43	.53	.55	.52	1.0	--	--	--	--
10. Social Justice	.28	.35	.32	.36	.34	.37	.35	.38	.50	1.0	--	--	--
11. Environmentalism	.30	.40	.32	.40	.33	.36	.39	.36	.45	.58	1.0	--	--
12. Intergroup Helping	.24	.31	.29	.30	.34	.36	.39	.39	.54	.57	.56	1.0	--
13. Responsibility to Act	.32	.38	.36	.34	.45	.57	.58	.50	.61	.51	.55	.62	1.0
Mean	5.01	5.31	5.11	5.44	4.79	5.10	4.68	5.02	5.38	5.77	5.77	5.71	5.31
Standard Deviation	0.94	0.93	1.01	0.96	1.20	1.08	1.36	1.27	1.22	1.11	1.12	1.17	1.22

Note: Correlations are significant at $p < .001$

Table 4 Indirect Effects of Syllabi Global Citizen Word Count, Normative Environment, and Global Awareness

Variable	Intentional Worlds Indirect CI$_{Lower}$ CI$_{Upper}$			Normative Environment Indirect CI$_{Lower}$ CI$_{Upper}$			Global Awareness Indirect CI$_{Lower}$ CI$_{Upper}$		
Global Citizenship ID	.41	.339	.478	--	--	--	--	--	--
Intergroup Empathy	.30	.238	.358	.42	.368	.480	.27	.205	.335
Valuing Diversity	.27	.211	.321	.38	.324	.429	.24	.184	.301
Social Justice	.19	.140	.244	.27	.215	.329	.17	.123	.227
Environmentalism	.20	.151	.251	.28	.230	.334	.18	.134	.233
Intergroup Helping	.19	.141	.240	.27	.216	.323	.17	.124	.222
Responsibility to Act	.29	.228	.348	.41	.353	.462	.26	.197	.327

Note: Standardized betas and 95% confidence intervals, bias-corrected bootstrapping with 5,000 iterations, all indirect effects are significant at $p < .001$.
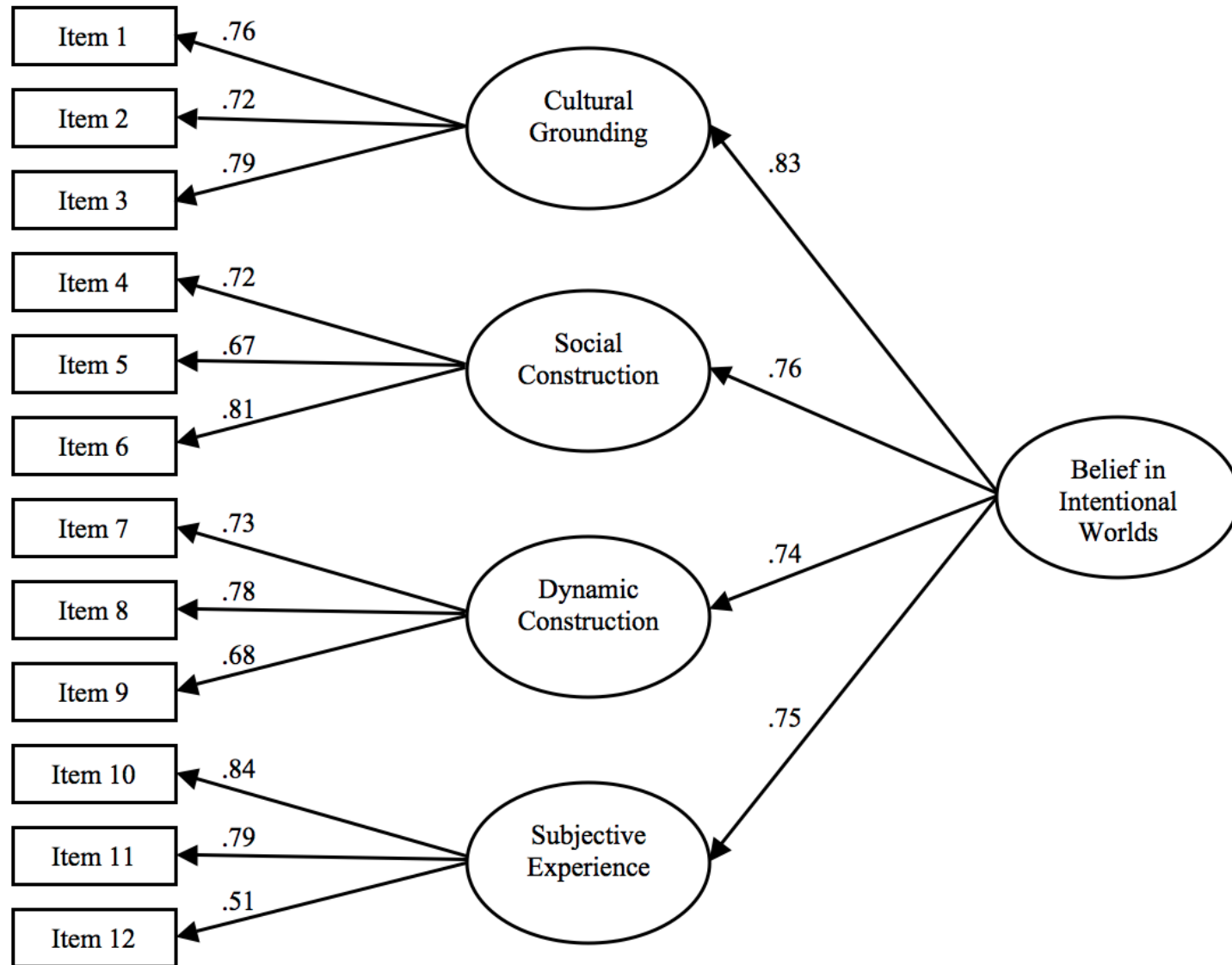
Figure 1. Measurement model of belief in intentional worlds. Standardized betas are significant at *p* < .002.
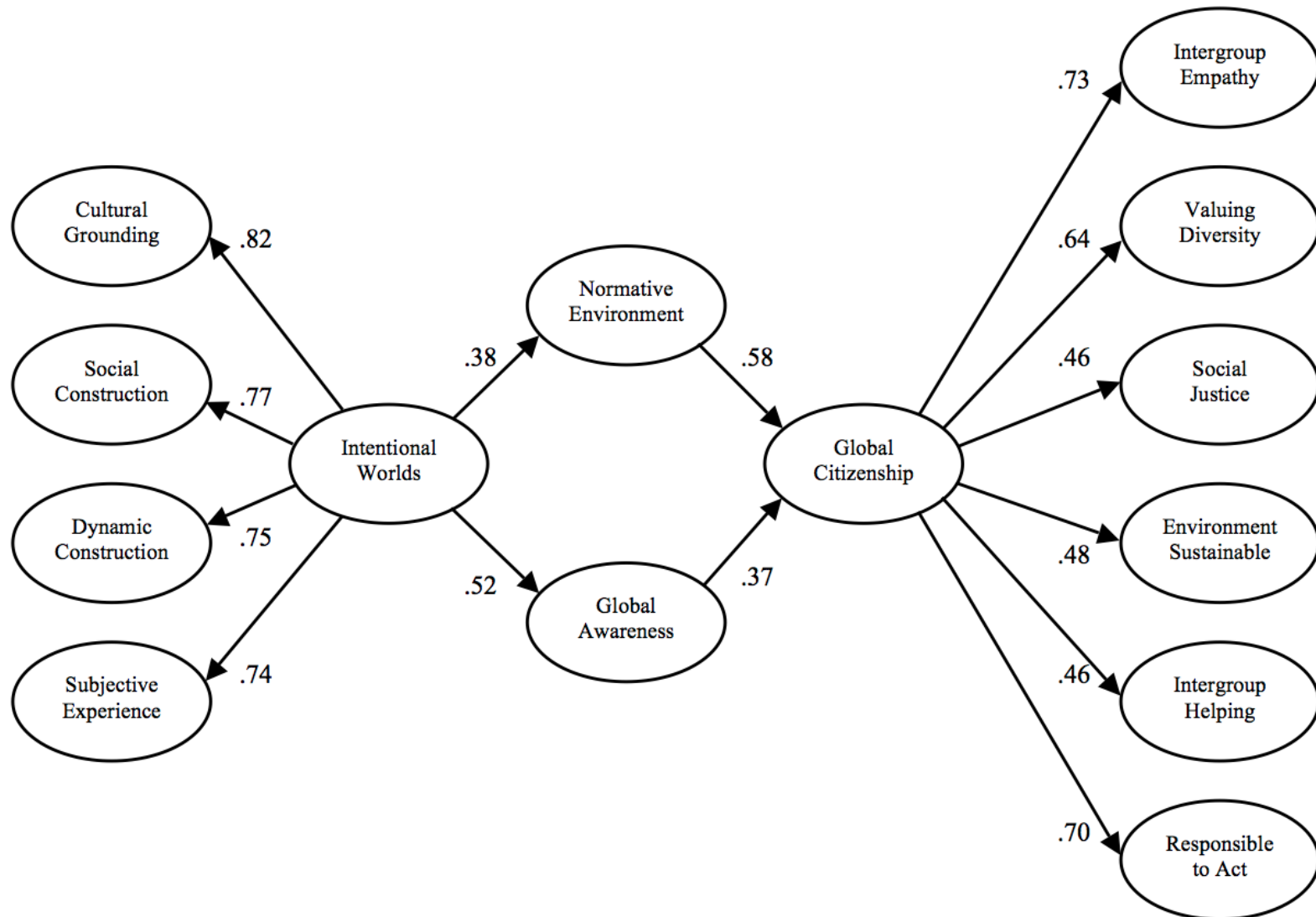
Figure 2 Influence of intentional worlds belief on antecedents, identification, and outcomes of global citizenship. Standardized betas are significant at *p* < .002.

Saving Africa: A Critical Study of Advocacy and Outreach Initiatives by University Students

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ABSTRACT: This exploratory qualitative study reports on the perspectives of students belonging to campus clubs at one Canadian university who conduct advocacy activities on issues that relate to Africa. Our study focuses on a particular social action (advocacy) that takes place in a particular social site (university campus), with the aim to critically examine how students think about their advocacy work, what they see as appropriate practices, and their sense of the ethical issues around advocacy. Five themes emerged from our analysis of the interviews: (1) knowledge about the issues; (2) oversimplification; (3) homogenization; (4) trade-offs and competition; and (5) ethical engagement. Our findings suggest that motivation for success and popularity became influential factors in the way that student-led advocacy initiatives were set out to be effective in the university setting. Advocacy activities thus became fraught with the oversimplification of issues, resulting in work that reinforced prevailing stereotypes about Africa. Such approaches to advocacy can propagate

paternalistic and totalizing images of Africans as helpless and waiting to be "saved."

Introduction

University students are participating in increasing numbers in international engagement activities that are seen as promoting global citizenship and effecting positive change in the world, many with an expressed interest in issues that affect developing countries (Cohen, Vega, & Watson, 2001). To this effect, university campus clubs and student societies provide students with advocacy related opportunities as a way to "make a difference" and to enhance their university experience. Students who participate may make new friends, learn new skills, and become passionately engaged in various social change activities. Student-led campus clubs usually focus on particular areas of interest with specific concentrations: for example, clubs may take a scholarly focus (e.g. Archaeology Club), arts (e.g. Music Club), cultural (e.g. Asian Cooking Club), health and wellness (e.g. Yoga Club), advocacy (e.g. Fight Homelessness Club), and the like. Examples of student-led advocacy related activities might include fundraising, awareness campaigns, signing petitions and writing letters to political representatives about a particular issue, such as homelessness, and what policy makers can do. The popularity of campus clubs is also a testament to the scale and dynamism of student-led initiatives.

The study reported here elicited and examined the experience and viewpoints of student leaders of campus clubs, at one Canadian university, that conduct advocacy related activities on issues that relate to developing countries in Africa, a continent that continues to remain of considerable interest to many students. Using a criticalist lens, we focused on a particular social action (advocacy) that takes place in a particular social site (university campus), aiming to understand what, if any, colonizing epistemes may be at play – that is, how students who are out to "save the world" situate themselves and position others in the enterprise of advancing a particular social mission.

Background: Saving Africa

"*Saving Africa has rightly become a popular concern, uniting Bono and Bill Gates, Angelina Jolie and Pope Benedict XVI. Despairing of academic scepticism, the intellectual force of this movement, Jeffrey Sachs, appeals directly to the people promising $110 per head to end destitution and disease in Africa. Who could resist such a humanitarian bargain*?"

Gregory Clark, How to Save Africa, 2007

The 1MillionShirts humanitarian campaign (1millionshirts.org) controversy in the United States in the spring of 2010 is a clear example of the types of approaches to advocacy that are a cause for concern. The stated goal of the campaign was to collect one million t-shirts to send to "poor people" in Africa. The campaign stirred up heated discussions on aid and advocacy activities, and the perils of humanitarian aid as a development mechanism. Criticism came from various high profile bloggers.[i] Rasna Warah, a newspaper columnist responded that good intentions have, in effect, turned Africa into the "greatest dumping ground on the planet..." (see Wadhams, 2010). The campaign is one among many initiatives that raise questions around the ethics of advocacy and need to be examined critically.

A detailed analysis of the work and policy decisions undertaken by non-governmental organizations (NGOs) points to some of the social responsibility and accountability issues affecting

advocacy initiatives. Public criticism of Western NGOs calls for "more thorough, rigorous, and objective" approaches to advocacy initiatives, with a need for stronger evaluation frameworks to assess impact (Anderson, 2000, p. 3-4). Concerns around power imbalances between NGOs and aid recipients in developing countries are surrounded by criticism of the propagation of "human rights" by Western organizations in ways that undermine local control and cultural values (Bell & Coicaud, 2007). Unequal power relations between stakeholder groups can also result in resource allocation and policy choices that do not always benefit the most vulnerable groups (Nabacwa, 2010). Prominent and powerful NGOs may evade accountability as the pace of their growth exceeds local government monitoring mechanisms – an issue recently highlighted by highly publicized scandals affecting some NGOs (Siddiquee & Faroqi, 2009).

Technology-enabled social networking sites contain a growing body of critical discussions on advocacy practices. Social media tools, such as Twitter, Facebook and dedicated blog sites enable prominent development professionals and academics to openly question and comment on various international advocacy efforts (see Mamdani, 2009; Taub, 2009). Discussions explore a range of critical topics: implications of good intentions and the quality of advocacy and aid (Schimmelpfennig, 2009); unaccountable aid practices and skewed perceptions of the poor (Easterly & Freschi, 2009); perpetuated stereotypes of Africa (Doh, 2009); and the unintended negative consequences (i.e., perpetuating structural inequalities, charity vs. social justice approaches, neo-colonialist forms of exploitation, and power imbalance) that can arise from advocacy (see Tiessen, 2012; Perold, Graham, Mavungu, Cronin, Muchemwa, & Lough, 2012; Crabtree, 2013; Seay, 2005).

The Study

Informed by Carspecken's (1996) work on critical qualitative inquiry in educational research, we approached our study using a criticalist lens, focusing on issues around power, privilege, othering and human agency (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2005). We explored how these factors may influence the approaches university students take in their advocacy work on issues that relate to developing countries in Africa. We used the concept of episteme here to convey particular ways of knowing and relating to the world. Colonizing epistemes are framed "through imperial eyes" that convey "a sense of innate superiority and an overabundance of desire to bring progress into the lives of [Other] peoples – spiritually, intellectually, socially, and economically" (Smith, 1999, p. 56).

Our choice of critical methodology positions us to not only think about and understand oppressive practices; it positions us to also unmask these practices, challenge taken-for-granted perspectives, and influence change in the way advocacy related work is done. Hence, our research is not meant merely to increase knowledge about these issues, it is also meant to bring about critical consciousness and action.

Our study takes place at a Canadian university, identified as one of North America's largest public research and teaching institutions, housing over 3,500 faculty members and over 45,000 fulltime undergraduate students. There are over 350 student clubs hosted by the university's Alma Mater Society (AMS). Each club is required to have an executive committee comprising a president, treasurer, and vice-president. From the AMS website, we generated a list of campus club organizations that conduct advocacy activities concerning Africa. Seven clubs were identified, all indicating that they were doing advocacy work and that they were affiliated with national or international not-for-profit organizations that were engaged in issues concerning Africa. Student executive members of these clubs were contacted to confirm that they indeed do advocacy work

pertaining to Africa, on the basis of which they were invited to participate in the study. Executive members from five clubs agreed to participate, three were male and two female, all undergraduate students. To ensure anonymity, we decided not to collect details about the student's major, year of study, or other identifying features. Approval for the study was received from the Behavioural Research Ethics Board of the university where this study was conducted.

We conducted in-depth interviews with each student executive that lasted approximately 60-90 minutes. Before beginning the interview, the participants were informed about the aim of the study, explaining that the ethical issues around student-led advocacy initiatives have not been fully examined and that we wished to explore the potential threats and benefits of advocacy. Each interview began with each participant describing the mandate of the club they represented and the type of advocacy they do. The discussion then moved to open-ended questions about why they do this work, what motivates them, how issues are identified, how advocacy strategies are developed, the type and quality of contributions the student members make, and how they know that they have been successful. During the interview discussion, we focused on how the participants described and explained their beliefs, reasoning, experiences, and values in relation to their advocacy work. We listened carefully for narratives pertaining to the perceived need for advocacy for Africa, and followed-up with open-ended questions that prompted detailed explanations of the reasoning behind the perceived need and corresponding student motivations for advocacy. Each interview was audio-recorded and transcribed verbatim. We conducted a line-by-line analysis of the transcribed text, coding and categorizing the narrative accounts of the key participants in our study, and organizing the categories into key themes.

Results

Our detailed analysis of the transcripts involved: searching for ideas that reflected the objectives of the study; examining, categorizing, and testing assertions for reliability; and recombining evidence from the different interview transcripts with regard to description and interpretation of the emergent themes (Kvale, 2008). Informed by a criticalist orientation, we sought to gain a better insight into: (1) the students' experience of advocacy; (2) what they think about their advocacy work; (3) what they see as appropriate practices; and (4) their sense of the ethical issues around advocacy. Analysis of interview data sets from individual participants involved comparing within and across the sets to further clarify and interpret the initial tentative themes that reflected the above objectives. It should be pointed out that the above objectives are intertwined and therefore the emergent themes were considered to respond to all the four objectives holistically. We individually and collectively reviewed the interview transcripts by reading back and forth as we searched for emergent themes that cut across interview data sets.

Five themes emerged from our analysis of the interviews: (1) knowledge about the issues; (2) oversimplification; (3) homogenization; (4) trade-offs and competition; and (5) ethical engagement. Each theme is elucidated below with representative narratives extracted from the interview transcripts. The names used for representative quotes are pseudonyms to protect the participants' identities.

Knowledge about the Issues

The most common advocacy activities on campus were tabling, posters, rallies, pamphlet distribution, petition-signing, writing letters to political representatives, and organising fundraising events. Much of the information used for advocacy efforts is passed down from larger national and/or international (parent) non-profit organizations that affiliate with the campus clubs. However,

not all of the clubs receive direct mandates and advocacy information from the parent head offices. Some are relatively independent with regards to campaign choice and event planning. Consequently, we became particularly interested in the source and quality of information that informed advocacy activities. We discovered that having and presenting accurate and valid information to the public was seen by the key informants as less important than the act of advocacy in and of itself.

First, our key participants indicated that there are varying levels of knowledge among the student members in each club about many of the issues being advocated for:

> Gary: There are times when people aren't as aware as they should be. Not all students will be able to answer questions when perhaps they should. [...] We don't expect everyone to be an expert [...] There are times when people should know more probably, at least the stuff we're promoting directly.

At the very least, the club executives were expected to have a strong foundation of knowledge and could guide the membership on the issues at stake; however, this was not always the case as represented by John, one of the participants:

> John: I just find that even for a lot of clubs, the execs themselves don't know enough about the issue – if they get questions about it, they don't really know what they're talking about. They know the general gist of it, why it's a good thing, but if you ask them more, they're a little blank.

As a result, on occasion, awareness raising information could be presented without substantiation. In this case, the general expectation was that it was not the advocate's responsibility to ensure that the provided information was entirely accurate; it was up to the individual consumer to account for and verify the accuracy of the information that was being presented, a viewpoint eloquently expressed by Mary:

> Mary: It's up to the individual to decide, I think, how you interpret the information. It's up to you to do the research. Maybe it's society's role and responsibility for education and critical thinking. I don't think you protect people from lies. Where there's a fair ability to do it yourself, then I think it's up to yourself.

Validating the information was seen as important because what is received from the parent organization is sometimes inaccurate, however, not everyone took the effort to correct the information. Instead, erroneous information was simply ignored:

> Anna: One thing I've noticed is that, especially when the [organization's] website lists factual information, like numbers and stuff, every once in a while you'll have a number that makes no sense at all or a number that's completely taken out of context. [...] Honestly, I usually don't take the effort to do the research, to double-check. Usually, if something on the website seems incorrect, then I just don't mention it.

Lack of knowledge about issues and attitudes toward information accuracy led to the oversimplification of the issues, which emerged as another prominent theme.

Oversimplification

The complex political issues addressed by student advocacy groups in the study were often "simplified" in order to make it easier for students to understand. Our key informants indicated that they usually only have a short window of time to get their message across to other students, hence the need to "simplify" issues. Given the understanding that most students generally have little knowledge about world issues, our key informants suggested that it was considered important during advocacy activities to use "simple messaging" that employ "hooks" or "one-liners" as a way of grabbing the attention of students:

> Kathy: You need the simplification to get the general message out to a larger group of people, because if you make it too complicated, attention spans don't catch on to that as easily as to a short, striking message that you can instil into their hearts.

Ensuring that the message was short, emotive and commanding was seen as particularly important, even if it only told part of the story or made the issue seem larger and more problematic than it actually is:

> Mary: They use great language and vocabulary, but I'm very conscious of the fact that you can use this vocabulary because you're surrounded by it, but how much of it is real and how much of it do you really understand yourself?

Ultimately, the responsibility was placed on the target audience to take the time on their own to delve more deeply into the issues:

> Gary: It's something that draws people's attention. Whether it's ethical…I'm ok with that method of advocacy, because I think there's a place for it. I don't think it's ethically wrong to tell, as long as you're not lying, I think it's OK to show a part of the story, for your advantage, even if it's not the whole story. You weren't claiming it to be the whole story. You want to give people the resources to find the whole story if they want to; encourage them to, but it's ok to show a part of the story as a starting point.

Nevertheless, oversimplification was also acknowledged as being problematic even if unavoidable. Presenting issues in this oversimplified way enabled students to feel that they did not have to do very much to effect change. There was also a sense that oversimplification led to the problem of thinking about complex issues as having simplistic and paternalistic solutions that do not properly address the complexity of contextual and historical factors or the need for long-term solutions:

> John: Clubs approaching issues in a really simplistic way can be problematic. Here's the problem, here's the issue, here are maybe some solutions or here's a way we can maybe get it out there [and] without addressing the colonial/political history. I believe that's often still a factor in projects. I think sometimes it's easy to forget that stuff and focus on what is the thing we're trying to fix, or even, the idea of trying to fix something that's not yours to fix.

As a specific outcome of oversimplification, the problem of homogenization was consistently referred to as a corresponding problem.

Homogenization

Homogenization is the use of broad strokes for characterizing complex issues. Our key informants acknowledged the tendency to portray Africa as "one big place," with each country having very similar cultural beliefs and practices, and facing similar issues:

> Anna: They [students] just think it's one big problem spot, Africa. That's where all the poor people live and that's why we need to help them.

It was readily acknowledged that their advocacy campaigns do use particular stereotypical images, particularly of "starving children." A tendency to portray solely negative issues was also noted as an attempt to create a perceived and immediate need for students to take action:

> Kathy: I think [the representation is] more skewed towards "Africa has problems" and a lot less on the positives and the progress that has been going on there.

The predominant view of a continent in perpetual distress was thought to lead to an imbalance in the positive and negative representations of Africa. Concern was voiced about a tendency to also present a stagnant conception of African cultures:

> John: I think sometimes there's a tendency when we celebrate those cultures, we think about the really traditional rather than contemporary aspects of those cultures.

Our key informants readily acknowledged the use of oversimplification and homogenizing strategies during their advocacy work and, at times, defended this practice as reasonable and justifiable. It allowed them to create an "easily marketed" message capable of attracting more attention about the issues at stake. Moreover, they also saw this as normal and acceptable advocacy practice:

> Anna: When people hear about fundraising clubs, this image of starving children in Africa, that's what the media bombards them with. To be honest, that's what a lot of [our club's] own promotional materials have; African children looking very thin, very fragile, and that's how they promote [an event]. A lot of people grew up with that perception and that's pretty much their limitation of what Africa, as the entire continent, is like.

Nevertheless, there was acknowledgment that homogenization was an important ethical issue that needed to be addressed. A few respondents also remarked that African students often took issue and felt uneasy with the "clumping together" of African countries.

Despite the critical stance that our key informants took and the ethical concerns that were acknowledged, they accounted for this as a part of the problem of "trade-off and competition." In other words, there was simply too much competition demanding the attention of university students — not just between clubs, but also with other interests in students' lives — and taking the "ethical high road" was seen as a threat to the club's survival.

Trade-offs and Competition

A recurring concern dealt with having to choose between taking a more ethical approach to advocacy versus choosing strategies that would potentially maximize support and funding for club activities. For some clubs, the primary focus was to garner support from as many people as possible and to raise as much money as possible. The bottom line was that there are "a lot of good causes and they're all competing for the same student dollar." This compelled students to focus on strong fundraising campaigns using compelling messaging, even if the messages resulted in oversimplification and stereotyping:

> Mary: Homogenization is kind of a problem, but it's a trade-off. Easy marketing message equals homogenization, but if you try to make it a little more complicated, you don't know how well the idea will sell.

These sentiments were echoed by participants who emphasized that it was more important to focus on convincing the public that they should support a particular cause than to worry about ethical issues underlying the messaging and how affected populations have been represented.

Despite the ethical risk of misrepresenting the roots of conflict in some countries, or challenges to development by oversimplifying the issues, the students felt that a simplified and easily understood message was desirable and justified when competing for the attention of students on campus.

Ethical Engagement

When asked to reflect on what ethical issues, if any, emerged around advocacy work and how the clubs address them, there was general acknowledgment that there is not very much time to focus on the way the clubs carry out their advocacy campaigns. Much of their meeting time is devoted to the logistics of events and fundraising. There was little time left over to properly learn about the issues or to critically examine the possible ethical implication of their actions. Advocacy work is done mostly for the sake of advocacy in and of itself. The informants indicated that they certainly wished that more time could be spent on the educational and reflective aspect of advocacy. A few said that they personally had thought about the issues and had tried to increase the educational and reflective activities in their clubs but found that the "other members had little interest and time."

Yet, there was also a strong consensus on the need to integrate topics on ethical approaches to advocacy and international engagement into higher education curricula:

> John: It seems to me that this is stuff that you could pretty easily incorporate it into a first-year course. Just get people to write an essay on the ethics of developmental work.

> Gary: I do think it would be fantastic to have a group come in to do a workshop, even a focus group, just to find out more about what their needs are, to help them move forward, because obviously ethics is huge.

Discussion

To the best of our knowledge, this is the first study of its kind to examine how some students at one Canadian university attempt to make sense of the ways they approach advocacy related work on issues affecting African countries. The students we interviewed described advocacy as those efforts that can positively influence the lives of people whom they viewed as vulnerable and marginalized and who cannot protect their own interests. Advocacy related actions were framed as speaking and acting with and on behalf of others in an effort to promote positive change in people's lives, and engaging in struggles with powerful interest groups that exploit people and resist change. However there emerged, at times, a disconnect between how the students defined advocacy and how they went about doing advocacy work.

The motivation for success and popularity became influential factors in the way that some student-led advocacy initiatives were set out to be effective in the university setting. In efforts to gain maximum attention around the advocacy work they do, the student clubs, at times, appeared to focus their presentations to the public in ways that resulted in stereotypical portrayals of the issues, thereby risking misrepresentation, oversimplification, the homogenization of African people, countries, and cultures, and a totalizing vision of Africa. As a result, advocacy efforts become a contentious undertaking where advocacy activities appear to aim to bolster popularity and recognition of the advocates at the expense of the people that advocacy activities are meant to serve. Advocates must be mindful of the adverse outcomes that may result from their advocacy efforts. Although they may have benign intentions, advocates are no less obliged to critically reflect on their work. Yrjölä speaks to this idea of hidden adverse consequences,

> Colonialism's strength lay not only in systematic and naked violence towards the colonised land and physical body, but on its invisible violence targeting the natives' minds, their imaginations of themselves as well as their understandings of their histories, present and future possibilities. (Yrjölä, 2009, p. 18)

Advocates who make an effort to reflect on their work through a critical ethical lens can limit the potential for similar "invisible violence" to occur as a result of their advocacy efforts. Our analysis also suggests that advocacy on campus could be seen as a politicized activity and an act of self-interest, and using language that signifies privilege and paternalism. The African Other, through a lens of the "white man's burden," embodies a stigmatized and stereotyped image that becomes central to the noble and altruistic humanitarian enterprise (see Kapoor, 2004). Stereotype-guided initiatives and oversimplification of issues that affect developing countries in Africa result in advocacy activities that misinform the campus community and reinforce prevailing negative biases. The use of graphic images of African individuals and communities affected by poverty is a common practice that some critics have interpreted as a compromise of human dignity, even if done with the justification of fundraising (Tiessen, 2012). Other similar issues include implications around speaking for, rather than with, people who are vulnerable (Holmén & Jirstrom, 2009); focusing on human rights in developing countries, but ignoring the complicity of institutions in home countries that perpetrate human rights abuses (Ibhawoh, 2002); and using "corruption" narratives as a scapegoat when advocacy projects fail, turning an otherwise "complex constellation of phenomena into a simplistic explanation" (Smith, 2010, p. 244). The commodification of suffering and poverty is also of particular concern. Poverty as something possessed has been conveyed in the literature since colonization. It appears this has continued to manifest in a diversity of programs supposedly intended to reduce poverty in Africa. The creation of slum/poverty tourism (Frenzel, Koens, & Steinbrink, 2012), charging a premium for fair trade products with little real

benefit going back to the producers (Valkila, Haaparanta, & Niemi, 2010), and charity versus social justice approaches to development (Rugasira, 2013), are just a few troublesome examples.

When faced with ethical concerns around how African people are portrayed, the students we interviewed expressed a wish to do advocacy work in ways that are, more often than not, reflective of a genuine desire to ensure respect for human dignity. The students felt conflicted by competing interests and acknowledged that they did not always take the time to do advocacy work in ways that were always respectful to the people for whom they were advocating. The pressure toward success and popularity resulted in a compromise around how the issues are represented and possibly an appropriation of the plight of vulnerable people for the benefit of the club. The perception that ethical reflection and communication must be compromised in order to be a successful advocacy group is problematic.

While most universities require ethical guidelines for research initiatives, student advocacy initiatives have no such requirement. On including an emphasis on critical reflection, Kassam (2010) argues that, "to educate without causing students to reflect on consequences is tantamount to making machines out of humans" (p. 207). Given that a number of leading universities have undertaken the goal of "internationalizing" both their curricular and extra-curricular activities in recent years, critical reflection and ethical considerations are seen as essential (Dharamsi et al., 2010). Advocacy efforts must ask self-critical questions. Good intentions are not enough (Schimmelpfennig, 2010). Over the last 20 years, misguided advocacy and relief initiatives have been subject to widespread scrutiny. In light of more serious issues such as the opaque use of relief funds after the Southeast Asia tsunami (Walker, Wisner, Leaning, & Minear, 2005), annexed humanitarian aid in post-genocide Rwanda (Prunier, 2009), and the distribution of free malaria nets in Malawi (Easterly, 2006), the projects of student groups on university campuses may appear inconsequential, but they are not. In each of the above situations, the issues were handled based on an oversimplified view of the people affected. Solutions were designed based on single-dimension conceptions, with little attention paid to contextual complexity. Advocacy campaigns frequently make the same types of mistakes. It is our hope that this study and similar work will inform student advocates to examine their efforts through an ethical lens, leading to efforts that help instead of harm. Such initiatives are already underway and have shown to positively impact on the work of students interested in advocacy.[ii]

Lastly, it is important to note the limitations of this small case study. Our analysis is based on the experiences of a small group of students representing a handful of campus clubs. We do not claim that our findings are widespread to all such advocacy efforts and groups. The operational philosophies of these clubs will likely change from year-to-year. Some clubs are explicitly required to uphold the mandates of affiliated parent national or international organizations on the form and function of advocacy; others are not. Future studies may critically examine the mandates of these organizations, how they relate to campus chapters, the potential biases exhibited in the framing of advocacy content, and how they identify and manage ethical issues that arise at national and international levels. There also remains much to be studied in relation to international engagement initiatives of the university, and the work of faculty members and their influence on student-led advocacy initiatives.

The findings from this study are being used to support a series of workshops – "So, you want to 'save' Africa?" – made available to interested university students who wish to develop a critical consciousness around doing advocacy work. The workshops are student-led and are designed to examine many of the issues that arise from this study. Students are taught to understand themselves as active agents, capable of either perpetuating or changing oppressive sociopolitical constructs.

Student-centered dialogue is an essential feature in facilitating the development of critical consciousness with a focus on ethical engagement.

Endnotes

[i] *AidWatch*, William Easterly and Laura Freschi, *Texas in Africa,* Laura Seay, and *Good Intentions Are Not Enough* Saundra Schimmelpfennig, are weblogs written by academics and development practitioners that analyse issues related to development, foreign aid and Western intervention in developing countries, particularly on the African continent.

[ii] See http://blogs.ubc.ca/ethicsofisl/

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The Importance of Including the Needs of the LGBTIQ Community in the Millennium Development Goals and Education of Healthcare Professionals

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ABSTRACT: In this article, I examine the health and social issues that lesbian, gay, bisexual, transsexual, intersex, and queer (LGBTIQ) people experience from adolescence to old age through the lenses of critical social justice and queer theories. I challenge the United Nations for its lack of inclusion of this segment of the population in the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). I argue that it is important to include LGBTIQ people in the MDGs. A call is made for improving health policy as well as the education of nurses and other healthcare professionals, with a focus on the particular health needs of the LGBTIQ community. Implications for future research are discussed in the latter part of this article.

World leaders joined together in 2000 at the United Nations' Millennium Summit to create a plan for action called "Millennium Development Goals" (MDGs), with the stated aims of eliminating global poverty, hunger and disease. The MDGs consist of eight goals that must be met by 2015. The success of the world's countries and leaders working together to meet these goals has already been demonstrated in some areas, including "halving the number of people living in extreme poverty and providing more than two billion people with access to improved sources of drinking water" (UN, 2013). It is evident that the goals outlined by the UN in the MDGs are achievable as countries take these initiatives to their governments. In a downstream manner, countries set agendas to meet the objectives, which are then directed to regulating bodies and translated into public health and social policies. In turn, the regulating bodies and policies impact the education and curriculum of health- and social-care professionals who are preparing to meet these goals. In this article, I propose that the third MDG, "Promote gender equality and empower women," be changed to "Promote gender equality and empowerment of all genders" in order to improve health and social disparities for the lesbian, gay, bisexual, transsexual, intersex, and queer (LGBTIQ) community.

Health issues of the LGBTIQ community are frequently left unaddressed in the development of many local, national, and global public health policies. It is estimated that 10 to 20 per cent of the world's population are LGBTIQ (Datti, 2009; Freedberg, 2006; Meri-Esh & Doron, 2009) and yet their unique health needs are not addressed by the UN. The UN devised a document in 2011 to address LGBTIQ health needs, but it has yet to add equality of all gender identities and sexual orientations to the MDGs (UN, 2011). In this article, I use critical social justice theory and queer

theory to explore some of the health issues faced by the LGBTIQ community and to challenge the MDGs for their lack of inclusion of this segment of the population. Also, I will provide some of my experiences in working in different acute and chronic care settings in the Greater Toronto Area related to issues within the LGBTIQ community. In the latter part of the paper, implications for future research, the need for increasing education for nurses and healthcare professionals, and improving practice for nurses with the focus on addressing the health needs of the LGBTIQ community are discussed.

Theories that Unravel the LGBTIQ Discourse

The social justice theory addressed by Schim, Benkert, Bell, Walker and Danford (2007) provides a lens to ethically and critically analyze the health concerns of the LGBTIQ population. The authors emphasize that social justice must be central in all decision-making for the client and community. The four concepts of person, health, nursing and environment then feed into the goal of developing healthy public policy that illuminates social justice and human rights for all. Including this vision in educational curriculum may improve the training of nurses who are concerned about the ensuring rights of all people. Similarly, Anderson, Rodney, Reimer-Kirkham, Browne, Khan and Lynam (2009) use social justice theory to state that healthcare equity can be attained when one ensures the human rights of all individuals regardless of age, gender, race and culture. However, having awareness of social justice and human rights, but without committing to action, is not enough. The optimal goal is the implementation of culturally safe care for the marginalized LGBTIQ population.

Queer theory, which emphasizes the celebration of differences and challenges the normative route, is used as a framework in petitioning the UN to discuss LGBTIQ needs in their formulation of public health and social policies. Queer theory takes critical social justice and cultural safety theory into account and includes discussion of unfixed and fluid gender categories. Similarly, nursing theorist Jean Watson emphasizes the acceptance of the individual as a whole person and calls on healthcare professionals (HCPs) to be knowledgeable in providing care in a holistic manner regardless of race, class, age and gender (Creswell, 2007; McEwen & Wills, 2011). Another reason for selecting queer theory is that its fluidity enables me to purposefully challenge the accentuation of the MDGs on women (Ristock, 2005). Hence, I use these perspectives to guide me in understanding the challenges of the marginalized LGBTIQ population, and strive here to increase awareness and take action in the education of healthcare professionals to provide ethical and critical social justice care for this particular community.

In the following sections, literature is reviewed to address work on the issues of health of the LGBTIQ community, from all age groups, as well as from local, national and global perspectives. Within each subgroup, exclusion of this population in health-promotion models and the MDGs are addressed. Here, I incorporate various findings to advocate for better public policy and to explicitly call for the inclusion of LGBTIQ in the United Nations' MDGs.

The LGBTIQ Community's Challenges through a Lifespan

Adolescents and their Challenges from Local to Global

At the local level, in Ontario, and at the national level, there are many avenues of support available to adolescents and young adults of the LGBTIQ community (The 519 Church Street Community Centre, 2009). In Canada, the legalization of same-sex marriage in 2005 may have

since enabled youth to be comfortable with disclosing their identity to family, friends and co-workers. However, legal inclusion has not ensured social acceptance and safety for this group in Canada (Rainbow Health Ontario, 2012). Similar to Canada, an American study estimated that 60 per cent of physical and emotional violence against LGBTIQ youth is perpetrated by their family members (Dysart-Gale, 2010). LGBTIQ youth may lack role models and adequate support from their home and school to enable them to discuss their sexual identity. This, in turn, may cause poor self-image and self-esteem. This lack of support and increase in emotional stress may be the underlying cause for mental health issues, such as depression and anxiety, which these youths experience and carry into adulthood (Rainbow Health Ontario, 2012). Similarly, a participatory action research study in Ontario found that vulnerable bisexual youth are further marginalized and more prone to mental health problems (Dobinson, MacDonnel, Hampson, Clipsham, & Chow, 2005). Dobinson et al. (2005) found that bisexual youth experience further discrimination as they are pressured into choosing between homosexuality and heterosexuality.

Further challenges faced by youth and young adults in countries that recognize LGBTIQ identities lie in the selection of a career. In our heterosexist society, many professions and jobs are categorized as "male" or "female" jobs. For example, if a gay youth interested in pursuing a career in nursing has not disclosed his identity, and he hears comments such as "all male nurses are gay," then he may avoid the profession due to fear of labelling. On the other hand, another gay youth may choose to become a nurse because he may feel accepted into the profession as a gay individual (Datti, 2009). This further illustrates the issue of disclosure for LGBTIQ youth in gender minority-accepting countries. Heinze and Horn (2009) found that adolescents who had more contact with LGBTIQ peers and friends showed reduced discrimination against individuals with different gender identities or sexual orientations. Hence, I encourage the UN to increase LGBTIQ people's visibility by including this marginalized community's health needs in its MDGs.

Globally, youth living in countries where anti-LGBTIQ laws exist encounter greater challenges in disclosing their identity due to potential threats to their safety. There are 82 countries that have some form of law against the LGBTIQ community, ranging from non-acceptance of the relationship in public in Uganda to the death penalty in Iran (Erasing 76 Crimes, n.d.). The threat of imprisonment and the death penalty for these youth should be of major concern for the UN. Currently the issue of anti-gay laws in Russia is raising concern among athletes who are expecting to participate in the 2014 Winter Olympics. Clearly and evidently, the social justice, human rights and safety of the LGBTIQ community, regardless of age, is at stake in these countries.

The weakness of the MDGs is that they look at universal issues from a feminist perspective, in particular the third MDG: "Promote gender equality and empower women" (UN, 2012). I reviewed all of the MDGs and the reports published, and found no indication or mention of LGBTIQ individuals. If the MDGs had considered global health issues from social justice and queer theory perspectives, then the UN would have included LGBTIQ considerations in devising healthy public policy. The lack of discussion about the health needs of LGBTIQ individuals at the global level impedes the safety of youth in countries with harsh punishments.

In 2011, the UN published a follow-up document in regards to violence against individuals based on their gender identities and sexual orientation (UN, 2011) yet at present official discrimination and punishments, such as the death penalty, still exist in 82 countries (Erasing 76 Crimes, n.d.). Hence, I question why the UN has not explicitly included this issue as part of its third MDG with respect to gender equality. For the sake of the new generation of LGBTIQ, I advocate that the third MDG be changed to include equality for all gender identities and sexual orientations with specific and explicit plans and actions to address the health of LGBTIQ youth.

Family Development and Child Care

The legal recognition of same-sex marriage in Canada has created opportunities for gays, lesbians and transsexuals to be publically united as a family. However, family development remains a challenge for bisexuals, as they are not recognized as either heterosexual or homosexual. This has caused feelings of disconnect and social isolation and, in turn, may cause an impediment to the health of bisexuals (Dobinson et al., 2005).

Likewise, same-sex partners who have become parents through adoption, artificial insemination and/or are foster parents may face several challenges and discrimination. The challenges of family identity for same-sex partners are disclosed to the child's donor parents (Suter, Daas, & Bergen, 2008). Another challenge is grandparents who do not recognize the same-sex partner and/or refuse to accept a foster child, adopted child, or child born after artificial insemination as their grandchild. Some of this lack of recognition may be due to underlying power issues in religion. For example, in the Baha'i faith, one must only be involved in a heterosexual relationship and only following matrimony. The Baha'i teaching informs followers not to show any prejudice toward LGBTIQ individuals, but calls "for tolerance and understanding in regard to human failings" (The Baha'i International Community, 2012). Simply labelling the LGBTIQ community as "human failings" is a clear form of prejudice and of homo-bi-phobia (Christensen, 2005).

Similarly, other religions consider same-sex relationships as the unbearable acts of sinners (Herek & Gonzalez-Rivera, 2006; Meri-Esh & Doron, 2009; Oksal, 2008). For example, it is stated in the Book of Leviticus: "If a man lies with a man as one lies with a woman, both of them have done what is detestable. They must be put to death; their blood will be on their own heads" (Lev. 20:13 New International Version). It is evident that religious beliefs and values, as one of the underlying power issues, have further marginalized the LGBTIQ community. However, I challenge this conceptualization of religious understanding of LGBTIQ individuals, which is based only on sexual behaviour. It has been apparent, over the decades, that same-sex relationships are not merely due to acts of sexual pleasure but, rather, they form out of the attraction and emotional relationship developed between two individuals (Butler & Rosenblum, 1991; Freedberg, 2006; Riggs, 2011; Suter et al., 2008).

The medical paradigm has been another underlying power contributor that socially isolates and excludes LGBTIQ, further preventing them from being recognized as a family unit. In 1973, the American Psychiatric Association removed homosexuality from its list of mental health disorders (Freedberg, 2006). However, countries that are anti-LGBTIQ continue to treat members of this community with shock therapy, medications and surgical procedures to alter the "abnormality" in an attempt to provide treatment and cure (UN, 2011). Moreover, HCPs' assumptions and discrimination toward the LGBTIQ community may still exist if they do not address some of their underlying beliefs and attitudes that have been shaped by medical, religious and cultural values. Canadian health leaders must emphasize eliminating the prejudices of its HCPs. For example, HCPs who immigrate to Canada may bring their home societies' harsh punishment values with them. As a bedside nurse working in different acute and chronic care settings in the diverse Greater Toronto Area, I have encountered some unethical comments from nurses. I have witnessed nurses and other healthcare professionals make comments such as, "I just don't get them;" "I just don't want to wash his penis because I don't know where it has been;" "If she was back home, she would be getting some proper lessons on what's right and wrong." On the other hand, the Centre for Addiction and Mental Health is one of the few institutes that celebrate LGBTIQ rights during Pride Week in Toronto to support its patients, community and staff.

The LGBTIQ community strives in different ways to develop family bonds and to be recognized as a unit. Suter et al. (2008) found that lesbian parents demonstrate family identity through the use of symbols and rituals. For example, some couples may change or hyphenate their last names to demonstrate union. However, this is not always applicable because in some cases the hyphenation of a last name could threaten the mother's job because of discrimination. This has been a significant concern for military personnel. Another mode of symbolizing the family is through the selection of a sperm donor from individuals who are physically similar to the non-biological mother. Other actions taken by lesbian mothers include attending same-sex parenting group meetings and social functions to enable their children see that they are not the only ones with two mothers. Finally, the development of unique family practices, such as "taking nightly walks, shopping, attending church, and displaying family photos at work" (Suter et al., 2008, p. 38), is used to identify members of a family group.

Moreover, some gay individuals argue that they can be great foster and adoptive parents because they can provide unconditional love for the child/children (Riggs, 2011). Riggs (2011) states that gays and lesbians are more adaptable at fostering children, as they understand that non-biological parenting may be the only method available to caring for children. Riggs (2011) further states that a lack of clear guidelines and policies for agencies, in addition to hidden discrimination due to gender identity and sexual orientation, has caused delays for LGBTIQ community members trying to foster and adopt children. Therefore, I challenge the UN again for its lack of recognizing the LGBTIQ community as assets in providing unconditional care for children who are without a family or home.

Partner Abuse within the LGBTIQ Community

HCPs may assume that an individual with anatomically male body parts must be a male and thus refrain from asking questions regarding intimate partner violence. An identified lesbian brought into an emergency room showing signs and symptoms of partner abuse may go unnoticed because of mainstream assumptions that women do not abuse women. This is another challenge faced by the LGBTIQ community. HCPs may not always provide further support under the assumption that intimate partner violence is only inflicted upon women by men. However, the act of intimate partner violence is exhibited not only between men and women, but also among gay and lesbian couples (Freedberg, 2006; Seelau & Seelau, 2005). The exact number of partner abuse cases in the LGBTIQ community is not available due to a lack of disclosure to HCPs of their experiences of violence. An LGBTIQ individual abused by a partner may refrain from informing HCPs of the experience in an attempt to avoid stigma and discrimination against their gender identity (Rainbow Health Ontario, 2012). Hence, the LGBTIQ individual may choose to stay in an abusive relationship and avoid the healthcare system. In return, this causes emotional and physical health challenges. The LGBTIQ community's fears are consistent with the actual discrimination that may exist among HCPs. Rondahl, Innala and Carlsson (2004, as cited in Freedberg, 2006) state, "A greater percentage of staff nurses (36%) as compared with student nurses (9%) indicated they would refrain from nursing homosexuals if given the choice" (p. 18). Freedberg (2006) further argues that the lack of awareness of the LGBTIQ community and their health challenges are due to a lack of education and preparation among HCPs.

Freedberg's (2006) literature review found that various HCP programs devoted only between one and two-and-a-half hours to the LGBTIQ community's health needs over the course of the curriculum. I then reflected back to my own undergraduate studies in nursing and recall that in the entire four years of study, less than two hours were spent on the discussion of the LGBTIQ community. I also assessed the amount of time dedicated to the health needs of the LGBTIQ

community in nursing curriculums at two schools and found that the general humanities course allocates on average between 30 minutes to three hours for LGBTIQ health studies in both nursing diploma and degree programs. The College of Nurses of Ontario (CNO), with regards to entry into practice, mandates that unbiased, culturally safe care be provided to all individuals (2008). Unfortunately, there are no clear guidelines for colleges and universities to follow in mandating the inclusion of a minimum number of hours within nursing programs. Adequate time is needed to prepare students to provide ethical and unbiased care. Meanwhile, the National LGBT Health Education Center in the United States provides tools and guidelines for physicians to provide effective healthcare for the community. Makadon (2011) encourages physicians to receive continued education on the needs of the LGBTIQ community to gain competence in assessing and providing care for those particular clients in an ethical and effective manner. Similar to physicians, lead organizations in the profession of nursing, such as the CNO, should facilitate open public discussion on the health of the LGBTIQ community. The regulating body, in turn, could mandate inclusion of the health concerns of this marginalized group in post-secondary curriculums.

Health Concerns of Elderly LGBTIQ People

Aging members of the LGBTIQ community require health and social support from HCPs. Their life experiences include living without LGBTIQ rights before the 1970s and contact with the new generation. Locally and nationally, the LGBTIQ individuals that began formulating their sexual identities prior to 1973, as well as those that currently reside in countries with unjust punishments (e.g. death penalty), are forced to constantly assess the safety of their environment. LGBTIQ individuals' attempts to hide their true sexual identity, to fit into the heteronormative agenda and to develop a fear of death due to the absence of rights throughout their lives may prevent them from focusing on developmental achievements, such as education and employment (Brotman, Ryan, & Cormier, 2003). Years of this constant struggle – dealing with a lack of support and recognition from family, community and religion – could contribute to lower life satisfaction and lower self-esteem. It also places older members within the LGBTIQ community at higher risk of depression, suicide, addiction and substance abuse (Brotman et al., 2003; Donahue & McDonald, 2005; Kuyper & Fokkema, 2010; Meri-Esh & Doron, 2009). Conversely, some gay and lesbian individuals enjoy being older now as they can be comfortable with their identity, even though they still face discrimination and marginalization (Averett & Jenkins, 2012).

Elders also experience age discrimination from both heterosexists and younger LGBTIQ people who feel that seeking a partner is unacceptable beyond a certain age. Many elderly lesbians have experienced not being accepted into younger lesbians' groups and gatherings (Meri-Esh & Doron, 2009). This, in turn, may cause social isolation and poor end-of-life experiences. The opposition to LGBTIQ couples living together in old-age and nursing homes, along with the act of separating them, is a form of discrimination in itself. In my professional experience, I have witnessed negative attitudes from HCPs in the intensive care unit, including the non-recognition of and exclusion of same-sex partners during the end-of-life decision-making process. Books like *Cancer in Two Voices* (Butler & Rosenblum, 1991) elucidate the notion of an intimate LGBTIQ relationship as a pure union between two individuals in which their identity is not simply formed by heterosexist norms. The true life story of Butler and Rosenblum challenges the religious view of homosexuality as a sin and a sickness. This further supports my thesis that the decrease in public awareness and education of HCPs to provide safe and effective healthcare are a result of a lack of clear identification with this marginalized group by healthcare organizations such as the UN and the CNO.

Limitations of Findings and Future Research

A review of literature has brought to light different challenges that the LGBTIQ community faces. However, the literature still lacks information about the experiences and health needs of several subgroups of this community. First, there is a lack of research on the experiences of physically and emotionally disabled LGBTIQ individuals (Avanté Consulting, 2006). Future research can explore physically and/or emotionally disabled LGBTIQ individuals' experiences in Canada. Also, health and social policies must be formulated to ease the challenges faced by disabled LGBTIQ individuals. In the development of health and social policies for the LGBTIQ community, I propose upstream community-based participatory action research to ensure the ethical inclusion of stakeholders whose health needs are of concern (Streubert & Carpenter, 2011; Wallerstein & Duran, 2008). The aim of this research method is the incorporation of an empowering approach for the LGBTIQ community (Brotman et al., 2003; Israel, Schulz, Parker, Becker, Allen, & Guzman, 2008), as well as to focus on the health challenges that are faced by disabled individuals, which other members of the community do not experience.

Another area for further research to improve the social determinants of the LGBTIQ community is the impact of education. As a college professor, I have found LGBTIQ issues in the present curriculums of nursing students to be lacking. Also, a limited amount of time dedicated to educating other HCP students (e.g. doctors) about the LGBTIQ individuals' health needs is noted in the literature. In several of the acute and chronic care settings that I have been exposed to as a nurse, I have observed a lack of educational sessions or support for the discussion of increasing awareness of the health needs of LGBTIQ patients. Hence, another pressing area for participatory action research is the inclusion of the health and social needs of the LGBTIQ community in the post-licensure education of HCPs (National LGBT Health Education Center, 2012). Another weakness in the literature is the lack of authors looking at this issue through a critical social justice and queer theory lens. By looking at this issue with a broader perspective, I have found that an unjust approach to the human rights of LGBTIQ is due to increased systematic exclusions and inequalities of power (Navarro, 2009). I question how the health challenges of the LGBTIQ community can be addressed locally, nationally, and globally when the UN's MDGs do not even address them.

The Implication for Supportive C.A.N.E.s (Community Advocating Nurse Educators)

Nurses, who provide care to clients in different settings, must be aware of the challenges that members of the LGBTIQ community face and ensure that discriminatory behaviour is avoided. Dobinson et al. (2005) address verbal comments, such as "the more the merrier" (p. 55), as well as non-verbal behaviours of sudden silence and body gestures that prompt the LGBTIQ individual's acknowledgement of resentment or homo-bi-phobia existent among HCPs. To avoid experiencing discrimination of sexual identity, LGBTIQ individuals may avoid visiting HCPs, resulting in increased health risks (Rainbow Health Ontario, 2012). As community nurses, we must be aware of and reflect upon our own beliefs and values and ensure that they do not interfere with the provision of equitable and ethical care to clients (Anderson et al., 2009; Schim et al., 2007). As advanced practice nurses in the community, we must strive to be inclusive of all gender identities and sexual orientations by creating a bridge of communication, encouraging a safe atmosphere for disclosure and providing necessary health education (Parks, Hughes, & Matthews, 2004).

To create a safe environment for LGBTIQ patients, the advanced practice nurse, as an educator, can strive to increase the awareness and knowledge of nurses both pre-licensure and post-licensure. At pre-licensure, the stigma attached to the LGBTIQ community through heterosexism, classism, ageism, religious zealotry, and medical power relations, as well as the underlying reasons for the marginalization of this community, need to be addressed. Positive attitudes and beliefs of nursing academics toward this topic may foster better understanding among students (Eliason, Dibble, & DeJoseph, 2010). The nursing educators in the community, as well as those working in public health and hospitals also must provide in-services for HCPs post-licensure. Increasingly, the celebration of the differences of sexuality has created positive study, work and life experiences for different gender- and sexual- minority groups (Clipsham, Hampson, Powell, Roeddling, & Stewart, 2007; Eliason et al., 2010; MacDonnell, 2009). The creation of a safe environment has enabled some LGBTIQ individuals to openly discuss their gender identities or sexual orientation. Case Western Reserve University (n.d.) provides several strategies to create such a safe environment, including:

> Object to and eliminate jokes and humor that put down or portray (LGBT) people in stereotypical ways; counter statements about sexual orientation or gender identity that are not relevant to decisions or evaluations being made about faculty, staff, or students; invite 'out' professionals to conduct seminars and provide guest lecturers in your classes and offices. (para. 1-3)

In turn, this may enable trained HCPs to address the health needs of LGBTIQ community members of different age groups. The CNO guidelines for ensuring safe and unbiased care for all individuals create the atmosphere needed to increase the discourse of LGBTIQ health needs throughout the curriculum for students and within health agencies. In a systematic route, the priorities and focuses set by regulatory bodies and Health Canada follow the UN's agenda.

In conclusion, in looking at the future as an advocate, I propose that the UN openly recognize and include the LGBTIQ community's needs in its MDGs. Otherwise, as Eliason et al. (2010) state:

> When health care needs of one subset of the population are not named, they are not addressed, and the members of that population are at risk for negative health consequences ranging from diminished access to health care, delaying or not seeking routine medical care, to poor quality of care or discriminatory treatment. (p. 207)

Hence, I appeal to the UN to revise the third Millennium Development Goal to include equality and empowerment for individuals of all gender identities and sexual orientations. My assertion is that by increasing the visibility of the LGBTIQ community globally, many of their health disparities can be addressed.

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The Non-Violent Philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi and Martin Luther King Jr. in the 21st Century: Implications for the Pursuit of Social Justice in a Global Context

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ABSTRACT: This essay is an intellectual conversation about the non-violent philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi and Martin Luther King Jr., and the possibility of using it to pursue social justice within the field of social work. The essay asks: In what ways can Gandhi and King's non-violent philosophy help professional social workers capture their inner feelings and thoughts that harbour resistance against social injustice, while, at the same time, seek love, common humanity, compassion and kindness? In what ways can Gandhi and King's ideas about non-violence and their effects on the human psyche help today's social workers to pursue social justice in the global context? What are the real consequences of situating Gandhi and King's non-violent praxis in the pursuit of global social justice? To answer this question, this essay relies on data collected during the author's doctoral research in which he conducted open-ended semi-structured interviews of 20 purposively selected school activists in Toronto in 2009 and 2010. Six of the 20 participants were key informants for the study. This paper is about some of the responses of key informants about the non-violent philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi and Martin Luther King Jr. and how it can be used to pursue social justice. This paper calls for a revolutionized reflection of Gandhi and King's non-violent philosophy. By that, this essay suggests bringing a discursive sophistication into their speeches and writings in ways that can inform and shape contemporary activism while acknowledging their shortcomings and limitations. Furthermore, this essay argues that, given the current charge against the social work profession that it is doing little to address social marginalization and injustices in society, a dedication to the non-violent philosophy of Gandhi and King can be a starting point to position members of the profession as forerunners in the pursuit of global social justice.

This essay makes no intellectual pretenses of possessing extraordinary knowledge about Mahatma Gandhi and Martin Luther King Jr., nor does it desire to canonize or deify Gandhi and King. Instead, it seeks to open a conversation about the non-violent philosophy of these men; in particular, how their ideas can inform and shape today's global pursuit of social justice. My interest in this topic has been propelled by my profession as a social work educator. Social justice is one of

the six core values of the social work profession. According to the Code of Ethics of the Canadian Association of Social Workers (CASW, 2005), social work practitioners:

> Believe in the obligation of people, individually and collectively, to provide resources, services and opportunities for the overall benefit of humanity and to afford them protection from harm. Social workers promote social fairness and the equitable distribution of resources, and act to reduce barriers and expand choice for all persons, with special regard for those who are marginalized, disadvantaged, vulnerable, and/or have exceptional needs. Social workers oppose prejudice and discrimination against any person or group of persons, on any grounds, and specifically challenge views and actions that stereotype particular persons or groups. (p. 5)

In view of that, the Code of Ethics (CASW, 2005) expects social work practitioners to "advocate for equal treatment and protection under the law and challenge injustices, especially injustices that affect the vulnerable and disadvantaged" (p. 5).

While the desire to pursue social justice within the field of social work is commendable, the definition of the concept of social justice in the social work profession is caught up in inconsistency, paradox and open contradictions (Banerjee, 2011; Galambos, 2008; Larkin, 2004; Hollingsworth, 2003). Reisch (2002) captures this confusion, noting that "it is difficult for social work educators to teach about social justice and social work professionals to act purposefully towards enhancing social justice when the profession of social work is unclear about its meaning" (cited in Banerjee, 2011, p. 190). Furthermore, there is no agreed common approach to pursue social justice (Hardina, 2000; 2004). As a social work educator who has a responsibility of preparing my students to commit to the ethical responsibility of pursuing social justice, I am in constant search of the most effective approaches to achieve social justice in the field of practice. This essay explores the possibilities and limitations of using Gandhi and King's non-violent philosophy to pursue social justice. So what does social justice mean for this essay?

According to Scanlon (1988), the term "social justice" is used, in contemporary times, to satisfy the utilitarian principle, which says, what constitutes "good" must be separated from what constitutes "right." Whatever is considered good for people is good even if it is not right (Von Mises, 1953; Friedman, 1973; Hayek, 1976). Within the utilitarian context, social justice can be ascertained when institutional arrangements favour the greater number of people, even if it means some people (the minority) are neglected and suffer in the process. The limitation of this approach, as Solas (2008) pointed out, is that:

> It does not matter, except indirectly, how the sum of satisfactions (i.e. the greatest good or happiness) is distributed among individuals over time. The aim is simply to maximize the allocation of the means of satisfaction, that is, rights and duties, opportunities and privileges, and various forms of wealth. However, when the principle of utility is satisfied there is no assurance that everyone benefits. (p. 815)

In the environment of utilitarianism, equity and fairness are illusive. The central question is whether society can afford depriving others in the name of satisfying the greater good: should we accept the poverty of others in the face of abundant riches? Nussbaum (2006) contends that "utilitarianism's commitment to aggregation creates problems for thinking well about marginalized or deprived people, for whom some of the opportunities that utilitarianism puts at risk may have an

especially urgent importance" (p. 73). Given the challenges utilitarianism poses, what definition of "social justice" would better aid social work practice?

According to Barker (1999), social justice is "an ideal condition in which all members of a society have the same basic rights, protections, opportunities, obligations and social benefits" (p. 451). While this definition is an improvement over utilitarianists' talk about social justice, it works towards "equality of treatments" rather than "equality of outcomes." The problem here is that equality of treatment cannot reap social justice because not everybody comes from the same historical and social background; thus, to treat everybody the same is to entrench the existing inequities. John Rawls, one of the most quoted voices in the field of social work on matters of social justice, uses the phrase "undeserved inequalities" (see Rawls, 1971) when discussing the plight of people who have been disadvantaged by social conditions such as poverty, racism, sexism, ableism and homophobia through no fault of their own. In other words, people who experience "undeserved inequalities" are discriminated against for no other reasons than their race, class, gender, sexuality, disability, ethnicity, language, age and religion. Therefore, those that live with "undeserved inequalities" deserve compensation by being given more attention and additional resources, if necessary, to make up for their limitations. Rawls' approach to social justice informs his critiques of libertarian and utilitarian strategies to address social justice that privilege the interest of the majority over that of the minority. As Van Soest (1995) rightly notes, Rawls' egalitarian principles of justice "make redistribution of resources a moral obligation" (p. 1811).

In this essay, social justice is conceptualized in line with Rawls' approach to "social justice" to mean:

> The exercise of altering those arrangements (institutional and organizational power arrangements) by actually engaging in reclaiming, appropriating, sustaining, and advancing inherent human rights of equity, equality, and fairness in social, economic, educational, and personal dimensions, among other forms of relationships. (Goldfarb & Grinberg, 2002, p. 162)

The discussion that follows provides some conceptual readings of Gandhi and King's non-violent philosophy.

Conceptualizing Gandhi and King's Non-Violent Philosophy: A Review of Related Literature

Non-violence is practised in almost all major faiths and religions: Islam, Hinduism, Christianity, Judaism, Jainism and Buddhism. In fact, for some of these faiths, non-violence is not just a matter of choice; it is an undeniable and irrevocable way of life to which followers must strictly adhere. History abounds with examples of non-violent acts. Whether one is looking at the Plebeian protests against Rome in the fifth century B.C., the resistance of the Netherlands to Spanish rule in mid-sixteenth century Europe, or the American colonists' refusal to pay taxes and debts to the British, non-violent resistance has been used in many places and by several groups to attain a certain amount of change in society. Thus, it is fair to say that non-violent philosophy was already known and practised long before Mahatma Gandhi and Martin Luther King Jr. adopted it as a tool for social change.

In spite of this seemingly popular use of non-violent resistance in human history, it is ironic that we have yet to find a community or a society that has a single word for "non-violence" (Kurlansky, 2006; Holmes & Gan, 2005). In fact, the closest word humans have had for "non-violence" is in the Sanskrit tradition: *ahimsa*. *Ahimsa* has its root in another Sanskrit word, *himsa,*

which means "harm." The negation of *himsa* is *ahimsa*. Thus, *ahimsa* means "not harm," just as non-violence is interpreted as "not doing harm." However, if non-violence is "not doing harm," then what is it doing? Does non-violence mean the same thing as "not violence?" The absence of a word for "non-violence," unlike "violence," makes the definition of the term confusing and is responsible for the misreading and many misinterpretations of "non-violence" within public discourses.

Gene Sharp, one of the foremost scholars of non-violence, argues that there are several meanings associated with non-violent action (1959). Sharp (1959) outlines non-violence into nine different forms. These include *non-resistance, active reconciliation, moral resistance, selective non-violence, passive resistance, peaceful resistance, non-violent direct action, non-violent revolution*, and *satyagraha* (pp. 46-59). *Non-resistance* is practised by people who do not want to get involved in anything in society. Such individuals are non-violent, not on the basis of ideology or politics, but on the simple basis of apathy. *Active reconciliation* is a method of activism that only tries to convince people without using coercive non-violent techniques. For *moral resistance* activists, evil should always be resisted through peaceful and moral means. *Selective non-violent* advocates are not always non-violent; as their name implies, they decide on which issues they may want to be non-violent. For instance, *selective non-violent* activists may refuse to participate in specific violent conflicts, such as international war. This does not mean that they are against violence in general. Indeed, the fact that somebody is an anti-war protester does not necessarily mean that they are non-violent in general. *Passive resistance* activists may be closer to selective non-violent activists; however, *passive resistance* activists are non-violent, not for reasons of principle, but because they lack the means to use violence, or they know they would lose in a violent confrontation. *Peaceful resistance* activists are within the category of passive resistance, except that peaceful resisters recognize the moral superiority of non-violent struggles. *Non-violent direct action* activists are those who use methods such as civil disobedience and non-cooperation to establish new patterns and institutional changes. Closely related to *non-violent direct action* activists are *non-violent revolutionists*, who change society completely through non-violent means without the use of the state apparatus. The last category of non-violent activists is made up of the *satyagrahis*. They are individuals who attain truth with their opponents through love and non-violent actions. While Sharp's typology of non-violence is useful, it does not tell us exactly what constitutes non-violence.

Similar to Sharp, Bond (1988) categorizes non-violence into three types: *absolute pacifist*, *principled pacifist*, and *pragmatic pacifist* (pp. 86-87). The *absolute pacifists* endure suffering even when it leads to death; unfortunately, they do not work to reduce the suffering of others. The *principled pacifists,* despite possessing the objective of working to mitigate violence to the best of their ability, do not know with certainty which path is least violent in the long term. *Pragmatic pacifists* are concerned with using non-violence in pursuit of a specific socio-political objective wherein the non-violent ethic is specially utilized as a means to other ends. The relevance of Bond's conception of non-violence is that he links a sense of community with the sanctity of all life. In this sense, non-violent advocates refrain from violent behaviour because they believe that "sacrifice without a sense of community or unity between conflicting groups is nothing but violence for other ends" (Bond, 1988, p.87). Unfortunately, Bond's typology, like that of Sharp, does not give us adequate understanding of what constitutes non-violence.

Given the contradictions and confusions around the concept "non-violence," Gandhi borrowed two Gujarati words — *satya* ("Truth") and *agraha* ("taking, firmness, seizing, or holding) — to explain his understanding of non-violence. *Satyagraha* (*satya+agraha*) means to hold on to the "Truth" in a firm manner. It also means "love-force" or "soul-force." Gandhi argues that "Truth" is God. Thus, *satyagraha* means the way of life of one who holds steadfastly to God and dedicates her

or his life to the service of God (Gandhi, 1961, p.iii). Gandhi argues that Truth is the most important name of God, and wherever there is Truth (note the capitalization of the "T") there is also knowledge that is true. Where there is no Truth, there cannot be true knowledge, and where there is "true knowledge," there is always "bliss" (*Ananda*) (Gandhi, 1961, p. 38). Since it is impossible for humans to discern the ultimate, absolute Truth — something only God can achieve — the seeker of Truth must be governed and guided by *ahimsa* (Gandhi, 1961, p.41).

Ahimsa, in the Sanskrit language, literally means non-harm or more fully, loving one's opponent to the point of not wishing her or him any harm. Within the moral structure of Gandhi, there are two basic pillars: Truth and *ahimsa* (that is, non-violence or, as Gandhi calls it, love). Truth is the end; non-violence is the means. But the end and the means are irrevocably bound to each other. However, if at any time one is not sure which one to use, non-violence should reign supreme.

Gandhi's idea of non-violence is repeated several times in the works and words of Martin Luther King (King, 1958; 1959; 1963; 1966). Unlike Gandhi, who engages in complex religious philosophical readings and analysis of non-violence, King treats non-violence as a practical moral principle: do unto others as you would have others to do unto you. King developed five notions that illustrate his philosophical commitment to non-violence. First, non-violence is not for cowards; it takes great courage to place oneself unarmed and defenseless in front of an opponent who is willing to use physical violence (King, 1958, p. 102). Second, non-violence is not about harming, defeating or humiliating one's opponents; its goal is to win the friendship and understanding of one's opponents (King, 1958, p. 102). Third, non-violent resistance is aimed at evil deeds and not at the evil doer. Although a person's good deed may require approbation and bad deeds disapprobation, the doer of the deed, whether good or bad, deserves respect (King, 1958, p. 102; also see Gandhi, 1957, p. 276). For King (1958), non-violence is not a struggle against bodies but against systems of oppression (p. 103); therefore, the sooner the struggle against systems and institutions of oppression is begun, the more it benefits the struggle. Fourth, although non-violence is physically non-aggressive, it is spiritually aggressive. The strength of non-violence lies within. This is why it has the power to reach deep into the opponent's soul (King, 1958, p. 104). Fifth, non-violence is situated on self-suffering. King expresses the value of self-suffering in the oft-repeated phrase "unearned suffering is redemptive" (Groves, 2000, p. 208). For King, self-suffering is a virtue made out of necessity — an act that is needed to redeem the oppressed groups from bitterness and hatred that may cause them to seek vengeance and retaliation. Although King understood self-suffering through his Christian perspective — often linking the redemption of the oppressed to Christ's suffering on the cross — he did not treat self-suffering as a theological commandment. Instead, he treated it as a process of self-discovery and healing from bitterness (King, 1963, p. 154).

Given the stance of Mahatma Gandhi and Martin Luther King on non-violence, the essay asks these questions: In what ways can the ideas of Gandhi and King's non-violence and their effects on the human psyche help today's social workers to pursue social justice in the global context? What are the real consequences of situating Gandhi and King's non-violent praxis in the pursuit of global social justice? How does Gandhi and King's non-violent philosophy help social workers capture their inner feelings and thoughts that harbour resistance to social injustice, while, at the same time, seeking understanding, empathy, non-judgment and compassion?

To answer these questions, this essay relies on the comments, responses and criticism of six key informants who participated in my doctoral research about the non-violent philosophy of Gandhi and King and its implications for contemporary education. The discussion that follows details the methods of this study.

Methodology

The data in this essay was taken from qualitative digitally-recorded semi-structured interviews in which 20 purposively-selected school activists from universities in Toronto, Canada, participated. As I have already noted, the data form part of my doctoral research, in which I examined the non-violent philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi and Martin Luther King and its implications for transformative education. The data in this essay is taken specifically from the interviews granted by six key informants in the research. The key informants, unlike the other research participants, were not selected based on any demographic requirement, but rather on their in-depth knowledge of the works of Gandhi and King, as well as their experiences in the field of university school activism. My years of involvement in student politics at the University of Toronto, as well as with community activism, made it easier to identify and locate these key informants. They were my key informants because, on a personal level, I admire their sense of commitment to social justice and have also worked with them on several fronts to fight against social injustice in different contexts.The key informants were sources of verification and cross-checking of information for the research. Further, the key informants contributed in framing and shaping the interview questions. After the initial interviews with the key informants, certain gaps were noted in the interview questions. This helped me to review and adjust the interview questions to suit the research needs. They also helped me to identify a pool of activists, some of whom became part of the research project.

Data involving key informants was gathered in Toronto in 2009 and 2010. The goal of the interview was to critically examine the non-violent philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi and Martin Luther King and its ability to inform and shape transformative activism in the global context. Each interview lasted between 45 and 60 minutes and was conducted at places of the participants' choosing. With the consent of my key informants, each interview was digitally recorded. Recording the interviews allowed participants to speak more naturally and it also helped me accurately record the interview proceedings while taking notes. Follow-up questions were asked, where necessary, to seek clarification and, sometimes, more information. The notes I took became relevant and useful when I was analyzing and interpreting the data. The following questions guided the interviews: What do you know about Mahatma Gandhi and Martin Luther King's non-violent philosophy? Do you see any relevancy in their non-violent philosophy in today's pursuit of social justice? What do you see as challenges in implementing their non-violent philosophy in today's global context?

Data Analysis and Limitations

Strategies for data organization and reduction, as suggested by Denzin and Lincoln (1994), were used. The data were transcribed verbatim and transcripts were checked with recorded data to ensure correctness. To avoid bias or one-sided interpretation, the transcripts were analyzed and compared constantly with interview notes as well as with other participants' responses. Transcripts from each individual interview were compared line by line to identify similar concepts that may indicate a response pattern. An initial list of concepts and words was created based on observation of data in the individual interviews; other themes were added as the data were further explored in accordance with Glesne's suggestion that putting related quotes into a common file is a progressive exercise that continues throughout the data analysis (1999).

With themes for the data formed, the task of analyzing and interpreting responses of participants to reflect what took place in the interview became paramount. Responses of participants were cross-referenced with interview notes and existing literature to tease out points of

convergence and divergence as well as sources of tension and pedagogic relevance. In order to address all ethical concerns, participants were given pseudonyms in data reporting. In addition, each quote and statement of the participants was edited to remove pause words (such as "like," "uh" and "um") and, where necessary, grammatical errors were corrected to make it read fluently. However, in editing the quotes, care was taken not to tamper with the substance of what was said.

The research was limited by insufficient funds and a strict timeline to complete the thesis. Consequently, participants in this research were mainly recruited from Toronto, where most of the school and community activists I know live. The sample, therefore, did not include the voices and knowledge of other activists living and working outside my networks in Toronto and other provinces. Given this limitation, readers should treat the findings in this essay as one way of pursuing social justice, but not the only way. Further, the ideas in this essay are a working framework that needs further modification in any given social, historical and geopolitical contexts. The discussion that follows talks about some of the findings of this study.

Study Findings

In this section, I present some of the narrative accounts of key informants as they speak of Mahatma Gandhi and Martin Luther King's non-violent philosophy and its significance and limitations in the pursuit of social justice in a global context:

Misconception of King and Gandhi's Non-violent Philosophy

For many people, Gandhi and King's non-violent philosophy lacks a cutting-edge tool to dismantle dominant ideologies. It softens issues, and is often used by those who are not serious about creating institutional changes (Jensen, 2006; X, 1964). Speaking in defence of Gandhi and King's non-violent philosophy, my key informants insisted that Gandhi and King have been misrepresented by contemporary educators. James, a final-year doctoral candidate who has been an activist for the past 15 years, spoke about his initial skepticism of Gandhi and King's non-violent philosophy to create social transformation because of the way it has been misrepresented by the ruling class:

> When I was young, of course, I dismiss him [Martin Luther King Jr.] as a sellout. But when I engage with King's ideas, not what the ruling class define King about a few lines about "I Have a Dream" speech and that is what they use to define King. And I said, "Oh holy sh*t, King was a bad ass." And I am thinking a lot of people are running their mouth about King saying he is a sellout, but because they have not read the works of King. (James, interview, October 29, 2009)

Indeed, James is not alone in the way he initially dismissed Gandhi and King. Mina, a part-time graduate student and an activist for 20 years, also noted that some people wrongfully assume that King is a "soft" activist; however, a critical look at his non-violent philosophy and politics demonstrate that he is very radical:

> It is interesting that Martin Luther King is hailed as the prince of peace and the king of non-violence, but when you listen to him, he is very aggressive in his argument, particularly when he is talking about violence that is perpetuated against the poor; he is very clear of the fact that people have to resort to certain action that could be construed as violence if they have not

been given the alternative to choose from. (Mina, interview, November 11, 2009)

Both James and Mina are of the opinion that there has been some general misreading of the works of Gandhi and King in contemporary times. For them, the ruling class has "white-washed" Gandhi and King to be nonaggressive individuals, when, in their time, they were seen as very radical. For instance, there was a time in the United States where as much as 72 per cent of whites and 55 per cent of blacks disapproved of King, especially based on what they saw as his radical position on the Vietnam War (West, 2011). King was even accused by the Federal Bureau Investigation of being on the payroll of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to promote the communist agenda (Aberbathy, 1989; Dyson, 2000). Similarly, in 1931, Winston Churchill described Gandhi as a "seditious Middle Temple lawyer, now posing as a fakir … striding half-naked up the steps of the Viceroyal palace" (Churchill, 1931, pp. 94-95). Today, none of these appear in public discussions about Gandhi and King. Rather, what we hear about King is his "I Have a Dream" speech, and for Gandhi, his beautiful quotes, such as "Be the change you want to see" (Younge, 2013; Freudenheim, 2013; Weebly.com, 2010; New York Times, 2008). With this kind of selective memory of Gandhi and King, it is no wonder many radical activists have paid less attention to their ideas.

To be fair, in some way, this misrepresentation benefitted Gandhi and King. Today, some celebrate and eulogize them as the best things to happen in history. Stuart Nelson (1975) once wrote that nowhere in human history and time, perhaps over the past thousand years, has humanity known one with a greater compassion for her or his fellow human beings than Gandhi (p. 58). Rabbi Abraham Joshua Heschel also prophesied that "the whole future of America depends on the impact and influence of Dr. King" (West, 2011, para. 3). In fact, in the opening introduction to the book *Gandhi and King: The Power of Nonviolent Resistance*, Michael J. Nojeim was even more audacious in his description of Gandhi and King:

> When the history of the 20th century is written, it shall record that Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi and Martin Luther King Jr. were at the forefront of that century's most important struggles: the struggle for freedom, the fight for equality, and the battle against violence. (Nojeim, 2004, p. xi)

These accolades of Gandhi and King have come at the expense of other great leaders such as Malcolm X and the Black Panther leaders in the United States, as well as Subhas Chandra Bose in India, whose respective contributions to the civil rights movement in the United States and the fight for India's independence from British colonial rule have received less attention and recognition.

Mina thinks differently about this "saintly" misrepresentation of Gandhi and King's non-violent philosophy. For her, it is done intentionally to encourage non-violent activists to shun any radical and "aggressive" method in the pursuit of social justice. In effect, certain privileges and powers attained through the oppression of others go uncontested. This is how she spoke succinctly about it:

> I have heard from the traditional definition of non-violence as when you consciously choose not to take up a weapon to inflict violence on another body. Non-violence is also that which does not disrupt. Non-violence is what allowed the status quo to continue the way it does. Everything we do is essentially non-violence and has resulted in being deny the right to live. … They perpetuate violence against us through their practices of gate-keeping and segregation and when we fight against them or even think against it, we get label as intolerance and anti-establishment, yet we just instinctually doing

what naturally is within us based on the conditions and environment and of things being done to us. (Mina, interview, November 11, 2009)

While Gandhi and King might have benefitted from this "saintly" misrepresentation, it has also caused other radical activists to treat their ideas as passé. Derrick Jensen, the radical environmental activist, has insisted that Gandhi and King's non-violent philosophy "is one of the worst things you can say to anyone in an abusive situation, and one of the things abusers most want to hear" (Jensen, 2006, p. 688). This sentiment of Derrick Jensen is echoed by Malcolm X. For Malcolm X, it is indeed a criminal act to teach people not to defend themselves when they are the constant victims of oppression (X, 1964). Given the confusion and misrepresentation of the non-violent philosophy of Gandhi and King, my key informants suggested that a revolutionized reframing of Gandhi and King's non-violent philosophy may be necessary to make it useful in the contemporary pursuit of social justice.

Towards a Revolutionized Reframing of Gandhi and King's Non-violent Philosophy

For a revolutionized reframing, my key informants imply, Gandhi and King must first be repositioned as men who stood and died for the struggle to weed out the world of its social injustices, oppression and inequities. In the opinion of Asti, an undergraduate student leader who has been involved in activism for seven years, a part of a revolutionized reframing of Gandhi and King required wrestling their personalities from this "saintly" depiction to radical revolutionists who were fearless in their fight for justice:

> I think writers like bell hooks and Tyson have used the works of Martin Luther King to articulate contemporary issues in education because they see his relevance to education. For example, in talking about how America needs revolutionary values, that is totally bell hooks. I think those kinds of a revolutionized reframing of King in context of his works make the resurgence of his works and history worthy of study because they position him differently from the Martin King we are used to reading because the new ways of framing Martin Luther King positioned him as somebody who is not afraid of violence when it comes to challenging injustices in our society. (Asti, interview, October 3, 2010)

This thought of repackaging King and Gandhi as courageous and fearless in their pursuit of social justice was echoed by Mohammed, an undergraduate activist who has been involved in anti-homophobia activism for the last seven years:

> Violence was perpetuated against them [Gandhi and King] constantly and in fact we know it was violence that ended their lives, yet they were not afraid of violence and in fact they knew that, count what may, this is a possibility because they knew that given the works they do it is a possibility. This is how Gandhi and King should be remembered. (Mohammed, interview, October 29, 2009)

This essay adds that the revolutionizing of Gandhi and King should not be limited to their personalities, but should also include their ideas. Thus, rather than reading Gandhi and King's non-violent philosophy as a literal text, it must be read in a general sense of how their ideas can broaden the debate about how to pursue social justice. A revolutionized reframing of their non-violent

philosophy will require bringing a discursive sophistication into what they said in ways that can inform and shape contemporary activism, while acknowledging their shortcomings and limitations. With these thoughts in mind, I asked my key informants to reconceptualize Gandhi and King's non-violent philosophy in a way that pushes their thoughts forward. This is how my key informants responded:

It is "Non-violent Philosophy" and not "Not-violent Philosophy"

For my key informants, a revolutionized rereading of Gandhi and King's non-violent philosophy must start off by separating their "non-violence" from the general meaning of "not violence." While "not violence" implies non-engagement or refusing to fight back, "non-violence" as used in Gandhi and King's philosophy implies taking actions that will stop injustice and oppression. Oftentimes, these two words have been used interchangeably (Nagler, 1986; 2004). Several explanations could be offered for this confusion: first, there are some non-violent groups such as "absolute pacifists" and "non-resisters" who refuse to take any action that involves confrontation (Sharp, 1959; Bond, 1988). Ironically, most of the absolute pacifists and non-resisters tailor their messages after the non-violent philosophy of Gandhi and King and even choose these men as their role models (Sharp, 1959; Bond, 1988). Second, "non-violence," as used in Gandhi's philosophy, was, again, originally borrowed from the Sankrit word *himsa*, which means "to harm." When "a" is added to *himsa*, it becomes *ahimsa*. To the uninformed mind, *ahimsa* is the opposite of *himsa*, and must therefore be read as "not to harm" (not violence); however, from Gandhi's philosophical stance, *ahimsa* means something deeper than "not to harm." Within this context, Mina argued that Gandhi and King's non-violent philosophy can be meaningful to the contemporary pursuit of social justice if the "non-violence" is read as an action-oriented strategy and not as "non-engagement":

> I think that the mainstream has successfully created a myth that [non-violence] is not violence and those who wish and do wish to use it cannot fight back. … We are subjected to intellectual, emotional, spiritual violence every day; we have to devise means of fighting back those violence. But we have to be more strategic and creative in the ways we fight back and I think non-violence, as defined outside the mainstream, can be used. (Mina, interview, November 11, 2009)

Mina's position was supported by Emmanuel, a South Asian activist who is actively involved in the fight for the rights of migrant farmers in rural communities in Ontario. According to Emmanuel, "non-violence" in Gandhi and King's philosophy should not be read as the absence of tension, disturbances and disharmony, but the presence of justice: "I don't look at non-violence and violence as two sides of a separate coin. I think both are put in the same framework. … Non-violence is not the absence of tension, there is always tension in non-violence" (Emmanuel, interview, November 16, 2009).

Emmanuel, like Mina, recognizes that non-violence is not the same as "not violent." While the latter may be the absence of tension, misunderstanding and conflict, the former does not exclude tension, misunderstanding and conflict. In fact, the benchmark for measuring non-violence is the presence of justice, equity and fairness. Non-violence is a social instrument in the struggle for justice and freedom. The major initiators of non-violence have always been inspired by the desire to free humanity from social injustice (Vettickal, 1993, p. 64). It is this passion for freedom and justice that may have driven Mahatma Gandhi to challenge racial segregation in South Africa after he was pushed out of a first-class compartment of a train by a white official at the railway station in

Pietermaritzburg, then the capital of the Colony of Natal, in 1893. As Gandhi later explained on the incident:

> I began to think of my duty. Should I fight for my rights to go back to India, or should I go to Pretoria without minding the insults? It would be cowardice to run back to India without fulfilling my obligation. The hardship I was subjected to was superficial — only a symptom of the deep disease of colour prejudice. I should try, if possible, to root out the disease and suffer hardships in the process. (Gandhi, 1958, p. 282)

The idea of rereading the non-violent philosophy of Gandhi and King as a call for social justice was repeated in the responses of key informants.

Non-violence is the Pursuit of Social Justice

Emmanuel reconceptualized Gandhi and King's non-violent philosophy as action-oriented strategies to dismantle oppressive structures in society.

> I think non-violence is about understanding how power dynamics function to disengage bodies and working to dismantle the power dynamics like white supremacists, racism, patriarchy. It is about dismantling those types of power structures. (Emmanuel, interview, November 16, 2009)

This thought was corroborated by Michael, a White male and disabled university professor who has been involved in activism for the last 20 years. According to Michael, non-violence consists of daily choices activists make to ensure that certain doors are accessible to others who, on their own, cannot enter into such spaces. His comment was in reference to academia and how it can isolate others:

> Non-violence, it seems to me, will have to be some sense of what I do or what any academic does to always make space accessible to many people… It is interesting because I think sometimes there is a cultural conception of the university and its relations to the broader community, and one concept we use quite often here is the thing about the Ivory Tower. We don't often hear the other Tower, but we hear the Ivory Tower and suppose that makes some reference by the colour of Ivory; some Western notion of purity and a tower that cannot be accessed by many people … So I think it is the understanding that it wasn't so much the Ivory Tower as it was a barricade that only kind of scholars that were allowed [sic] in the academy. … So I think that was pretty much of my non-violence is to disrupt these barriers for others. (Michael, interview, November 2, 2009)

For Emmanuel and Michael, non-violence is about different things (big or small) that we do daily to challenge oppression and injustice in society. From the responses of my key informants, non-violent activists have been called to challenge and fight social injustice, inequities and unfairness, but what are the terms and conditions under which social injustice ought to be challenged? In the next section, my key informants outlined strategies for fighting social injustice in society.

Non-violence is about Humanizing Opponents

A majority of my key informants were of the opinion that the non-violent philosophy of Gandhi and King is a great strategy to pursue social justice because it focuses more on the oppression than the oppressor. According to Anya — a university professor who has been involved in activism for more than 10 years — the main goal of Gandhi and King's non-violent philosophy is to challenge systems of oppression and not necessarily those who work within the systems. This was how Anya put it:

> Gandhi and King wanted to think of a reaction to colonization and oppression that will really disturb the colonial relation, but not the colonizer and oppressor. So my understanding is that non-violence comes from a desire not just to seek a result, but also to do it in a way that it does not reproduce violence on others. (Anya, interview, November 2, 2009)

Asti also shared similar idea: "[Gandhi and King] speak to the systemic injustices within the system, but do not hate the individuals" [Asti, interview, November 3, 2010).

For Anya and Asti, Gandhi and King's non-violent philosophy teaches the oppressed bodies to challenge oppression in ways that will not mimic the violent tendencies of the oppressor. Elsewhere, Paulo Freire (2007) insisted that the oppressed bodies, having experienced humiliation, depravity and dehumanization of oppression, would never reproduce the same violence on the oppressors. Instead, they would oppose the oppressors' violence and injustice with love (pp. 44-45). Mohammed agreed with Freire's idea that there is power in refusing to emulate the oppressor:

> Within the education system, I think Gandhi's conception of *ahimsa* will be ideal for the work we do. I remember when I was in high school; the level of violence for me was so dangerous. And the way we organized the gay students group and we have to meet in secrecy because of the level of violence against gay men. Without love for ourselves and even people who hate us, we would not have made the progress we have made within the TDSB … I believe the way forward is fighting back with love for those who hate us. Not only love for those who oppose us but also love for ourselves. (Mohammed, interview, January 5, 2010)

For Mohammed, loving and humanizing one's opponent is one way of refusing to mimic the violent tendencies of the oppressor. But this love, as expressed by Mohammed, must be thought of as something that goes beyond sentimental and affectionate feeling. It is a process of refusing to be like the oppressor. If violence dehumanizes and rots the soul and body of the oppressor (Fanon, 1963; Memmi, 1965), then, to Mohammed, fighting the oppressor with love is one way of saving one's soul from destruction and corruption.

Discussion

A charge against Gandhi and King, from other readers, is that their ideas lack a thesis and consistency (Chakrabarty, 2006, p. 57). Unfortunately, Gandhi and King had not done enough to defend themselves against this charge. In fact, Gandhi once boasted that a*t the time of his writing, he never thought of what he had previously said because his aim was not to be consistent with his previous statements, but to be consistent with the truth (Attenborough, 1982, p. 93). This charge of inconsistency has presented a fundamental challenge for many people who read Gandhi and King's*

non-violent philosophy in the 21ˢᵗ century. This has contributed to some people misinterpreting and misrepresenting Gandhi and King's ideas when they read their non-violent philosophy as a theoretical thesis (Jensen, 2006; Chakrabarty, 2006). Thus, for my key informants, the best way to read Gandhi and King's non-violent philosophy in the 21ˢᵗ century is to cautiously hold on to a broad theoretical lens that can elucidate, as well as resolve, the number of thorny issues relating to their ideas of violence and non-violence. The trick, in the view of my key informants, is not to read Gandhi and King's non-violent philosophy as a finished product, but as a working document that needs a revolutionized reframing to make it a subversive tool to rally people around the fight against social injustices. In reading Gandhi and King, this means a shift should be made from treating their ideas as a blueprint to a work-in-progress document that requires additional footnotes and endnotes to make it useful in different contexts and situations.

This is exactly what my key informants have done as they engage the non-violent philosophy of Gandhi and King in several ways to make it useful in the contemporary pursuit of social justice. From the responses, this essay synthesized my key informants' thoughts and ideas into two major themes: first, non-violent philosophy is a call for the pursuit of social justice and, second, non-violent philosophy is about humanizing one's opponents. The discussion that follows expands on these themes and discusses how they are relevant to the contemporary pursuit of social justice in a global context.

Non-violence is a Call for the Pursuit of Global Social Justice

From the responses of my key informants, a revolutionized reading of the non-violent philosophy of Gandhi and King is to position it as a passionate call for the pursuit of social justice. This idea could be gleaned from Gandhi's description of the core responsibility of a *satyagrahi*: a person devoted to non-violent philosophy:

> [If a *satyagrahi*], in this world, finds himself [or herself] up against evil, he [or she] cannot [keep quiet] but to resist. He [or she] comes across injustice, cruelty, exploitation, and oppression. These he [or she] has to oppose with all the resources at his [or her] command. In [this] crusade, his [or her] reliance is on Truth or God; and since the greatest truth is the unity of all life, Truth can be attained only by loving services of all, i.e. by non-violence. (Gandhi, 1961, p. iii)

Mahatma Gandhi was not the only person who saw non-violent philosophy as a rallying call to pursue social justice in society. King (1963), in his Letter from Birmingham Jail, said: "Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere" (cited in King, 1992, p. 85). In another page in the same letter, King (1963) further noted, "We will have to repent in this generation not merely for the vitriolic words and actions of bad people but for the appalling silence of the good people" (cited in King, 1992, p. 92). These statements, and several others in the letter, justified why silence, apathy and inaction can be dangerous in the face of social injustice against others. Both King and Gandhi call out the followers of non-violent philosophy to do everything within their power to challenge injustice, inequity and oppression in society. From my key informants, these statements and several others in the works of Gandhi and King, suggest that these men were calling on humanity to rise up and fight social injustice and oppression wherever they occurred.

This reading of non-violent philosophy of Gandhi and King can be useful for the field of social work. A senior colleague at Memorial University, Ken Barter (2003), gleaned evidence from different literature to demonstrate that the social work profession is gradually relegating its

commitments to the second core ethical value of the profession: "the pursuit of social justice" (CASW, 2005, p. 5). Some of Barter's (2003) examples include the works of Parsloe (1990), Riches and Ternowetsky (1990), as well as Rivera and Erlich (1995), which suggest that the profession of social work has taken an ambivalent position when it comes to responding to poverty. Hagen (1992) and Wharf (1993) also talk about the unwillingness among some social workers to work with poor families. Specht (1990) and Specht and Courtney (1994) have similarly accused some practitioners of focusing more on "psychotherapy" and, in the process, have ignored the professional call to pursue social justice. Parsons, Hernandez, and Jorgensen (1988) and Caragata (1997) argue that the over-concentration on specialization within the profession of social work is breeding new practitioners that care less about unified approaches to responding to human needs and social problems. These charges against the profession are emerging in the midst of concerns that the profession has done little to answer accusations of its historical complicity in racism, sexism, classism, homophobia, ableism and colonialism against certain marginalized communities (LeFrancois, Menzies, & Reaume, 2013; Shaikh, 2012; Hair & O'Donoghue, 2009; Mullings, 2007; Jeffrey, 2005; Barter, 2003; Razack & Jeffery, 2003). Just recently, in the fall of 2013, I was having a conversation with my social work students who are doing their field work, and what became apparent in our conversation is that the title "social worker" does not reveal "warm receptions" from marginalized communities anymore. For many marginalized communities, social workers are more of an extended branch of a social control, or rules enforcement regime, than a unit advocating on behalf of oppressed communities and clients. Several reasons have contributed to this negative image: practitioners are sometimes called upon to play the uncomfortable role as the go-between on matters between the state and service users (Fowler, 2008). Unfortunately, in some such cases, reports filed by practitioners have been used by the state to make decisions against service users. There is also the fact that the social work profession comes from a long history of colonialism, classism, homophobia, ableism and racism. These factors, taken cumulatively, have contributed to the negative image of the profession. Of course, social work can produce an equally long list of achievements that demonstrate the great accomplishments of the profession in marginalized communities and for service users. Such an exercise, however, would only produce a Pyrrhic victory. What needs to be done is a demonstration that social work practitioners are still committed to the pursuit of social justice. This feat can be achieved when practitioners in the field of social work position themselves as *satyagrahi* who will fight social injustice anywhere it occurs and whomever it affects. In today's neo-liberal world, where human lives are reduced to mere economic units, your economic value determines if the state will respond to your call in times of crisis (Giroux, 2006). Therefore, social work practitioners have to make the pursuit of social justice their top priority in order to address institutional and systemic violence against marginalized service users.

Non-violence is about Humanizing Opponents

There is no doubt that oppression and injustice in society need to be fought against, but what are the terms and conditions under which they should be challenged? There appears to be two fundamental sides to the debate of pursuing social justice. Representing one side of the debate are Mahatma Gandhi and Martin Luther King, and finely representing the other side are Frantz Fanon and Malcolm X.

For Gandhi and King, an absolute non-violent approach to resistance is the way forward in fighting social injustice (Gandhi, 1961; King, 1986). Both men argue that marginalized bodies need to utilize non-violent strategies to fight injustice and oppression because violent resistance leads to bitterness, while non-violent resistance leads to reconciliation and the creation of "a beloved community" (Gandhi, 1961; King, 1958). Fanon and Malcolm X had a theoretical doubt about the effectiveness of non-violent resistance in achieving social transformation. Frantz Fanon, for instance, argues that colonial violence has created a "Manichaean world" between the oppressors and the

oppressed. Since this colonial world is protected by violence, only through violent revolution can the oppressed free themselves from the Manichean world and cast away any inferiority complex, despair and inactions (Fanon, 1963, p. 94). For Fanon and Malcolm X, violent revolution makes the oppressed fearless and restores their self-respect, which has been lost through the colonialist systems (X, 1970; Fanon, 1963). In an environment of perceived injustices and feelings of "you are on your own," violence, unfortunately, has become a cathartic act for the oppressed. Thus, it is untenable and even suicidal to expect the oppressed to use non-violence to fight systems that wish them harm and destruction.

Without doubt, social injustice should be fought at any cost, and this essay does not critique Fanon and Malcolm X for recommending violent strategies to stop oppression. However, we need to ask whether violence can indeed create healing for the oppressed and set them free from oppression. Ironically, it was the same Frantz Fanon (1963) who catalogued the negative effects of violence on its victims. Thus, given Fanon's own findings, at what point does violence really start healing? Presbey (1996) contends that for the victim of violence, it is hard to say that there is any healing taking place (p. 287). In fact, no retribution for violence is enough to help such victims forget their pain and sufferings, let alone obtain healing. I argue that, rather than healing, violence stubbornly plunges communities into this cycle of revenge and retaliation, as both the oppressed and the oppressor seek opportunities to cause the most harm to each other. History is filled with such examples of how violent resistance has exposed oppressed groups to further insidious violence under the system of domination. According to Arendt (1970), in a real contest of violence, the superiority of the oppressor has always been absolute (p. 240). Those in power are able to marshal the state apparatus to inflict violence that far exceeds the violence of resisters. The recent events in Syria under Bashar Hafez al-Assad's regime are a good example of the detrimental effects of violent resistance. Other examples include the ongoing violence in the Middle East: between Israel on the one hand, and Hamas and Hezbollah on the other; the United States and its allies on one side, and religious fundamentalists (al-Qaeda) on the other. These examples demonstrate the limitations of violent resistance to achieve social transformation. Besides these limitations, this essay is targeting activists in the field of education, social work and other related disciplines, and such groups are usually ill-equipped to use violence as a tool for fighting social injustice. Therefore, this makes non-violent resistance a viable alternative for the pursuit of social justice. If violence dehumanizes the oppressor and the oppressed, then what does it mean to become "human" again? Ironically, Fanon (1963) offers a resolution when he urges the leaders of the colonized worlds not to reproduce Europe or imitate European violent tendencies, but to instead gesture toward the recreation of a new humanity: Europe "today swaying between atomic and spiritual disintegration" (p. 311). For Fanon, Europe has been successful insofar as it has succeeded on anything attempted through violence. Consequently, Europe has lost its sense of humanity. Europe's game has finally ended, and "now lives at such a mad, reckless pace that she has shaken off all guidance and all reason, and she is running headlong into the abyss" (Fanon, 1963, p. 312). This is all the more reason why the oppressed must find something different and do something that Europe has failed to achieve; that is, the recreation of a new humanity that does not seek violence as the only tool to create changes (Fanon, 1963). What can be gleaned from Fanon's own confession is that the oppressed cannot leave the process of restoring their humanity to the oppressive devices of the oppressor. Rather, the oppressed must search within for something that will bring them into contact with their true. humanity.

According to my key informants, the non-violent philosophy of Gandhi and King should be given top priority because it encourages oppressed people to fight social injustice through love. The love, as described in Gandhi and King's non-violent philosophy, is not necessarily an affectionate or sentimental feeling, but rather goodwill and empathy towards the oppressor. This type of love, which Gandhi describes as *ahimsa*, stimulates compassion and humanity for the opponent while

simultaneously harbouring resistance and passion for social justice. Activism inspired by love separates the oppressor, as a person, from oppression; it sees the oppressor equally as a victim of systems of domination. It also prevents activists from "othering" the oppressor. According to Wineman (2003), the practice of "othering" is rooted in a culture of hatred and practices that deny, disown and split anything within oneself that one, in fact, has in common with other people whom one may not like or agree with. At the heart of Wineman's working theory is the belief that oppression causes "massive personal suffering," which if "left to its own devices," becomes a self-perpetuating impediment to the fight against social injustice (Wineman, 2003, p. 203). Wineman's work, therefore, seeks to understand how the oppressed can "harness" and "contain" their traumatic experiences and transform them into a non-violent counterforce, one that is strong enough to break the cycles of violence and domination. The transformation of *powerless rage* into *constructive rage* is thus, according to Wineman (2003, p. 204), an essential process for individual recovery from trauma and for societal liberation. Thus, to my key informants, one way to avoid the pitfall of destructive rage is to arm oneself with love that moves beyond denial and disassociation with the oppressor. Such love allows the oppressed to see the humanity of the oppressor, and this, according to bell hooks (2000, p. 87), is the pinnacle in the fight against oppression, for without love, one cannot see the human side of the oppressor.

Another way of reading into "loving your opponents" is to see it as an act of self-love. According to Fanon and Memmi, violence dehumanizes both the perpetrator and its victims (Fanon, 1963; Memmi, 1965). This love for the self is not born out of selfishness and personal greed, but a desire not to emulate and mimic the violent behaviours of the oppressor. A non-violent activist is aware that by emulating the violent behaviour of the oppressor, she or he is becoming like the oppressor. This is why non-violent activism does not seek retaliation or any means to destroy one's opponent.

Conclusions

As this essay searches for a non-violent theory that can help pursue social injustice, the goal is not only to search for theoretical clarity, but also a theory that can offer a social and political corrective. In writing this essay, I realized that the scope of my work is not only to produce a discursive reading of Gandhi and King's non-violent philosophy, but also to situate their ideas in ways that can be used for actual social and political intervention in the 21st century. (Re)reading Gandhi and King to understand the power of individual and collective agency recalls the ontological primacy of interpretations. How do we make sense of the world filled with injustice and oppression? What do Gandhi and King truly offer to contemporary victims of social injustice and oppression? How can Gandhi and King's non-violent philosophy assist today's victims of oppression to fight back? These questions are important avenues in considering what social and political strategies would be effective responses to oppression. There are no easy answers to these questions. This is why I sought the opinions and comments of my key informants to gain answers. In talking to my key informants, I noted that Gandhi and King's ideas were solely based on the historico-economic, social and political conditions within their own revolutionary activities. Thus, to theorize them beyond their lived experiences is to conceptually and theoretically (re)imagine how their works can contribute to the contemporary struggles of freeing humanity from social injustice, inequity and oppression.

I have no doubt that my key informants have brought some complex and nuanced readings into the work of Gandhi and King's non-violence philosophy. In spite of this, the essay also acknowledges that the key informants spoke as individuals who admire the works of Gandhi and King; therefore, they read their works with an openness that would have been different if admiration

was not present. Thus, even with their open-mindedness, the biases of my key informants as they try to make sense of Gandhi and King's non-violent philosophy is undeniable. On a personal level, I am a great admirer of Gandhi and King, and this "personal baggage" undoubtedly shaped the interpretation I brought to the words and comments of my key informants. I caution my readers to treat the findings of this essay as one of the many means of fighting social injustice. Although there are plenty of examples of effective non-violent resistance, there are also examples, such as the case of the Tibetan non-violent movement against Chinese occupation, that demonstrate this course of action does not always yield the desired results.

However, given the original targets of this essay — activists in the fields of education and social work— I maintain that non-violent philosophy can serve great purposes in achieving social justice in these professions. This implies that in a different context — outside education, social work and other related disciplines — the application of ideas in this essay may require some reforms and modification. Each struggle will have to define the kind of strategy that works best.

Notwithstanding this limitation, Gandhi and King's non-violent philosophy has a lot to teach humanity. It teaches victims of oppression to uphold their integrity as they face oppressive structures and domination. Yes, violence may teach the oppressed to fight back, but Gandhi and King insist that the oppressed must fight back on their own terms and conditions. They should not allow the pain and suffering from oppression to define and shape their reactions. Gandhi and King have a humanist vision for society. Their desire is to extend human dignity, freedom, love, care and justice to all those exploited on a daily basis. Their ideas may not address every situation, but they at least teach humanity that there is always an alternative to violent resistance.

Acknowledgements:

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Sustaining the Transformation: Improving College Retention and Success Rates for Youth from Underserved Neighbourhoods

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ABSTRACT: Student retention is an issue of perennial interest to educational institutions and is frequently a focus of pedagogical research and evaluation of programming, although some recent literature on factors affecting college student retention recommended attention to academic preparedness and student engagement as key variables influencing college student retention. This study explored the barriers and facilitators of retention and attrition of Helping Youth Pursue Education (HYPE) program participants in regular college programming, and the role of service supports and mentorship in improving the college experience of youth from underserved neighbourhoods. The qualitative research focused on how gains in interpersonal and problem-solving skills and connecting with one or more mentors at the College related to student success. The analysis revealed that, while the current program delivery model has resulted in steady improvement in outcomes relating to application, admission and student success for those who are "ready," more could likely be done to improve participant experience and outcomes. Recommendations for improvement focused on strategies for the early identification of HYPE program participants likely to enter post-secondary education, faculty and staff development to enhance program delivery, and consideration of other program amendments to improve outcomes. Further work is needed to explore reasons why students do not follow-through on their learning plans, and to find ways to encourage them to do so.

Introduction

Student retention is an issue of perennial interest to educational institutions and is frequently a focus of pedagogical research and evaluation of programming, with relatively less attention paid to service issues. Two recent literature reviews on the factors affecting college student attrition and retention recommended particular attention be paid to academic preparedness and student engagement as key variables influencing student retention at the post-secondary level.

This research project focused directly on identifying factors affecting retention throughout the student engagement cycle from recruitment to Helping Youth Pursue Education (HYPE), Centennial College's signature outreach program targeting underserved youth in Eastern Toronto. HYPE is part of a more comprehensive response spearheaded by the provincial government and major community agencies to design a "social opportunity strategy" to "mobilize social capital and other assets in our communities to address these roots [of youth violence]" (McMurtry & Curling, 2008, p. 18).

Program participants from the 2011 and 2012 cohorts of HYPE who were subsequently admitted to a College diploma program were invited to participate in the study, which used a semi-structured interview format to explore participant experience, skill enhancement, personal decision-making and the role of outreach and individual mentoring in retention and student success. A sample of College faculty, program staff and peer mentors were also interviewed on their experiences supporting HYPE participants during and following their recruitment to HYPE, to assist in understanding the transformation process.

Background

Centennial College has been at the forefront of addressing the educational needs and experience of marginalized and underserved populations in the Greater Toronto Area with dedicated outreach and innovative programming. Centennial's HYPE program was initially rooted in Toronto's Community Safety Plan and focused on reducing as many barriers as possible to the engagement in post-secondary education of vulnerable youth in the College's immediate catchment area.

As part of its mission to the Eastern Toronto community in which it is located, Centennial College has provided outreach programming each summer since 2004. HYPE began as a two-week drumming program for youth from the Malvern neighbourhood in 2004. A focus on training for employment and employment readiness was introduced in 2005 and 2006. From 2007 to 2009, much of the current philosophy and the program model were developed with funding from the Youth Challenge Fund for the Community Program Initiative. Through consultation with students in the program it was renamed HYPE in 2007. From 2007 to 2009, HYPE was redesigned and implemented with public and private sector support, to offer a 6-week on-campus educational experience with financial support to youth 17-29 living in priority investment neighbourhoods.

The primary objective of the program, which has maintained its current format since 2007, was to familiarize youth from underserved neighbourhoods with academic programs and services and to facilitate relationships and mentorships, supporting their academic success, should they ultimately decide to enroll at the College. Community Outreach Office staff were available to assist HYPE students with their applications to full-time study and, through a range of inreach and outreach activities, to continue to engage students, guide them to necessary services within the College, and assist them in attaining their educational goals. Participants had access to sample academic content from several schools/programs, were linked to all college services, and received a Centennial College Certificate of Participation through the College's School of Continuing Education at the end of the program.

In 2010, Centennial embedded HYPE in core College operations as a key element of its community outreach commitment, and the program continues to be offered each summer to approximately 150 participants. At the same time, the Community Outreach Office was mandated to coordinate all College outreach and engagement activities to individuals typically under-

represented in post-secondary education, specifically youth from Priority Investment Neighbourhoods, women in non-traditional careers, and members of the three Nations of the Aboriginal community, recognizing that success may not always be reflected in admission to a college program in the short term.

HYPE is an essential element of this activity and was designed to offer to youth from underserved neighbourhoods accessible opportunities by:

- reducing as many identified barriers to post-secondary involvement as possible;
- providing an on-campus, post-secondary learning experience; and
- establishing and maintaining relationships with staff and mentors to support participants through to the completion of their post-secondary education (http://www.centennialcollege.ca/hype)

In his phase one report for the Ontario Ministry of Children and Youth Services on the participant experience of HYPE, Radner (2010) concluded that "although the programs were brief, youth reported real, even profound, changes in their view of themselves, their ability to relate to others, their connection to school and their prospects for the future" (p. 2). Radner's research explored the role of mentorship and support from program staff in enhancing the interpersonal skills, self-confidence and problem-solving abilities of participants during the 2009 program. According to Radner (2010), of the approximately 150 participants offered the HYPE opportunity each year, about a third register for full-time studies in the succeeding fall or winter semester; and of those, between 30% and 40% have successfully attained a college diploma.

Literature Review

While there is some considerable literature on student recruitment and retention in general, and strategies to improve it, relatively little has been published on specific populations and strategies for engaging some of the most vulnerable youth or on the success of those strategies. Available reports typically focus on the description of small populations and limited interventions once students are "in the system." Among the strategies identified as contributing to engagement, recruitment and retention in recent research are faculty and peer mentoring, and targeted service interventions by service staff.

Faculty mentoring of students at risk of underperforming has been shown to have a significant effect on improving student retention from semester to semester and over the life cycle of an undergraduate student (Bowles, McCoy & Bates, 2008; Campbell & Campbell, 2007; Igbo et al., 2011; Salinitri, 2005). Faculty mentors typically assisted with student learning, study skills, and educational and personal goal setting.

Targeted interventions delivered by service staff have also been demonstrated to be effective in engaging students at risk. In a large study using data from 115 US colleges, Keup and Barefoot (2005) found that service learning was the only single intervention that led to a significant increase in intent to re-enroll, and that this appeared to be related to increased faculty interaction with students. This study provides evidence that a combination of supportive measures is likely most effective. Another large study (Kuh, Cruce, Shoup, Kinzie, & Gonyea, 2008), studied the effects of student engagement on performance and persistence with a range of orientation, learning skills, mentoring and other activities, and showed that student engagement in educationally purposeful

activities was positively related to academic outcomes as represented by grades of first-year students and by persistence between the first and second year of college. A one-standard deviation increase in "engagement" during the first year of college increased a student's GPA by about .04 points. Potts and Schultz (2008) and Jamalske (2009) reported similar improvements in retention and student GPAs with a combination of service and academic interventions.

Malatest and his associates (2009) tested an at-risk diagnostic process and case management intervention at three Ontario colleges. They reported an average Semester 2 GPA of 2.00 for students who had participated in "success" activities, compared to an average of 1.88 for the control group.

Peer mentoring and other peer assistance to students at risk of failure has been less well studied. For example, Lloyd and Eckhardt (2010) investigated the impact of an intensive general chemistry course on student grades and program graduation rates. Students in the intensive course completed the course with higher grades than those in the regular six week and twelve week sections. Of the intervention group, 38% of students ultimately obtained their degree compared with 19% in the regular six week course.

Robinson and Niemer (2010) examined the effectiveness of peer mentor tutoring on program pass rate, GPA, exam scores and attrition. Students in the intervention group attended weekly peer-mentoring sessions for the first four semesters and had, on average, higher exam scores and lower attrition rates than those in the comparison, but no significant difference was found in overall GPA. Those findings are consistent with the assessment reported by Sanchez, Power and Paronto (2006) on the effects of peer-mentoring on retention and attrition and on satisfaction with their institution: students in the experimental group reported greater satisfaction with their institution; data on retention and attrition were not conclusive. Sanchez et al. (2006) also reported on a qualitative analysis of the effects of external factors (inadequate research on the program and resulting poor fit, inadequate preparation in mathematics or other subjects) on retention and attrition.

Jenkins (2007) focused on the value of coordinating student success services with other supportive interventions and an institutional focus on retention using data from 28 American colleges, concluding that high-impact colleges – those with positive retention outcomes – were more likely than low-impact colleges to coordinate their programs and student success services, and that, in general, minority students were more successful in colleges that had support services targeted specifically to their needs.

Ryan (2004) reported on the impact of college expenditures on degree attainment with data from 363 baccalaureate level 1 and 2 institutions. Ryan reported that instructional and academic support expenditures (academic administration and curriculum development, libraries, audio/visual services, and technology support for instruction) produced a positive, significant effect on cohort graduation rates. Student services expenditures, however, did not appear to have a positive or significant effect on degree attainment.

Three recent research reports of the Higher Education Quality Council of Ontario provide some additional context for assessing post-secondary student attrition, retention and persistence. For example, Lopez-Rabson and McCloy (2013) explored first semester attrition at six colleges in the Greater Toronto Area, where attrition has typically been thought to be higher than elsewhere in the province, and concluded that new patterns of student mobility are emerging. Their analysis revealed that only about half of the early leavers could be considered "true dropouts," and among those, 85% intended to resume their studies. Half of those not considered "true dropouts" already had a post-secondary credential or were currently attending another educational institution.

Gorman, Tieu and Cook (2013) focused on the role of college preparatory programs in attracting and retaining non-traditional students (that is, those who do not enter directly from high school) in post-secondary education. The qualitative research suggested that the social opportunities facilitated by preparatory programming contributed to the success of mature students by building personal relationships, self-esteem, confidence and interpersonal skills, particularly for those who reported earlier negative educational experiences. There remains a gap in the literature regarding "success rates" for such programs, although Finnie, Childs and Qiu suggested that a focus on "drop-out" and retention rates at an institutional level, rather than a system-wide level, may obscure the diversity of pathways to post-secondary education (2012, p. 5).

To summarize, much of the literature reviewed provides evidence for offering students from first generation and low-achieving backgrounds individualized support to enhance retention. Successes have been reported with all of the engagement interventions studied, including mentoring support from peers and from graduate students, staff and faculty, as well as service support and coaching in enhancing the retention and success of students. The challenge is to deliver the right service to the right student, and then create conditions for success in the regular college setting.

Method

Study Purpose

The purpose of the study was to explore the barriers and facilitators of retention and attrition of HYPE program participants in regular college programming, and the role of service supports and mentorship in improving the college experience of youth from underserved neighbourhoods. In particular, it sought to:

- Assess barriers experienced by youth from underserved neighbourhoods in accessing regular college programming;
- Understand the role of mentoring in increasing student resilience, interpersonal skills and problem-solving capacity, and how and whether this differs for youth from underserved neighbourhoods;
- Contribute to an enhanced outreach and engagement strategy to support youth from underserved neighbourhoods in post-secondary education.

The HYPE program at Centennial College has given many young people new confidence to return to school by helping to overcome the economic and social barriers that may have interfered with school attendance in the past and by providing a nurturing, inclusive environment for youth aged 17-29, primarily living in the underserved neighbourhoods of Toronto. Benefits include:

- Tuition-free six-week on-campus summer program
- Support for applications for full-time study
- Learning from post-secondary professors
- Classes that include breakfast and lunch
- Students are provided with TTC Tokens (www.centennialcollege.ca/HYPE)

Study Design

Program participants were invited to share basic demographic information and experiences in the form of focus group interviews. Focus groups were conducted with two groups of program participants from the 2011 and 2012 HYPE cohorts, recruited from among those who were enrolled in a College diploma program in January, 2013. Attempts were made to contact HYPE participants who had, so far, not enrolled at the College or who had enrolled but subsequently withdrawn, but the researchers were unable to contact anyone in either of those categories. (At the end of March, 2013, Community Outreach Office staff made a further attempt to contact 2011 and 2012 HYPE participants who were not currently enrolled at the College, and were able to recruit 40 for a follow-up session. Of those, 18 attended the follow-up session and 6 completed admission requirements for the next academic semester.)

The second part of the study consisted of interviews conducted with College faculty members, outreach program staff, and peer mentors who had been involved in HYPE program delivery in either 2011 or 2012, to understand the challenges of working with youth from underserved neighbourhoods and to identify strategies for better serving this population. Taped interviews were transcribed and then analyzed using a content analysis approach to understand the factors contributing to retention and student success.

Data Collection

Data were collected using three sources: Community Outreach Office program administration data, focus group interviews with program participants, and individual telephone interviews with program staff, faculty and peer mentors.

Program Administration Data

The research team had access to limited program administration data, which summarized the performance of participants in the HYPE summer experience as well as their subsequent status in College diploma programs.

Focus Groups with HYPE Participants

The senior researcher invited all students from the 2011 and 2012 HYPE cohorts who were still registered full- or part-time in a College diploma program to participate in a focus group to describe their experience in the HYPE program and their progress as regular diploma students at the College. This process yielded a total of 15 students, who were interviewed in two groups in the last week of January, 2013.

Individual Interviews with HYPE Program Staff, Faculty, and Peer Mentors

All faculty, program staff and peer mentors identified by the program coordinator as involved in HYPE program delivery in 2011 or 2012 were invited to a telephone interview of their experience in the program and to make recommendations for future program development. This process yielded seven interviews of approximately 30 minutes each.

All interviews were audio-taped, transcribed, and analyzed, using a content analysis approach, as described below.

Results

HYPE Program Participation, Conversion, and Retention in Diploma Programs

Data on HYPE program participation, conversion and current status of enrollment and retention were provided in aggregate form by the Manager of the Community Outreach Office, and are summarized in Table 1, below.

Table 1. HYPE Program Participation, Retention, and Graduation by Program Cohort Year.

Year	HYPE Summer Program Participants	Of those, full-time applicants following year	Full time applicants as a percentage of HYPE participants	Graduates as of January, 2013	Interrupted studies, expect to graduate in 2013
2004	56	5	8.9%	n.a.	n.a.
2005	67	12	17.9%	n.a.	n.a.
2006	116	1	0.9%	n.a.	n.a.
2007	101	20	19.8%	3*	n.a
2008	91	25	31.6%	8*	3*
2009	147	37	25.2%	9*	2*
2010	140	37	26.4%	6*	0*
2011	69	20	29.0%		
2012	134	47	35.1%		
Total	921	204	22.1%	26	5

Source: Community Outreach Office – HYPE Program Data
n.a.: not available
* Number may change due to student re-engagement or interruption in study

Over the nine years HYPE and its predecessor summer experience programs have been offered, 1204 offers were made and a total of 921 youth or 76% from underserved communities completed the HYPE summer experience program; a total of 204 or 22.1% of those who completed the program also completed application requirements and registered in a diploma program the succeeding fall or winter semester. As can be seen in Table 1, the rates of conversion (from HYPE participant to registration in a College diploma program) have risen steadily since 2009, with early indications that program conversions from HYPE in 2012 will be approximately 35%.

Most College diploma programs are either two or three years, so data on graduation rates are still necessarily incomplete. However, it appears that to the end of March, 2013, between 20% and 30% of those who entered in 2008 to 2010 academic years had already successfully completed the program in which they registered. Data were not collected prior to March, 2013 at the outreach

office on the programs in which participants registered, but staff members report the highest enrollment in business and community service programs.

HYPE Participant Focus Groups

A total of 15 participants attended one of the two focus groups conducted in the last week of January 2013, after most had spent at least one semester and often two or three semesters in a College diploma program. Four were male, and 11 were female. Six of the group had attended more than one summer session. Seven had subsequently registered in Early Childhood Education or Community Worker programs, three in Aesthetics, three in Business, one in Hospitality and one in Fine Arts.

The population served by HYPE includes a range of individuals predominantly from the adjacent community. Participants saw themselves at various points along a continuum of engagement: from those who had already made the decision to seek post-secondary education, and were mainly seeking to confirm their decision and/or find an accessible pathway to admission; to those individuals attracted by the potential for experiencing post-secondary education, but who did not necessarily see themselves at the time as candidates for post-secondary education. For them, access to food, transportation and some social interaction, were often as important as the program content. Those who engaged in the study were primarily from the first group.

Several of the interview questions gave rise to lively discussion, for example, around the role of incentives, the adequacy of motivational sessions, and the relative balance between giving a student a taste of college life in a relaxed setting and preparing them for the rigours of actual college attendance. In the data presentation which follows, direct quotes from participants are indicated, followed by identification of the speaker; { } indicates information deleted to maintain privacy of the speaker or other study participants; [ ] indicates a transitional or explanatory note added by the author.

Students reported on the benefits of being engaged in a number of ways:

> HYPE was a big step for me… when I got to first semester in aesthetics, I knew everything because of everything I learned in HYPE … so I wasn't struggling; I was helping other students (Focus group 2, Student A).

Individual and personal preparation for their new roles were noted as issues for attention:

> How to handle how to get into the college… (Focus group 1, Student B).

> Being on time as well is really important, and having that day to day homework, college experience, but college attitude as well … mocking what they would do on a day to day basis (Focus group 1, Student C).

> You learn time management…how to put everything into a schedule… [which] helps you to prepare for college life (Focus group 2, Student C).

On the transformation experience, participants searched for ways to describe their experience:

> It was a stepping stone. It doesn't honestly prepare you for what college life is about, that you have to navigate on your own…. HYPE was more relaxed, but the real college life was really hectic and sometimes unnerving. But that [hectic experience] was for a semester though, as soon as I went through with that, I was well seasoned in my second semester (Focus group 1, Student A).

> The first part of it is actually doing, wanting to be there. Because it's nothing for you if you don't want to be there, it can't do nothing for you. No matter how much money they're offering you, how much tokens they give you, lunch coupons, etc. It doesn't matter, if you don't want to be there you will not achieve anything (Focus Group 1, Student D).

Participants summarized what they saw as the challenge in the following terms:

> Honestly going to school, the worst part of it is applying…and they [HYPE] helped you (Focus group 1, Student A).

Role of Faculty

Although several faculty members were cited with approval by HYPE participants, and several participants reported continuing relationships with professors they have met as part of the HYPE experience, concern was expressed about the degree of empathy some of the teachers had for the HYPE population:

> As for the professors…they have their diplomas, they're qualified, they've been here for years, and they're seasoned… We need to maybe find professors with a background in helping youth and with the concern and care for the students that we bring here because some of them clearly did not care, it's not that they weren't seasoned or didn't have the education to be teaching they didn't care; they did what they had to do and left after. Or… to make sure they were doing things properly because at the end of the day they got paid like a professor would and they were there to do their job…. And in college no professor holds your hand, if you don't come that's your own business and they taught you the same way, but they're not used to knowing that these are underserved children that might not even want to go to school so you have to do a little hand holding, let them know you care about them and some were not interested in that. And that's why I find you have an issue with professors… (Focus group 1, Student A).

> The teachers don't know what they're getting into. When they do know what they're getting into … the teacher (was like) I had a feeling I was coming in to a bunch of misfits and that's not the truth, it goes from low income, to people who are just getting out of incarceration and you've got to know how to deal with that (Focus group 2, Student C).

Role of Peer Mentors

On the whole, the peer mentors who had had experience of living in an underserved neighbourhood, and had often faced similar challenges with high school, were seen as critical supports to the HYPE participant who was successful in gaining admission to regular College programming:

> I think my mentor through HYPE is a big help for me because she helped me through the whole HYPE…I was confused between what I wanted to do for college, whether I wanted to be in justice services or aesthetics, and it's two different things so I'm getting feedback from every single body, all the teachers, everybody, so it made me lay out which one I really want to do. Because either way I'm still helping people but in different ways so my mentor guided me through the whole way of HYPE…my first semester and my second semester and she's still here and one of my closest friends right now so that really opened my eyes… (Focus group 2, Student A).

> Personally if I had a mentor as a professor at the school, I wouldn't care to listen but if I had a mentor [who was] someone like me who knows what it is, that's why they chose certain mentors, mentors that would listen to someone like us, not professors (Focus group 1, Student E).

Role of Program Staff

Program staff members fulfilled a range of important functions for youth from underserved communities. The engagement included alerting participants to specific helpful program information, as well as coaching, guiding and individual advocacy:

> I was even reluctant to go on OSAP [Ontario Student Assistance Program, the financial assistance program for which most post-secondary students are eligible] because I don't want to get involved with something that I don't fully know about so I really researched it – so maybe they could educate us more on OSAP and the restrictions, so if you go and don't complete you're going to be on academic probation and when you try to get in again, you might not get OSAP… (Focus group 2, Student B).

> There were some times I didn't want to come to be honest… and { } would say, it's okay, come, I'll give you lunch, it's cold, come on get up, get on the bus and come, and that really did help…. So you know it's just being not looked after but someone helping you, encouraging you, calling you out, when they don't have to. (Focus group 2, Student C)
> Even to this day { } emails me… I was struggling with studying, { } giving me all these tips on studying and things and I like the fact that { } comes to our school every Thursday and checks up on us,…makes sure I'm on point, like I ain't struggling and if I am, what do I need help with (Focus group 2, Student D).

> I emailed { }, no word of a lie at 11 o'clock one night, when I didn't know who to ask – I wanted to know a lot of policy in my first semester, they kept giving the CAS [Children's Aid Society is the Ontario agency with

responsibility for the protection of children and youth] number and I was like, this is not what I want to do… and I got an instant reply (Focus group 2, Student B).

I remember not that long ago, {   } called me because it was very hard to get me in this school, I had a federal lien [refers to a claim by the federal government against an individual for unpaid taxes or other program benefits; typically individuals with a federal lien are excluded from eligibility for program benefits, including student loans, until the lien has been discharged], no possible way of ever getting any type of financial aid, no such thing ever and the first phase failed but they kept at it…I was just in tears and I had just had an incident where I got my hair ripped out…I ended up getting somewhere to live, {   } made sure I got bursaries that I needed … and I'm here now (Focus group 2, Student E).

I think one thing that was good, bringing it back to {   } and {   }, is that they could connect to us, they been through their own problems and where they've come from and what they've done so I think that was a plus because I felt more comfortable to go and talk to them, so if you could have more teachers that connected on that aspect…. Because you've got a lot of teachers that come in there …they're clueless… (Focus group 1, Student A).

They're [the staff] always on top of you…they're on you to make sure your OSAP is in, everything's done on time, they make sure you get the best out of your program…I can call any of them, {   } called me this morning, and I think that's what HYPE does, it makes us feel like family. You might have an issue with someone but by the end of the six weeks everyone is best friends (Focus group 1, Student B).

Focus group participants responded thoughtfully to an invitation to consider how the program could be improved:

I don't agree with the incentives. I know they're beneficial, but you don't get incentives for sitting your ass in a chair in college everyday… (Focus group 2, Student B).

The Thursday workshops, some of them were just horrible, they made no sense as to why we had to know this….they [program leaders] thought it was fundamental and then some didn't even show up, they chose people [guest speakers] who were not punctual at all and ran on their own time (Focus group 1, Student C).

HYPE participants made a number of specific recommendations for program modification and/or enhancement. Several participants noted that faculty orientation might be improved to include more "product knowledge" of the "client." Another suggested:

I just want to reiterate that the teacher be trained on what the issues they're going to be facing inside the classrooms, the backgrounds of individuals that they were going to be facing… a lot of them [program participants] come from institutions, detention centres, maybe provincial or [they've done]

federal time. So the stuff that they're going to need to know isn't necessarily always geared towards just education… (Focus group 2, Student C).

Although participants noted many advantages of the incorporation of peer mentors in the program delivery model, and expressed genuine appreciation for supports they had provided both in the summer session and in the subsequent semesters, some participants had witnessed some difficulties and recommended "background checks on your mentors; don't put two mentors that don't like each other together, fights happen…" (Focus group 1, Student C).

Another participant noted the need of HYPE students for help, saying "they take a lot of social work" (Focus group 2, Student A).

Some HYPE participants had concerns that the mandatory Thursday sessions [of the HYPE summer program] were not always presented in the most effective way. The HYPE summer program was organized so that participants focused primarily on academic aspects of the program for three of four days a week, with a series of motivational workshops typically reserved for Thursdays. The motivational workshop program was diverse with presentations by leaders of some of the college services, as well as guest speakers from the community.

The selection of topics and speakers, for example, gave rise to considerable discussion and recommendations. Participants agreed the sessions were an important element in motivating youth, but sought a way for participants to be involved in the selection and development of workshop content:

… it's usually something they've [the program administrators] picked and have interest in and we necessarily don't. And if you want a turn out you definitely could ask the students what they want to hear about, so they'd come and listen and be more involved… (Focus group 1, Student E).

The motivational (workshops) should be definitely mandatory… (Focus group 2, Student A).

Several female participants also referred to the value of workshops, which focused on building self-esteem, and wondered if it were possible to expand this component of the programming:

I think they should do more about splitting up the girls and guys, because when we had – I can't speak for the guys – when we did the girls we had the images that are portrayed for women in the media and to love yourself for you. I think that's important because in HYPE people were coming with low self-esteem and problems of their own and that really helps them (Focus group 2, Student C).

Participants saw the value in increasing the frequency of opportunities for engagement with the College:

I think they should have workshops running throughout the year (Focus group 1, Student B).

Some participants also saw particular value in having access to the College's Physical Education facilities:

> And maybe they could provide a way that they could go to the gym, because a lot of students have or the clients will have built up aggression and tension (Focus group 2, Student C).

> Participants also recommended that consideration be given to other forms of recognition in addition to the College Continuing Education certificate currently offered. One participant wanted to know if it might be possible to "… see if you can get a certificate after, or a partial credit for the diploma if you go on [to regular study at the College] (Focus group 1, Student B).

Interviews with Faculty, Staff, and Peer Mentors

Short telephone interviews were conducted with three faculty members who had taught in 2011 or 2012, as well as two staff members and three peer mentors who had worked with students in the 2011 or 2012 HYPE cohorts. One of the faculty informants was new to the HYPE program in 2012; the other two had participating in the previous year (2011).

Faculty

The faculty informants were asked to describe their role in the HYPE program and offered the following explanations:

> My role was to teach them a few basic skills that would benefit them or help them as well as get them to work on some goals and get them to work on the future and where they'd like to go (Professor A).

> I was more showing them a skill that they could learn and do and talking to them and sharing information and getting them to set some goals but I think as far as their appearance, their dress code, all that kind of stuff I tried to influence them a little by giving them uniforms [refers specifically to norms of the { } program/field of practice] to wear so they feel like they're in that role. That they envision themselves in that role… (Professor A).

The teachers distinguished HYPE participants from their usual classes:

> We're assuming that the students that are coming in [to HYPE] probably have had difficulty in school before and they've had difficulty moving on to post-secondary school on their own. What we do is set up the first part of the course to be about conflict resolution, so a lot of life skills, being able to deal with conflict… time management and … communication, so we work on all the key areas that involve being successful in the school from a social perspective (Professor B).

> I think it [HYPE] de-mystifies it [college life]. From my experience I had a lot of difficulty in high school and I came from a more privileged neighbourhood in { }, but in my experience with school, high schools see

one route for students, and they're not very good at helping student to see the possibilities if they don't fit in to the regular school system. So … [HYPE] makes it accessible and they've designed it so that the assignments are short but there's a lot of them, so continually assessing the students and giving them feedback so there are a lot of opportunities for success … I think that is a big benefit to them…. They're linked up to the administration of the College, to help them understand how to navigate the College and so that also helps… (Professor B).

I have a couple [of HYPE participants] in my regular class… and I get a real kick out of it, you know, when I see them there I say, wow this is great this whole thing is working… (Professor C).

One of the faculty informants focused on what she thought was a real program success story:

I had a mentor last year who was in my course the year before and I had identified her as someone that had a lot of difficulty with her literacy. I was really concerned about her ability to write, she had missed a lot of stuff because she was in a violent relationship, and she was a young mom. Because we identified that she got linked up and she got the support she needed … she ended up by January getting in the police foundations program. By the time she was in my [regular] class she was running every morning as part of the program. She was taking her daughter out; she'd put the baby in the stroller…and go running… (Professor B).

The faculty informants were eager to share observations and recommendations for improvement. Two of the three noted that their orientation to the HYPE summer program included a briefing by the Outreach Manager, but they still had some concerns.

In the class I taught there was quite a variance between the students, I mean some were really motivated and some were much more capable than others… I found it difficult at times managing a class that had those variations in terms of student behaviour. I hadn't taught at the college before so just finding out where the resources are was a challenge (Professor C).

Like the program participants, faculty informants had concerns about the best approach to effectively engage the youth.

My main concern with the program was that I'm not sure we were fair … to the students in terms of expectations. And by that I mean the expectations were not high enough on the part of the program for their performance (Professor C).

Faculty made a range of recommendations, which they hoped would lead to a better experience. On classroom management, for example, while they acknowledged the value of the existing faculty orientation, informants had several constructive suggestions about classroom management.

Communication between the management of the program and the teachers could be better … A person who hasn't done it [taught in the HYPE program] before [could have] a session with some of the other teachers …

just to find out what works for them and what doesn't. Also I was under the impression that there shouldn't be marking … and then I heard that some teachers do actually mark assignments and so I wasn't quite clear on the best course of action with this group… (Professor C).

The faculty informants considered it important to provide feedback on how youth could be better prepared in the event they sought admission to regular College diploma programming.

What I would have is some sort of midterm evaluation of every student, and the ones that weren't really putting forward the effort that's required or struggling in some way [you could provide] some one on one attention on how they can improve… (Professor C).

If I was running the show… accountability, I would say it's either a pass or a fail. I did give, I believe, three written tests and three practical tests just to make them realize that they do have to study, that they do have to prove that they can move to the next component… (Professor A).

Faculty spoke very highly of the role of peer mentors, noting that some managed this role better than others:

I think the mentors really need to understand more and so it was just fortunate they had that ECE, like the child and youth worker in my program last year so it was a good fit and so she really helped me…(Professor B).

Program Staff

Both program staff members who responded to the invitation to a telephone interview have had experience at the college for some years, including working in other programs. They noted that their role encompassed both outreach – linking with and engaging prospective program participants in the community – and what they described as inreach: providing supports to those who chose to seek admission to ensure they had a successful experience.

One of the program staff described a

… two pronged role … one is looking at and supporting non-traditional students in areas where women represent less than 20 per cent of the workforce, so that means my focus is primarily on skilled trades, engineering, math, sciences, policing….

The other definition, that fits a little bit better with the Community Outreach Office is looking at women living in poverty where post-secondary education in and of itself is non-traditional, so dealing with more of the higher risk population in helping them with the confidence and momentum to be able to come back and pursue post-secondary education… (Program Staff B).

Another program staff person focused on creating a caring environment:

For those who have had a negative impact or negative experience within the school system whether it be secondary or post-secondary, they're wary of

school, so I think having a program like HYPE is a … way to help them transition, to see that it is possible, that it is a caring environment and it is somewhere where they can be successful. A lot of the students we see have major self-esteem issues when it comes to their education (Program Staff A).

The program staff informants typically began by describing the academic content of the HYPE program but moved quickly to the benefits of engagement:

Not only does it give a taste of college and provide free education and learning materials, it also eliminates any barriers participants have to learning … because assistance is provided with breakfast, lunch and TTC [transportation] (Program Staff A).

It's getting connected with the college… [reducing] the intimidation factor…And they're experiencing so many things in the HYPE program, they become friends so they develop a support group. In addition to the support they receive from us [HYPE staff], they receive the support of their other classmates which is pretty neat. They … get to know other colleagues as well, people that work for financial aid, people that work in counseling office – it's like they get a head start (Program Staff B).

Central to the engagement experience in HYPE was the focus for program staff on creating a durable positive relationship with the participants:

It's different than just recruiting, getting people in a program, we're actually creating a relationship with these participants, even those who chose not to pursue full time studies at Centennial we're still keeping a relationship with these participants, whether it's helping them find work, whether it's just helping them in the right direction and the right path. We find that this has been really effective and it's been one of our greatest strengths, you know the relationship building aspect of it (Program Staff A).

Program staff members were particularly sensitive to the accessibility issues of underserved youth and strategies for individual advocacy on a broad range of issues, including program design:

… on top of that exposure to post-secondary, a sort of base needs that are being met there with food and transportation assistance, day care coverage service to those that qualify for child care expenses to the Ontario ODSP [a component of the provincial social assistance programming intended to support disadvantaged adults improve their employability], so those are some of the base needs that are being met. I know we had students over the summer last year that would admit eating at the college was the only time they got to eat so having some of those base needs met leads to the continued relationship building and support (Program Staff B).

The Community Outreach Office program staff members were the main links for participants between the summer HYPE experience and the transition to regular student life at the College and so the brunt of addressing the transitional challenges fell to them:

… you have to balance it out with the outreach and inreach but both are equally important… It gives me great pride to know that students that we

> have from HYPE programs are, I would say like my family, like my kids. I want to make sure that they are succeeding before they come to college … It's a constant checking in and making sure everything is going smoothly (Program Staff A).

The program staff informants focused on strategies they had found successful in facilitating the transition from HYPE to regular program admission, but were also concerned to engage and maintain relationships with those not currently interested in college admission:

> Implement … a more structured exit strategy so that if they haven't applied … saying, what can we do to help you at this point, either what do you need to do to get all your ducks lined up to make it to post-secondary? Are you looking to apply to another institution? Are you looking for work and how can we help facilitate your success… (Program Staff B).

Peer Mentors

Peer mentors are typically graduates of the HYPE program who are supported in part during their second or third academic years by the Ontario Work Study Plan [an Ontario post-secondary education support program, designed to provide on-campus work experience for full-time students who require assistance in covering their education-related costs which are not necessarily covered by the OSAP; the program funds 75% of the salary (up to $1,000 max per term) of eligible students employed part-time in on-campus jobs]. In addition to their work in the HYPE summer experience program, eligible mentors have assisted the next generation of HYPE participants in making the transition to full-time College study.

One of the mentors who responded to the invitation for a telephone interview was involved in mentoring in both 2011-12 and 2012-13 academic years. The other was a mentor in the 2011-12 academic year, and had since graduated and gone on to work in a community agency in the neighbourhood.

The description offered by a faculty informant characterized the role as an essential link:

> I'm the faculty and I'm teaching but then we have a mentor in the class who is a student who's been in the program … they're on their way back into another year…and so they're the ones that link them [HYPE participants] to the staff in the outreach program and that is a key element of the program (Professor B).

One of the peer mentor informants summarized her understanding of the role in the following terms:

> … the second year I was more able to work with a few students that were really, really struggling – I was able to do more informal counseling and I knew the college better, so I was able to help them find resources outside of school as well… it's a lot of information sharing and helping them create networks and things like that... (Peer Mentor A).

The Peer Mentor informants were particularly mindful of the value of their experience as role models for the next generation of HYPE participants:

It makes college attainable in their own minds. It opens them up too. A lot of them[program participants] don't have a lot of people to look up to and people who are supportive and really positive in their life, so it gives them people that will support them and be positive … it also allows them to meet other people in their same situation… (Peer Mentor B).

Their mindset changes as a result. It gives them a group of people that are in the same boat as them but want better for their own lives. A lot of the girls come from abusive relationships, I've encountered many of them, and I think it ... boosts their self-esteem definitely ... (Peer Mentor A).

One of the peer mentors spoke emphatically to the value of field trips facilitated by the HYPE summer experience*:*

… we toured different facilities that had to do with the human services field, like community centres, we went to one of the courts … I really feel the need to do that in more classrooms. It … definitely broadens their horizons, and it enables them to connect with people because ultimately, especially in human services, the more people you know, the better chance you have in getting jobs and getting accepted in further education (Peer Mentor A).

The peer mentors, in common with other study participants, were quick to focus on strategies for improving service:

…sometimes it's a little bit unorganized in how they [staff] recognize who has what issues, so when they meet the students, they gather that information right there. Because a lot of them are single moms, things like… child care is an issue. Because a lot of them (students) haven't worked and don't know that process, it's scary…

And you need to do it all in time, some of them don't do it soon enough……then you're scrounging to help them. So if they're able to do that at the beginning, I think it would make everybody's job a lot easier (Peer Mentor B).

One of the peer mentor informants described the catch-22 of some of the student financial assistance available to regular post-secondary students:

A big one for some of my students was the bursary that HYPE gives. It's great but it's based on financial need…. When you live in [social] housing, it's very hard to demonstrate financial need because you have low rent [even though other costs may be higher] (Peer Mentor A).

In common with the faculty informants and HYPE participants, the peer mentor informants acknowledged the range of engagement demonstrated by the summer experience program participants and wondered if a variation on available incentives might work:

… sometimes with a free program, not all the students necessarily take it as seriously as they could so I thought an incentive would be, if they were able to structure that summer six week course where if they went to [the College] they could use that as like a GNED [a foundational course which is required

of all diploma students prior to graduation], I think that would be incredible… (Peer Mentor B).

Discussion

The HYPE program has evolved over the past eight years as a major initiative of the College Outreach Office. Designed to engage underserved youth primarily in the east part of Toronto where the College is located, the program offered a "taste" of college life to young people for whom the prospect of attending college was remote and often intimidating.

Key elements of the program, offered each summer to approximately 150 youth, included a six week summer experience and an opportunity to sample academic content from a wide variety of programs, as well as to get a realistic sense of the process of gaining admission to a post-secondary institution. Central to the program model was the use of peer mentors and Community Outreach Office program staff as guides in the engagement process. Academic content for the HYPE summer experience was delivered by regular College faculty, and Outreach program staff worked with other College services to familiarize youth with possible pathways to post-secondary education for those whose prior experience of secondary or post-secondary education had not been successful, or who had not been successful in gaining admission to the College.

In addition to often problematic academic records that made it difficult for those with non-standard records to be accepted into the College or to compete successfully for admission to limited enrollment programs, most youth from underserved areas faced a range of other barriers, as this research has indicated. Some had youth justice records, which would have affected their admissibility to some programs; many of the young women had young children, and may or may not have had adequate family and social supports to allow them to be successful in post-secondary education. Most faced financial barriers not fully met by the regular college financial assistance programs. Barriers to entry were also complicated for some by literacy issues or learning disabilities.

While student retention and attrition has been an issue of concern for many years, and the educational literature is replete with studies of academic and service interventions once students had been admitted to a college or university, research focused on engaging underserved youth from a student-centred perspective is very modest, consequently a major consideration in the design of the current study was to attempt to understand barriers to access more clearly from the point of view of the program participant.

Program Success

One of the unique features of the HYPE program is its focus on engagement, which stresses the building of a positive relationship with program participants whose earlier educational experiences did not often lead them directly from high school to college or university. Additional program supports delivered during the summer experience by faculty members and invited speakers provided important opportunities for program participants to expand their horizons, and the network of support provided particularly in the first regular semester by program staff and peer mentors appear to be the features most often mentioned as attractions for youth from the underserved communities.

The HYPE participants who attended the focus groups spoke eloquently of the benefits of the opportunity of a reasonably accessible and short term experience, the "taste" of college

programming and its power to demystify the post-secondary experience. An integrated support program, featuring at least two distinct levels of engagement, provided additional opportunities not always available to those from underserved areas.

Senior students who had already been successful in navigating some of the barriers were hired as peer mentors to assist HYPE participants during the summer and in some follow-up activities during the academic year. The mandate of the peer mentor was to problem-solve with HYPE participants where that was possible, and to refer participants to the Community Outreach Office program staff as necessary.

Program staff, each with roots in the community and specific expertise in outreach to diverse communities and/or knowledge of and linkages with specific College services collaborated to build capacity for both HYPE participants and peer mentors to:

1. Show HYPE participants pathways to success that they have often not known to date, and
2. Focus on building trusting relationships which would help participants weather the difficulties of getting admitted to and succeeding at college.

Improving Program Delivery

As our research has demonstrated, the HYPE summer experience had a transformative effect on youth for at least the 40% of each cohort who proceeded to post-secondary education. However, the time to complete admission requirements, particularly for limited enrollment programs for the next academic session, was very short, and completing admission requirements (transfer of transcripts or other evidence of prior learning, successful completion of mandatory entrance examinations) in time and/or addressing challenges in the personal living situations of some HYPE participants compromised their short-term potential for success.

This gave rise to a staff brainstorming discussion of the initial research results to seek ways to identify individual barriers a little earlier in the summer so that those who make the decision to seek admission are more likely to be successful on their first try. Among the immediate strategies identified were pre-screening of applicants and the reorganization of program resources to expedite applications for admission from this cohort through the College system.

Recommendations

Based on the analysis reported, the researchers offered a series of recommendations for program enhancement in the following broad areas:

1. **Improving the HYPE summer experience and program design for participants:** More direct engagement of program participants in content selection, improved faculty and staff development, facilitation of access to added resources, for example, physical education facilities, field trips, and measures to improve administrative data collection and program documentation.

2. **Transitions to full-time study**: Consider strategies to facilitate earlier identification and supports for HYPE participants likely to seek admission to the next available academic session, and consider additional strategies and referral options to accommodate the needs of those who are not currently in a position to follow through directly to post-secondary education.

3. **HYPE program frequency and options**: In addition to expanding content and outreach/engagement opportunities during the academic year, consider potential of transfer credit for some HYPE program content.

Conclusion

The qualitative research focused on how gains in interpersonal and problem-solving skills and making a connection with one or more mentors at the College related to student success. Results from this small study suggest that providing students from underserved communities with an opportunity like HYPE facilitates entry to post-secondary education for a population that has been traditionally underserved in post-secondary education. It also points to a number of promising directions for further research and program improvement.

Study Limitations

This was an exploratory study, which focused on assessing the barriers to post-secondary education for underserved youth and potential pathways to facilitate their earlier and successful engagement in post-secondary education, and this paper elaborates on the critical role of the HYPE summer experience and the integrated follow-up coordinated by the Outreach Office. Because of the relative newness of the Outreach program, and an intentional focus on community outreach rather than college recruitment, a more robust analysis of outcomes has not been possible. However, the qualitative analysis suggests there could be considerable benefit to designing a study that focused more directly on factors affecting successful outcomes for this critical population in our community.

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Appendix A: Surveys/Interview Guides

I. For HYPE participants who have subsequently registered for a post-secondary program at Centennial.

Focus Group to explore experiences of HYPE Summer Program Experience, benefits and challenges of outreach supports in preparing traditionally underserved participants for post-secondary study – to be administered between January 8 and 31, 2013 to about 10 participants from the 2009-2011 and 2012 HYPE cohorts.

Those recruited will be explicitly reminded of digital taping of the interview as per information sheet [above], and asked to consent.

1. Intro: go around the table for first name, current program and HYPE cohort attended.

2. What was your experience with the HYPE summer program at the college?

3. What was the most challenging part of the HYPE?

4. What parts of the HYPE program was most helpful in getting you ready for a post-secondary career? Can you tell me a little about how that helped?

5. What parts of the HYPE program were not so helpful or did not work well? Can you tell me more about that?

6. What is the most important thing you learned at HYPE that you think will help you be successful at college/university?

7. What has it been like attending college in the program you chose? Did the HYPE experience prepare you for that?

8. Was there anything outside your current academic program that you think may affect your success? (Probe: costs, work, family or child care considerations, role model, mentor, coming from the neighbourhood I come from, etc)

9. What changes would you suggest to the HYPE program? (prompt: any knowledge or skills gaps? Cost? Time? Resources?)

10. What do you think the HYPE program designers need to know or to keep in mind to support you better in your post-secondary career? What should stay? What should go? What new content might be helpful?

11. Is there anything else you'd like to comment on?

Thank you on behalf of the research team.

II. For HYPE Faculty, Staff, and Mentors involved in program delivery to participants in the 2011 or 2012 cohorts.

Short telephone interview to understand experiences of faculty, staff and mentors in delivering and supporting participants in HYPE Summer Program Experience – to be administered between January 8 and 23, 2013 to 5-10 selected individuals involved in program delivery and support to one or more of the 2009 -2012 HYPE cohorts.

Those recruited will be explicitly reminded of digital taping of the interview as per information sheet [above], and asked to consent.

1. How long have you been involved in delivering the HYPE Program at Centennial College?

2. Can you briefly describe your role and/or activities?

3. What do you see as the benefits of a program like HYPE in familiarizing youth from underserved neighbourhoods with post-secondary education in 2012?

4. Are there challenges that concern you? For the youth? For program delivery staff?

5. What are the benefits of the providing an experience like HYPE to underserved youth?

6. Please describe the challenges you have encountered while being involved in supporting HYPE program participants.

7. What supports/structures are needed to support these participants more effectively?

8. Is there anything else you'd like to comment on?

Thank you on behalf of the research team.

The Effect of High School Completion on Aboriginal Canadians: Measuring Financial and Health Outcomes

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ABSTRACT: How can we explain the poor Aboriginal high school completion rates in Canada? Is completing high school "worth it" for Aboriginals? Using the Aboriginal Peoples Surveys from 2001 and 2006, this statistical investigation explored the role of financial incentives and health outcomes on high school completion rates for young, urban Aboriginals. First, the labour market returns for completing high school were identified and measured. Significantly higher high school credential effects were determined to exist for Aboriginal females compared to Aboriginal males. The implications of the financial returns to a high school diploma and pathways to post-secondary education are also discussed. Second, effects of high school completion were determined. Results suggested that completing high school lead to a reduction of health conditions in an Aboriginal person's adult life. Significantly higher health outcome effects were also found to exist for Aboriginal males than females. This paper's principal finding is that low high school completion rates for Aboriginals cannot be explained by poor financial or health incentives. More research needs to be conducted to explore other channels that could explain the poor education outcomes for this marginalized Canadian subpopulation.

Introduction

The extent to which the education and skills of Aboriginal Canadians are developed, utilized and rewarded in the labour market is a major policy issue. It has been calculated that the federal government spends nearly $10 billion per year on Aboriginal programs and affairs (Government of Canada, 2007). Richards and Scott (2009) have reported that the overall "excess spending" on the provision of five core services to Aboriginals due to their below-average socioeconomic condition amounts to $6.3 billion annually.[11] Despite significant media coverage and government investment in Aboriginal post-secondary educational attainment, education outcomes for this demographic remain dismal. The national high school dropout rates for Aboriginals are three times the national average. Perhaps counter-intuitively for some, the education gap between Aboriginals and non-

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[11] The five core services were transfer payments (excluding pensions), health care services, housing costs, protection of people, child and family services. This number excluded the cost of providing education opportunities. These services were considered "excess" because the federal government was the provider, rather than the provincial and territorial governments.

Aboriginals is actually widening in Canada (see Figure 1). These stylized facts emphasize the need to understand this social equity issue from a policy development standpoint. Why are young, urban Aboriginals not completing high school? Before policy recommendations can be made, it is important to investigate both the effects of high school completion on an Aboriginal person's life and why the high school completion rates are lower among Aboriginals compared to the general Canadian population.

This study used statistical analysis to examine how the human capital of Aboriginals is rewarded in Canada's labour market, particularly that of a high school diploma. National Aboriginal high school dropout rates are three times the average, yet the mechanisms that lead to this statistic are poorly understood. In this study, the employed datasets allowed the researcher to link high school completion with health outcomes in the adult life. Thus, out of the myriad of reasons and circumstances that could affect education choices for Aboriginals, the focus of this study was financial incentives and health outcomes.

To answer the questions at hand, this paper followed in the footsteps of recent literature on returns to education and distinguished between two dimensions of educational attainment: years of schooling, and degrees and diplomas received. Employing this methodology, this paper estimated credential effects or "sheepskin" effects: the gains in earnings associated with receipt of a high school diploma after controlling for years of schooling. These effects can be interpreted as the value of program completion: the difference in earnings between those with a diploma and non-completers with the same years of schooling. Ferrer and Riddell (2008) found that this differentiation between the returns to education in two dimensions has important effects for policy makers deciding on the human capital of immigrants. More specifically, they found that, for immigrants, years of education have less importance and educational credentials seem to have even more importance in determining earnings relative to nonimmigrant Canadians. Can something similar be said about Aboriginal human capital? Even though the following was outside the scope of this paper, assessing the value of high school credentials may not only help develop sound policies in the schooling system but also help design better adult educational programs aimed at the unemployed. Thus, a systematic exploration of returns to Aboriginal high school education and its possible implication on the education inequities in Canada under this methodology holds merit.

This paper's contributions to the existing literature are threefold. Using the Aboriginal Peoples Surveys (APS) from 2001 and 2006, it was found that the returns to high school completion for Aboriginal females were three times as large as the returns of Aboriginal males. Specifically, the returns are 30.9% for females and 10.8% for males. This means that for an Aboriginal female (male), having a high school diploma results in annual wages being 30.9% (10.8%) higher compared to one who has not finished high school, controlling for a variety of factors. It was also found that for Aboriginals considering any form of post-secondary educational credential (trades, college, or university), it was beneficial to have a complementary high school diploma. Finally, regression results suggested that completing high school significantly reduced the risk of being diagnosed with a serious health condition in early adult years. Specifically, completing high school reduced the chances of being diagnosed with an additional health condition by 35.4% and 21.8% for males and females respectively.

The central finding of this paper was that returns from high school completion are high, both in terms of labour market earnings and reduced health outcomes. Results suggested that Aboriginals are not dropping out of high school because of poor financial incentives in the labour market or lack of health advantages later on in life. Other reasons underlie the poor education outcomes for this Canadian subpopulation and researchers will need to incorporate innovative research designs that maximize the capacity of available datasets to uncover the true underlying mechanisms.

This paper is organized as follows: (1) the context is set with a literature review from the fields of Aboriginal education and health, and returns to education literature; (2) the wage equation model is presented; (3) the data and summary statistics are described; (4) regression analysis and results are discussed; and (6) conclusions are made.

Background and Literature Review

In Canada, the term "Aboriginal peoples" is defined in two ways. The first definition of Aboriginal Canadians refers to those who have registered as an "Indian" with the federal government of Canada under the Indian Act of 1876. Every registered Indian has Aboriginal ancestry, holds the right to live on designated reserves, and receives associated benefits. The second and more widely used definition is based on self-identification. Individuals can self-identify themselves as belonging to one (or more) of three Aboriginal groups: North American Indian or First Nation (Mohawk, Ojibway, Cree and more), Métis (descendants of intermarriage communities of "Indians" and *coureurs de bois* engaged in the fur trade), or Arctic Inuit. Census Canada, and this paper, use the second definition when referring to Aboriginal Canadians. According to latest available figures, there are 1.4 million Aboriginals, who amount to approximately 4.3% of the population (Statistics Canada, 2013).

In Canada, it is generally understood that there are significant disparities in socioeconomic characteristics between Aboriginals and non-Aboriginals. According to the 2006 Census of Population, more than one in five (21.8 per cent) Aboriginal individuals lived in economic families with an after-tax income below the low-income cut-off, which was two times higher than the non-Aboriginal figure. Pendakur and Pendakur (2011) have found substantial income and earning gaps for Aboriginal peoples in comparison with Canadian-born majority-group workers with similar characteristics. Mendelson (2006) reported that, on average, the Aboriginal population has suffered from higher unemployment, lower levels of education, below average incomes and many other indicators of limited socioeconomic circumstances. Looking for solutions, many researchers and policy-makers have linked higher educational attainment as an explanatory factor of income disparities. According to Sharpe, Arsenault, Lapointe, and Cowan (2009), 47.3% of the employment income gap between Aboriginals and non-Aboriginals can be attributed to differences in educational attainment. Jenkins (2007), Mendelson (2006), and Hull (2000) indicated similar findings.

Despite investments by the government in post-secondary educational attainment for Aboriginals, the education gap between Aboriginals and non-Aboriginals is increasing. Figure 1 highlights this widening education gap between the two groups. Across age groups (and through the years), education gap measured in percentage points is increasing across all types of education between Aboriginals and non-Aboriginals. Underlying this trend are two stylized facts of dramatic intergenerational increases in investments in education among the non-Aboriginal population and only modest improvements among the Aboriginal population.

Research has also demonstrated a disproportionate gap in health status between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal populations (Waldram, Herring, & Young, 2006; Estey, Kmetic, & Reading, 2007; Wilson, Rosenberg, & Abonyl, 2010). While there is documented information about inequalities in mortality and morbidity between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal populations in Canada, most of this research has been focused on Aboriginals living on reserves (see, for example, Barton, Thommasen, & Tallio, 2005; Martens, Sanderson, & Jebamani, 2005). Young (2003; 2008) conducted reviews of Aboriginal health research in medical sciences and have reported a severe under-representation of urban Aboriginal peoples in the literature. Recent studies in academic

literature, outside of economics, have attempted to fill this gap. Two general conclusions ahave been reached: (1) off-reserve Aboriginals are generally in better health than those living on reserves, and (2) there is a need to understand Aboriginal health issues in the context of broad socioeconomic determinants. The role of confounding factors such as poverty, unemployment rates, and education on health need to be better understood (Cardwell & Wilson, 2011; Curtis, 2007). This paper's examination of the effects of completing high school on health outcomes for urban Aboriginals contributes to this growing body of literature.

According to the conducted literature review, there has been no paper in economic literature that strives to accurately estimate returns of a high school diploma for Aboriginals in the labour market and their personal health. This study aimed to determine whether poor financial and health incentives hold explanatory power for why Aboriginals are not finishing high school at the same rate as non-Aboriginals. Stronger financial and health incentives for high school completion were indicated, suggesting that poor high school completion rates for Aboriginal Canadians must be attributed to other reasons.

It is still largely not understood how to interpret Aboriginal education intake levels and gaps, or what can help Aboriginal people successfully complete high school. From classical human capital theory, the factors of production of high school diplomas for Aboriginals can be separated between the supply side and the demand side. Theory suggests Aboriginal students demand more high school diplomas as financial incentives or cultural expectations for formal academic achievement increase. From the supply side, high school completion rates can be expected to increase if the socio-economic characteristics of students' families improve, or if the quality of elementary and high school schooling provided increases. For more information on human capital theory and its commentary on Aboriginal education, readers are encouraged to consult Richards and Scott (2009). For the purposes of this paper, it is important to note that while this study quantitatively links financial and health incentives to high school completion rates, the employed datasets cannot explore these other important factors.

The Wage Equation Model

In this brief section, the wage equation model is outlined, and it is explained how, econometrically, the effect of high school completion on earnings is extracted. The positive correlation between education and earnings is one of the most well-established relationships in economics. Mincer (1974) provided the foundation for empirical research on the determinants of market earnings:

$$\ln w = a_0 + a_1 S + a_2 EXP + a_3 EXP^2 + a_4 X + u$$

where the logarithm of individual earnings ($\ln w$) is expressed as a linear function of years of completed schooling (S) and a quadratic function of labour market experience (EXP and EXP^2). Additionally, the function includes a vector of variables (X) that may also influence earnings such as language, marital status, and province of residence. The parameters $a_1 \dots a_4$ measure the marginal effects of each variable on the logarithm of wages. According to this view, diplomas and degrees play no role in determining earnings, only years of education matter. Thus, only human capital matters. The alternative model, the "credentialist model," implies that only diplomas and degrees matter. When one receives a credential, one is able to signal his or her productivity level to an employer. Together, these two extremist models encapsulate the debate about the role of education in labour market returns.

In reality, both views are likely to have some validity. In Ferrer and Riddell (2002), the human capital earnings function, in which earnings are assumed to depend only on years of schooling, and the credentialist model, in which earnings are assumed to be only a function of degrees received, were rejected in favour of a more general model that incorporated both years of completed schooling and education credentials received. This value of a high school diploma came from both specific knowledge gained in each year of schooling and from what they have referred to as the "'package' of behavioural, intellectual and social experiences that only graduation from the whole program provides." To evaluate the extent to which credentials have an economic reward over and above the years of schooling an individual receives, economists have extended the Mincer equation to include dummy variables for different types of education credentials:

$$\ln w = a_0 + a_1 S + a_2 EXP + a_3 EXP^2 + a_4 X + a_5 CD + u$$

where CD is a vector of credential dummies and a_5 is a vector of parameters that measure the value of completing each degree. The interest here is to measure the marginal effects of a high school diploma for an Aboriginal Canadian. Econometrically, it is a well-established fact that including variables that could potentially correlate with high school completion will lead to unbiased estimates of the credential effects. Thus, the following set of covariates was deemed to hold important, but not exhaustive, explanatory power:

- **Gender**: Pendakur and Pendakur (2011) found that the earnings gap between non-Aboriginal males and Aboriginal males with similar characteristics is between 20 to 50 per cent and only 10 to 20 per cent for the female groups.

- **Residence in urban area**: Education services, health services and labour markets conventionally look quite different between urban and less urbanized areas.

- **Province of residence**: Under the current federalist structure of Canadian governance, provincial governments hold jurisdiction over many important sectors such as provision of educational services and employment insurance programs, both of which can affect educational choices.

- **Health conditions**: Access to health services and a person's genetic makeup can affect both their education choices and employment prospects. Thus, including it in the regression can help provide more reliable estimates of high school completion. It will be shown that the availability of this information is one of the major advantages the Aboriginal Peoples Survey datasets has over Censuses.

- **Density of Aboriginals in area of residence**: Pendakur and Pendakur (2011) reported that the greater the size of an urban Aboriginal community, the worse the economic outcomes for its members. Sharpe et al. (2009) also reported a negative peer effect amongst Aboriginal students in British Columbia. Together, these studies highlighted that the density of Aboriginals in the surrounding area affects an Aboriginal person's education and earning outcomes.

▪ **Distinction between post-secondary degree completion with and without high school diploma**: Riddell (2008) found important differences between those that complete post-secondary education with a high school diploma compared to those that do not.

▪ **Individual discount factor**: Education is a time-consuming investment where realized returns are experienced in the future. For individuals with a high discount factor, economic theory predicts that the opportunity cost of investing in high school completion could lead to low completion rates.

To account for some of the other possible sources of endogeneity, only individuals who are 20-44 years of age and who live in urban areas were analyzed from the datasets. The age restriction helped focus on the years 1981 and after, the time period where non-Aboriginals substantially increased their high school completion rates and Aboriginals did not. The geographical constraint helped mechanically solve obvious endogeneity problems as many rural schools in Aboriginal areas are quite different, if existent at all. It also helped eliminate rural areas where there was a lack of health services that impacted both education and earnings.

Despite the rich datasets available and attempts to eliminate endogeneity concerns, the specifications did not include all possible omitted variables and thus, the linear approximations may have been biased. Therefore, this paper relied upon Card (1999) to claim validity of its results, as he reported that a cross-sectional regression will produce an upward bias of around ten per cent. Thus, with a comprehensive dataset that provided information on the aforementioned covariates, one could arrive at a reasonably accurate measure of returns to high school completion for Aboriginals.

Data and Summary Statistics

The Aboriginal Peoples Survey (APS) is a national survey of Canadian Aboriginals administered by Statistics Canada as a supplemental package to the Census of Population. For every person that reported Aboriginal identity in Census 2001 and 2006, Statistics Canada sent the APS four months later to the reported address. Designed in consultation with key Aboriginal organizations, the survey provides valuable data on the social, health and economic conditions of Aboriginal people ages six and over who live on and off reserves. Econometrically, it allows researchers to account for a wider variety of controls than the publicly available Census micro-data file. As demonstrated in the next section of this paper, it can also help implement proxies for important covariates such as health conditions, Aboriginal density in residential areas, and discount factor for individuals. Observations from the 2006 Survey were combined with the 2001 Survey to help increase the size of the dataset threefold.

Table 1 presents the descriptive statistics for individuals from APS 2001 and APS 2006 groups.[12] The two groups were quite similar, but the APS 2006 dataset contained a more educated cohort: the high school and university completion rates were 8.55% and 11.77% greater than the APS 2001 group's statistics. The literature review presented no significant changes in education policies or employment prospects for Aboriginals between 2001 and 2006 that would deem the two APS datasets incompatible.

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[12] For more information on how variables were created from the dataset, readers are encouraged to visit the appendix section A1.

Table 2 disaggregates Aboriginals in both datasets between genders and emphasizes the fact that the education and labour market realities were quite distinct for the two groups. Aboriginal women had higher years of education, lower high school dropout rates, higher percentage of post-secondary degrees, and made less money on average. It is interesting to note that Aboriginal women without any educational credentials fared far worse than their male counterparts. Women in this cohort earned only $11,109.35 on average, while men earned $17,056.74. This might have been due to occupational differences, but a closer look is warranted in future work. For the purposes of this paper, Table 2 highlights the need to run separate regressions for the two genders.

The employed datasets contained the variation necessary for investigating the questions of interest. Additionally, analysis from the summary charts reinforced the need to run separate regressions for males and females.

Regression Results and Data Analysis

The analysis in this section benefitted from the rich set of information available on individuals in the APS datasets. However, before the regression results are presented, a case is made for proxies of important covariates. Then, labour market returns to a high school diploma for Aboriginals are measured. Finally, the effects of high school completion on the chances of being diagnosed with an additional health condition are estimated.

Proxies

The Aboriginal Peoples Survey does not contain explicit data on individual discount rates or geographical markers from which density of Aboriginals in that urban area could be derived. Thus, proxies were introduced to account for these factors. First, high discount rates were inferred for individuals if they were a daily cigarette smoker. Numerous economic studies have investigated and used smoking habits as an indicator of an individual's worth of time. Fuchs (1982) found that health habits like smoking are related to implicit and explicit discount rates for individuals. Subsequently, studies like Evans and Montgomery (1994) have contributed further evidence that smoking habits are a good predictor for discount rates. Such studies have found negative correlations between an individual's smoking habit and his or her decision-making ability in long timeframes (such as home ownership choices). This paper followed this line of work and denoted an individual with a high discount factor if, at the time of the survey, they were a daily smoker.

Additionally, a variable was created for an individual with a "high probability of having lived in an area of high Aboriginal density." This information was inferred from whether the individual was taught an Aboriginal language in their last year of high school. An assumption was made that if an Aboriginal language was taught in the individual's school then the school was located in an area where mostly Aboriginal people lived. This proxy captured the effect of the negative peer effect mentioned in Sharpe et al. (2009). It should be acknowledged that neither of these proxies completely captured the variables of interest; however, they captured valuable personal information that could potentially affect both education and earnings. As demonstrated in the next section, both proxies remained significant at the 99% level in most regressions thereby confirming their importance.

Labour Market Returns to High School Completion

Tables 3 and 4 summarize the main findings regarding the magnitude of credential effects for Aboriginal females and males. These estimates measured the impact on earnings of the degree, diploma or certificate after controlling for years of high school education.[13]

High school graduation increased female earnings by 30.9% relative to those who did not graduate from secondary school; male earnings increased approximately by 10.8%. A year of education yielded a 7% increase in market earnings for women and 10.6% for males. A college diploma or trades certificate after high school graduation increased earnings by a further 22.2% and 17.6% for females and males respectively. Earning a college diploma or trades certificate without completing high school yielded lower returns of 17.7% and 10.7% for females and males respectively. Manifestly, completing high school even if one did not wish to enter university education later was highly beneficial for both females and males. The most significant increases, however, occurred at the university level. A university credential increased female earnings by 32.1% and male earnings by 22.6%.

On a technical note, one of the chief concerns about the validity of these estimates was that the unemployment rate for this subpopulation is unconventionally high. Because so many Aboriginals reported no annual earnings, the OLS cross-sectional regression ignored 2,631 individuals or 22.68% of the dataset. As a robustness check against this source of bias, the Heckman selection model was employed.[14] In this model, the dependent variable (log of earnings) was treated as a censored variable and the regression was run looking at the effect of education on the earnings of all Aboriginals, including the non-earners. The instrument used to measure the probability of an individual working or not was the number of household maintainers they reported in the APS. A "household maintainer" referred to the person or persons in the household who paid the rent, or the mortgage, or the taxes, or the electricity, et cetera, for the dwelling. This number would have had a substantial impact on the total household earnings, and thus, an individual's decision to look for work or not. However, it is assumed that this variable had no impact on the actual amount of wages earned. The results in Table 5 and 6 indicated that female returns were 31.5% for a high school diploma and the male returns were 14.9%. However, the male returns were not significant at the 95% confidence levels. A combined regression reported that women received returns 21% greater than their male counterparts. After having accounted for this source of bias, Aboriginal female returns did indeed seem closer to the 30% range and considerably larger than returns for Aboriginal males.

Post-secondary Education Pathways

The implications of the measured credential effects on the educational pathways of Aboriginals served as one of the most important results of this study. As shown in Table 1, a large percentage of Aboriginals attained non-university post-secondary education without completing high school. This statistic can be explained by the high opportunity costs of acquiring a high school

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[13] The publicly available APS dataset did not allow the researcher to develop a reliable measure of years of post-secondary education. It was hypothesized that the true value of credential effects for post-secondary degrees was lower than the ones reported in Tables 1 and 2. The idea was that the post-secondary completion variable captured both the effects of each year of post-secondary schooling and the credential effects. For more on this topic, please see Ferrer and Riddell (2002).

[14] A Heckman selection model was employed to take into account the 22.68% of observations not included previously. An Instrumental variable (IV) strategy was more suitable to account for endogeneity concerns. Please see the section on caveats for further discussion on other possible sources of bias.

diploma for this population and thus, many could have been choosing between completing high school, opting for a non-university post-secondary education credential (a trades certificate, for example), earning both credentials, or none of the above. For Aboriginals interested in earning a non-university post-secondary degree, completing high school beforehand can yield significantly higher returns. For females, completing high school with non-university post-secondary education resulted in earning 52.9% more than completing neither credential. However, if she were to complete only one credential, she was better off with a high school diploma as this could have meant a difference in returns of 20.2% more than what a college credential or trades certificate could have provided. For males, completing a college degree or trades certificate meant returns in earnings 17.6% more than ones earned by completing high school alone. It is interesting to note, however, that there were no statistically significant differences between completing high school or a non-university post-secondary education credential.

Through this exercise, it was realized that for Aboriginal females there were strong financial incentives for completing high school regardless of future educational aspirations. In the case of Aboriginal males, strong incentives were found to complete high school only if they wanted to pursue a non-university post-secondary credential. Thus, additional insights were gained into how Aboriginals could be choosing their investments in education. Any model or research design that aims to explain high school completion choices needs to incorporate the ability of an individual to substitute that credential with a non-university post-secondary credential.

Measuring Health Outcomes for High School Completion

Along with examining the rewards in the labour market that a high school diploma provides, this paper also investigated whether completing high school could be linked with better health outcomes. If substantially positive health outcomes were realized, it could be claimed that low Aboriginal high school completion rates cannot be explained by poor health incentives. The APS questionnaire not only asked whether the individual had been diagnosed with a certain condition, but also at what age they were diagnosed. This level of detail allowed for an identification strategy that investigated the relationship between high school graduation and chances of being diagnosed with a serious health condition in the adult years, after controlling for health conditions from childhood and adolescent years. The health conditions accounted for include: diabetes, arthritis, asthma, chronic bronchitis, emphysema, cancer, stroke, high blood pressure, heart problems, stomach problems or intestinal ulcers, hepatitis, and other long-term illnesses.

In this research design, an outcome variable was constructed that acted as a counter for the number of health conditions that an individual had been diagnosed with between the ages of 20 and 44. Since this dependent variable was counted for each individual and could only take on non-negative values, a Poisson regression design was employed. Essentially, this regression design took into account that the number of health conditions will be either 0 or higher. Poisson regressions assume that the underlying dependent variable (in this case: the number of diagnosed health conditions later on in a person's life) are chance events that follow a Poisson distribution, rather than a normal distribution. The health condition model is described as follows:

$$\ln HC = a_0 + a_1 CD + a_2 PHC + a_3 X + u$$

where the logarithm of the number of diagnosed health conditions between the ages of 20 to 44 ($ln\, HC$) is expressed as a linear function of education captured by education credentials (CD) and previously diagnosed health conditions (PHC). Additionally, the function included a vector of variables (X) that may have also influenced earnings such as language, marital status, and

Aboriginal identity. The vector of parameters $a_1 \ldots a_3$ measured the marginal effects of each variable on the logarithm of the onset of health conditions later in an individual's life.

Separate regressions for females and males and the results are presented in Tables 7 and 8. For females, completing high school reduced the risk of being diagnosed with an additional health condition by 21.8%. For males, the effect of completing high school was even stronger at 35.4%. Relative to having no Aboriginal identity, being First Nations or Métis increased chances of being diagnosed with a health condition. This aligns with common knowledge of current socioeconomic realities. Furthermore, almost all of the early health conditions were positively related with adult health outcomes, which corroborates with health economics findings. Completing post-secondary education led to no statistically significant impact on health outcomes. Thus, only high school completion can be seen as an important interventionist strategy to improve Aboriginal health outcomes through educational attainment. These results suggested that there are substantial health incentives for an Aboriginal person to complete high school.

Caveats and Scope for Future Work

These two explorations of the causes and effects of Aboriginal high school completion can best be interpreted as an initial step into understanding the perplexing reality for this group. From a conservative standpoint, the returns to high school completion and other credentials should be treated with caution. There is the possibility of an omitted variable influencing the positive correlation between education and earnings, and biasing the estimates. If the underlying conclusion from this study is that other variables are affecting Aboriginal education choices then they need to be included in the above regressions to more accurately measure labour market and health outcomes. One of the other significant concerns might be that Aboriginals who complete high school may inherently have higher cognitive ability or resiliency than non-completers, and that what the credential effects were actually measuring were the returns to higher ability. This interpretation, if true, would severely restrict the options available to policy-makers to increase high school completion rates as completers would be inherently different than non-completers. In an important study that accounted for this concern, Riddell (2008) used the International Adult Literacy and Skills Survey (IALSS) to measure credential effects after controlling for cognitive skills by using test scores from four areas: prose literacy, document literacy, numeracy and problem solving. The results indicated that although the magnitude of returns to a high school diploma did decrease by 20%, they were still statistically significant and positive. Conservatively, one can interpret the credential effects in this paper as inflated, but indicative of positive returns in earnings for Aboriginals.

Many of the other omitted variables of interest could be acquired if one were to have access to the private Aboriginal Peoples Surveys from 2001 and 2006 available through Statistics Canada's Research Data Centre. These datasets would include important covariates such as exact age, years of post-secondary schooling and provincial markers. However, to account for more sources of endogeneity, an instrumental variable (IV) strategy needs to be explored in future work. It is hoped that the richness of APS questionnaire provides a valid IV. As a final note to improve the accuracy of returns to education, non-linearity in the years of schooling could be utilized.[15]

Considering the limitations of the public datasets, an analysis of the effect of financial incentives on high school completion would not be rigorous enough. The private APS data could possibly allow one to run regressions and formally test the hypothesis. Since the Census dataset

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[15] See Ferrer and Riddell (2008) for an example.

would not be useful in comparing Aboriginal/non-Aboriginal education gap, perhaps the private Labour Force Survey data could be utilized.

Conclusions

The first national evidence on the magnitude of high school credential effects for Aboriginal Canadians was provided by taking advantage of the rich detail on educational attainment, health conditions and personal attributes in the Aboriginal Peoples Surveys. Aboriginal female returns to high school completion were three times as large as Aboriginal male returns. In contrast, for each year of high school education, there was a greater return for Aboriginal males than females. According to the wage equation model, credential effects associated with high school graduation were approximately 31% for females and 11% for males. The returns to a year of schooling were 7% for females and 10% for their male counterparts. For Aboriginals considering earning a non-university credential, there were significant gains in completing high school as well. For females, completing high school additional to a college diploma or trades certificate was rewarded by a 35% increase in yearly earnings. Males received 18% more annually in the labour market in the same scenario. Both females and males received the highest boost in earnings with a university credential with returns of 32% and 23% respectively. This paper also reported significant health advantages for high school completion. Using the Poisson regression design, the effects of a high school diploma on the chances of being diagnosed with an additional health condition were measured. For Aboriginal males, completing high school results decreased these chances by 35% and for Aboriginal females the chances were reduced by 22%.

Statistically, these results highlight the importance of taking into account individual discount factors, density of Aboriginals in urban areas, frequency of recent mobility in analyzing Aboriginal earnings, and health and education policy. Studies of Aboriginal returns in these topics that do not take into account these dimensions of educational attainment ignore a salient feature of the way Aboriginal education is rewarded in the labour market and how high school education can affect health outcomes.

For policy makers, increasing Aboriginal high school completion rates and closing the widening education gap between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal Canadians can have far-reaching, positive consequences for many facets of Canadian society. As demonstrated here, completing high school for Aboriginals can reduce social inequality between Aboriginals and non-Aboriginals, and gender inequality between Aboriginal females and males, through higher earnings and better health outcomes.

Taken together, the principal finding of this paper was that Aboriginals are rewarded with labour market returns and better health outcomes from a high school diploma and thus, these factors cannot explain why Aboriginal high school completion rates have lagged behind the Canadian average and why the education gap is increasing. Other reasons likely underlie the poor education outcomes for this population such as schooling, parental demographics, cultural expectations and history. Researchers need to incorporate innovative research designs that maximize the capacity of available datasets to uncover these underlying mechanisms. Improved education outcomes promises to be an important means through which the poverty and marginalization of Aboriginal peoples can be alleviated, yet any policy or paradigm that fails to acknowledge the complexity of the influencing factors may be doomed to repeat the inefficacies of the past.

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Tables and Figures

Table 1 Summary statistics for Aboriginals, APS 2001 & APS 2006

	APS 2001	**APS 2006**	**Combined**
Age	32.05	31.79	31.89
Potential Years of Experience	12.97	11.83	12.27
Years of Schooling	11.21	11.38	11.32
Highest Educational Attainment			
% Less than high school completion	21.17	15.49	17.63
% Completed high school	12.45	15.91	14.59
% Some post-secondary experience	25.07	19.81	21.82
% Postsecondary degree (trade school, college or university certificate, diploma or degree)	40.28	48.83	45.57
High School Completion Rate	58.10	69.87	65.38
Average number of health conditions	0.691	0.697	0.695
Average yearly employment income	$20,370.12	$16,607.29	$18,043
Total number of Observations	4,427	7,172	11,599

Table 2: Summary statistics by gender, APS 2001 & APS 2006 combined

	Males	Females
Age	31.99	31.81
Potential Years of Experience	12.56	12.04
Years of Schooling	13.42	13.77
Highest Educational Attainment[4]		
% Less than high school completion	20.21	15.75
% Completed high school	16.32	13.32
% Some post-secondary experience	20.35	22.89
% Postsecondary degree (trade school, college or university certificate, diploma or degree	42.81	47.57
High School Completion Rate	62.41	67.54
Average yearly employment income	$19.746.57	$16,802.53
Average yearly employment income for those without any credential (high-school or post-secondary)	$17,056.74	$11,109.35
Total number of Observations	4,889	6,710

Table 3: Returns to high school education for Aboriginal females, APS 2001 & 2006

Variable	Coefficient	Standard Error
High School Completion	0.309**	0.052
Years of High School Education	0.070**	0.017
Non-University Credential with High School Completion	0.222**	0.052
Non-University Credential without High School Completion	0.177**	0.035
University Completion	0.321**	0.043
GED Completion	0.121*	0.059
Potential Years of Experience	0.036**	0.007
Potential Years of Experience Squared	-0.001**	0.000
Living in a Census Metropolitan Area (CMA)	-0.048	0.034
Common law / Partner / Husband or Wife	0.109**	0.028
1 health condition	-0.015	0.032
2 health condition	-0.172**	0.046
3 health condition	-0.284**	0.071
4 or more health conditions	-0.505**	0.084
Moved Once	-0.204	0.037
Moved Twice	0.078†	0.043
Moved 3 times	-0.085*	0.037
First Nations	-0.172**	0.037
Metis	-0.094*	0.037
Inuit	0.001	0.080
Other / Multiple	-0.137†	0.071
Taught an Aboriginal Language (Proxy for High Aboriginal Density)	-0.236**	0.051
Cigarette Smoker (Proxy for High Discount Factor)	-0.085**	0.029
2006 Year Effect	-0.069*	0.032
Intercept	8.407**	0.190
N	5359	
R^2	0.118	
$F_{(25,5334)}$	31.009	

Significance levels: $\dagger$: 10%   * : 5%   ** : 1%

How to read the table: These variables are regressed on the log of reported annual wages. In effect, the coefficients represent the increase (or decrease) in yearly wages in terms of percentages if the variable were true for the individual. According to this regression, for urban, Aboriginal females, graduating high school results in an increase in yearly wages of 30.9% compared to someone who does not have a high school diploma. Similarly, if an individual has 1 health condition (compared to none), it results in a decrease of yearly wages of 1.5%.

Table 4: Returns to high school education for Aboriginal males, APS 2001 & 2006

Variable	Coefficient	Standard Error
High School Completion	0.108*	0.051
Years of High School Education	0.106**	0.018
Non-University Credential with High School Completion	0.176**	0.053
Non-University Credential without High School Completion	0.107**	0.041
University Completion	0.226**	0.052
GED Completion	0.120 [†]	0.066
Potential Years of Experience	0.029**	0.008
Potential Years of Experience Squared	0.000	0.000
Living in a Census Metropolitan Area (CMA)	0.031	0.042
Common law / Partner / Husband or Wife	0.353**	0.033
1 health condition	-0.111**	0.037
2 health condition	-0.256**	0.059
3 health condition	-0.456**	0.102
4 or more health conditions	-0.423**	0.143
Moved Once	0.027	0.041
Moved Twice	-0.042	0.050
Moved 3 times	-0.088*	0.044
First Nations	-0.204**	0.042
Metis	-0.007	0.041
Inuit	-0.089	0.090
Other / Multiple	-0.092	0.075
Taught an Aboriginal Language (Proxy for High Aboriginal Density)	-0.258**	0.062
Cigarette Smoker (Proxy for High Discount Factor)	-0.113**	0.032
2006 Year Effect	-0.002	0.037
Intercept	8.349	0.208
N	3609	
R^2	0.153	
$F_{(25,5334)}$	27.404	

Significance levels: † : 10%   * : 5%   ** : 1%

How to read the table: These variables are regressed on the log of reported annual wages. In effect, the coefficients represent the increase (or decrease) in yearly wages in terms of percentages if the variable were true for the individual. According to this regression, for urban, Aboriginal males, graduating high school results in an increase in yearly wages of 10.8% compared to someone who does not have a high school diploma. Similarly, if an individual has 1 health condition (compared to none), it results in a decrease of yearly wages of 11.1%.

Table 5: Heckman Robustness Check, Returns for Aboriginal females, APS 2001 & 2006

Variable	Coefficient	Standard Error
Equation 1: Log of Earnings		
High School Completion	0.315**	0.055
Years of High School Education	0.044*	0.021
Non-University Credential without High School Completion	0.334**	0.066
Non-University Credential with High School Completion	0.245**	0.041
University Completion	0.526**	0.101
GED Completion	0.081	0.061
Potential Years of Experience	0.062**	0.015
Potential Years of Experience Squared	-0.001**	0.000
Living in a Census Metropolitan Area (CMA)	0.014	0.048
Common law / Partner / Husband or Wife	0.092**	0.031
1 health condition	-0.024	0.034
2 health condition	-0.156**	0.050
3 health condition	-0.284**	0.069
4 or more health conditions	-0.515**	0.080
Moved Once	0.015	0.043
Moved Twice	-0.029	0.052
Moved 3 times	-0.067 [†]	0.040
First Nations	-0.075	0.054
Metis	-0.055	0.043
Inuit	0.009	0.083
Other / Multiple	-0.060	0.080
Taught an Aboriginal Language (Proxy for High Aboriginal Density)	-0.193**	0.054
Cigarette Smoker (Proxy for High Discount Factor)	-0.109**	0.033
2006 Year Effect	-0.212**	0.066
Intercept	8.738**	0.249

Variable	Coefficient	Standard Error
Equation 2: select		
Number of Household Maintainers	0.110**	0.036
High School Completion	0.064	0.068
Years of High School Education	0.080**	0.021
Non-University Credential with High School Completion	0.152 †	0.080
Non-University Credential with High School Completion	-0.096	0.053
University Completion	-0.585**	0.056
GED Completion	0.045	0.075
Potential Years of Experience	-0.108**	0.011
Potential Years of Experience Squared	0.003**	0.000
Living in a Census Metropolitan Area (CMA)	-0.258**	0.051
Common law / Partner / Husband or Wife	-0.002	0.040
... (Some variables are omitted for spatial reasons)...		
Taught an Aboriginal Language (Proxy for High Aboriginal Density)	-0.082	0.066
Cigarette Smoker (Proxy for High Discount Factor)	0.098*	0.039
2006 Year Effect	0.388**	0.043
Intercept	0.702**	0.236
Equation 3: mills		
2006 Year Effect	-0.757*	0.356
N	6710	
Log likelihood	.	
$\chi^2_{(25)}$	639.332	

Significance levels: † : 10%   * : 5%   ** : 1%

Table 6: Heckman Robustness Check, Returns for Aboriginal males, APS 2001 & 2006

Variable	Coefficient	Standard Error
Equation 1: Log of Earnings		
High School Completion	0.149	0.139
Years of High School Education	0.067	0.047
Non-University Credential without High School Completion	0.440*	0.174
Non-University Credential with High School Completion	0.553**	0.178
University Completion	0.934**	0.287
GED Completion	-0.098	0.169
Potential Years of Experience	0.132**	0.042
Potential Years of Experience Squared	-0.003*	0.001
Living in a Census Metropolitan Area (CMA)	-0.035	0.108
Common law / Partner / Husband or Wife	0.623**	0.129
1 health condition	-0.158	0.098
2 health condition	-0.337*	0.152
3 health condition	-0.675**	0.250
4 or more health conditions	-0.165	0.312
Moved Once	0.107	0.113
Moved Twice	-0.068	0.129
Moved 3 times	-0.208 [†]	0.120
First Nations	0.005	0.141
Metis	0.140	0.127
Inuit	0.120	0.246
Other / Multiple	-0.138	0.216
Taught an Aboriginal Language (Proxy for High Aboriginal Density)	-0.162	0.158
Cigarette Smoker (Proxy for High Discount Factor)	-0.260*	0.101
2006 Year Effect	0.625**	0.243
Intercept	8.467**	0.514

Variable	Coefficient	Standard Error
Equation 2: select		
Number of Household Maintainers	0.092*	0.037
High School Completion	-0.032	0.073
Years of High School Education	0.037	0.023
Non-University Credential with High School Completion	-0.136	0.083
Non-University Credential with High School Completion	-0.333**	0.058
University Completion	-0.575**	0.070
GED Completion	-0.028	0.084
Potential Years of Experience	-0.097**	0.013
Potential Years of Experience Squared	0.003**	0.000
Living in a Census Metropolitan Area (CMA)	0.044	0.050
Common law / Partner / Husband or Wife	-0.274**	0.045
... (Some variables are omitted for spatial reasons)...		
Taught an Aboriginal Language (Proxy for High Aboriginal Density)	-0.072	0.079
Cigarette Smoker (Proxy for High Discount Factor)	0.135**	0.044
2006 Year Effect	-0.583**	0.050
Intercept	1.487**	0.260
Equation 3: mills		
2006 Year Effect	-2.644**	0.892
N	4889	
Log likelihood	.	
$\chi^2_{(25)}$	91.173	

Significance levels: †: 10%   *: 5%   **: 1%

Table 7: Effect of High School Completion on likelihood of an additional health condition for Aboriginal females, APS 2001 & 2006

Variable	Coefficient	Standard Error
High School Completion	-0.218**	0.065
Age	0.066**	0.014
Non-University Credential without High School Completion	0.088	0.099
Non-University Credential with High School Completion	0.024	0.075
University Completion	-0.092	0.084
GED Completion	0.020	0.077
Potential Years of Experience	0.061**	0.023
Potential Years of Experience Squared	-0.001**	0.001
Living in a Census Metropolitan Area (CMA)	0.064	0.054
Common law / Partner / Husband or Wife	-0.163**	0.043
Registered Indian	-0.126*	0.058
Moved Once	-0.037	0.056
Moved Twice	-0.089	0.068
Moved 3 times	-0.142*	0.057
First Nations	0.197**	0.074
Metis	0.144*	0.064
Inuit	-0.280*	0.142
Other / Multiple	-0.288**	0.106
Taught an Aboriginal Language (Proxy for High Aboriginal Density)	0.007	0.083
Cigarette Smoker (Proxy for High Discount Factor)	0.134**	0.044
2006 Year Effect	-0.158**	0.051
Previously diagnosed with Diabetes	0.644**	0.191
Previously diagnosed with Arthritis	0.290**	0.096
Previously diagnosed with Asthma	0.198**	0.072
Previously diagnosed with Bronchitis	0.679**	0.097
Previously diagnosed with Cancer	1.025**	0.113
Previously diagnosed with Blood Pressure	0.125	0.231
Previously diagnosed with Long Term Illness	-0.071	0.107
Intercept	-3.354**	0.269
N	6710	
Log likelihood	-6261.738	
$\chi^2(25)$	91.173	

Significance levels: Ŧ : 10%   * : 5%   ** : 1%

How to read the table: A Poisson regression design is used when regressing these variables on the number of health conditions. In effect, the coefficients represent the increase (or decrease) in the likelihood of being diagnosed with an additional health condition between the ages of 20 and 44. According to this regression, for urban, Aboriginal females, graduating high school results in a 21.8% decrease in the likelihood of being diagnosed with a serious health condition, compared to someone who does not have a high school diploma.

Table 8: High School Completion and health outcomes for Aboriginal males, APS 2001 & 2006

Variable	Coefficient	Standard Error
High School Completion	-0.354**	0.088
Age	0.108**	0.020
Non-University Credential without High School Completion	-0.084	0.131
Non-University Credential with High School Completion	0.019	0.106
University Completion	-0.035	0.119
GED Completion	-0.066	0.100
Potential Years of Experience	0.001	0.034
Potential Years of Experience Squared	0.000	0.001
Living in a Census Metropolitan Area (CMA)	0.022	0.073
Common law / Partner / Husband or Wife	-0.130*	0.062
Registered Indian	-0.030	0.078
Moved Once	-0.035	0.080
Moved Twice	-0.045	0.093
Moved 3 times	0.138 †	0.079
First Nations	0.092	0.099
Metis	0.114	0.087
Inuit	-0.438*	0.198
Other / Multiple	0.009	0.154
Taught an Aboriginal Language (Proxy for High Aboriginal Density)	-0.172	0.121
Cigarette Smoker (Proxy for High Discount Factor)	0.227**	0.062
2006 Year Effect	-0.110	0.070
Previously diagnosed with Diabetes	-0.244	0.371
Previously diagnosed with Arthritis	-0.007	0.253
Previously diagnosed with Asthma	-0.247*	0.120
Previously diagnosed with Bronchitis	0.579**	0.149
Previously diagnosed with Cancer	0.905 †	0.495
Previously diagnosed with Blood Pressure	0.468	0.413
Previously diagnosed with Long Term Illness	-0.139	0.218
Intercept	-4.422**	0.373
N	4889	
Log likelihood	-3843.675	
$\chi2(25)$	523.159	

Significance levels: † : 10%   * : 5%   ** : 1%

How to read the table: A Poisson regression design is used when regressing these variables on the number of health conditions. In effect, the coefficients represent the increase (or decrease) in the likelihood of being diagnosed with an additional health condition between the ages of 20 and 44. According to this regression, for urban, Aboriginal males, graduating high school results in a 35.4% decrease in the likelihood of being diagnosed with a serious health condition, compared to someone who does not have a high school diploma.
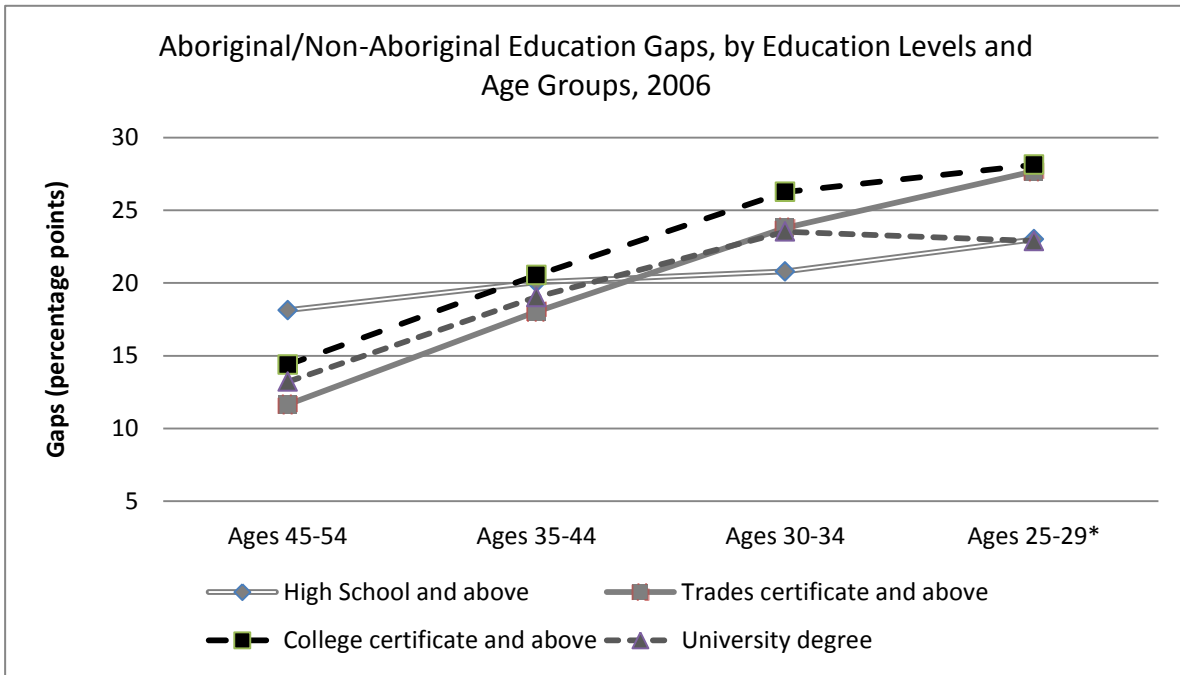
Figure 3: Aboriginal – Non-Aboriginal Education Gap, Census 2006.

Appendix

A1: How the variables were created

The Aboriginal Peoples Survey public use micro-data files (PUMFs) list an individual's age and annual earnings by groupings and not explicitly. Thus, the researcher must create approximations to be able to calculate means and run regressions. Here is a short list of how key variables were created for this paper:

- Age: If an individual is between the ages of 20-24, 25-34, or 35-44, their rough age is considered to be 22, 29 and 39 respectively.

- Years of schooling: The number of grades an individual completes in high school and their post-secondary education experience are added to calculate their years of schooling. If an individual has some post-secondary schooling, two more years are added to this variable. If the individual completes at least one post-secondary credential, four years of schooling are added to their count.

- Potential years of labour market experience: Following Card (1999), the experience years are calculated using the formula (Age - Years of schooling - 6).

- Yearly income: Earnings are reported by brackets of $0, $1-$4999, $5000-$9999, $10,000-$19,999, $20,000-$29,999, $30,000-$39,999, and $40,000 or more. For the ranges are that are defined, the midpoint is assumed to be the individual's year earnings. So if an individual's income is reported to be between $10,000 and $19,999, the regressions are run assuming their income is $15,000. For individuals, earning more than $40,000, their incomes are assumed to be $56,000, which is 40% higher than the low point to account for the extremely high earners.

Granada, a City under Siege: Dynamics of the Commercial SexualExploitation of Children as a Human Rights Issue in Nicaragua

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ABSTRACT: This article presents the findings of a qualitative study conducted in Granada, Nicaragua. The study involved focus groups, individual in-depth and situational interviews, as well as observations. The research followed principles related to community-based participatory research. The data analysis was guided by a grounded theory approach. The findings confirm what advocates of human and child rights have long argued: economic disparities and gender inequalities are at the core of commercial sexual exploitation of children. The results presented in this article help clarify the complexities of the intersectionality of global and local realities – "glocalization."

One significant marker of modernity is the development of a system of human rights. This is followed by the development of laws and a judicial system to sustain these rights (Domingues, 2008). Those seeking justice for themselves and for others have used human rights discourse globally. Human rights are sometimes conceptualized as involving a universal law or morality (Tirado Chase, 2012). In modern times, human rights tend to involve certain entitlements, and the obligation to survivors arises not from the heart, but from the head, in terms of legal, bureaucratic duties (Wilson & Brown, 2009). Parikh (2013) argued that in endorsing human rights, the state, its institutions, and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have particular responsibilities and obligations. However, this process has not been easy because despite local and global commitments to human rights and the development of legal mechanisms to uphold them, human rights violations occur at an alarming rate worldwide (Parikh, 2013).

The commercial sexual exploitation of children (CSEC) is an extreme violation of human rights (Phinney, 2001; Save the Children, 2007). While most countries have signed or ratified the United Nations' *Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children*, CSEC continues to be a major problem globally (Guinn, 2008). This paper presents research about CSEC conducted in Nicaragua. Nicaragua signed the Convention of the Rights of the Child in February 1990 and ratified it in October 1990 (Gutierrez, 2007). Shortly after, the country made relevant amendments to its constitution. For example, in 1992 an amendment to the penal code prohibited the trafficking of persons and made specific reference to the protection of children against any form of economic and social exploitation (Constitución Política de la Republica de Nicaragua, Art # 84). In addition, Executive Decree No. 116-2000 gave rise to the National Commission on Violence against Women, Children, and Adolescents; this Commission is mandated to develop an annual national action plan to address this issue (Ley de Organización del Consejo Nacional de Atención y Protección Integral a la Niñez y la Adolescencia y la Defensoría de las Niñas, Niños y Adolescentes, 2000). Our research investigated the experiences and perceptions among the general population of Granada, Nicaragua, in order to clarify the local realities shaping CSEC in this country.

This article begins with a brief literature review regarding CSEC in Central America. It focuses particularly on the invisibility of perpetrators, demand for CSEC, and the perceived tolerance of this social phenomenon. The literature review is followed by a brief contextualization of Nicaragua. The next sections outline the methods and the findings, specifically the complexities of CSEC in terms of its public nature and the intersection of globalization and local realities, such as cooperation between local networks that act as suppliers of vulnerable children and as abettors of such illicit activities. A discussion of the findings follows.

Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children (CSEC) in Central America

Global responses from governments, law enforcement, and NGOs have resulted in increased prosecution of sexual trafficking charges when children and adolescents are victimized. However, CSEC is still a major problem in many regions of the world, including Central America (Beare, 2003; End Child Prostitution and Trafficking (ECPAT), 2000). One barrier faced by researchers trying to understand this social problem in Central America is the scarcity of local information about its nature and incidence, despite evidence of CSEC in the area. Moreover, although an increasing body of literature has focused on the structural inequalities at the core of global sex trade industry, including global economic disparities, the prevalence of violence against women and children, gender inequality, heterosexism, and racism (Azaola & Estes, 2003; Ellsberg, 2005; Flisher, 2005; Marshall & Thatun, 2005; Matibag, 2003; Organization of American States (OAS), 2007; O'Connell, 2001; Torres-Saillant, 2006; Voss, 1999), little is known about how local realities intersect with structural global issues to shape the nature of CSEC in specific Central American countries (Sanghera, 2005). Therefore, careful examination is needed of the specific features affecting the incidence of CSEC in the context of local realities in each country (Carranza & Parada, 2010). The dynamics of child exploitation in Central American countries are comparatively different from those in other regions, so it is important to examine these specificities empirically (Chun & Uck Lin, 2004; Jeffrey, 2002; O'Connell, 2005). This study was conducted to address this research gap.

Invisibility of the Perpetrator

Chiarotti (2003) argued that too much emphasis is placed on survivors of CSEC, and that this emphasis invisibilizes the perpetrator. For example, South American tabloids often portray police forces raiding brothels and nightclubs and detaining women and children who have been sexually exploited, rather than focusing on the traffickers (Rodriguez, 1999). Although the focus should be on the demand for CSEC, and the perpetrators of CSEC, blame also tends to fall on the survivors. Dimenstein (1994), for example, reported that Brazilian police would reputedly demand free sex from young girls involved in sex work by threatening to blackmail them should they fail to comply. The results of the present study will help clarify some of the factors related to CSEC, specifically the processes of cooperation within the network providing supply to meet demand, rather than focusing on the children involved in CSEC.

Tolerance/Apathy about CSEC

In Latin America, CSEC crimes often go unaddressed due to silence among the general population and corruption among government officials at all levels (Molina, 2008). Additionally, regional initiatives by academics, NGOs, and the private sector are still in their infancy in terms of raising awareness about this phenomenon limiting each country's ability to understand, prevent, and penalize CSEC (III-Latin American Congress on Human Trafficking (III-LACHT), 2012). The Organización Internacional del Trabajo (OIT) (2005 & 2009) reported that the general population in Central America became significantly more tolerant of crimes related to CSEC between 2005 and 2009. Furthermore, the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) - America Latina & the Caribbean (2005) conducted a study about CSEC in the Caribbean and Latin America, and found that when this kind of crime is reported, accusations by survivors or bystanders are often not believed. The results of the present study will help clarify the nuances of tolerance about CSEC in Nicaragua, particularly in Granada.

Nicaragua's Context

From 1990–2006, neo-liberal policies led to a massive deterioration of Nicaragua's economy (Ocampo, 2011). Despite the country's efforts, such as the new social policies to improve the lives of citizens, in 2013 Nicaragua was deemed the second poorest country in Latin America (United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), 2013). In 2007, Nicaragua's total population was 5,142,098: 50.7% women and 49.3% men. Overall, 55.9% of Nicaraguans live in urban dwellings and 44.1% live in rural areas; 67% of the total population in Nicaragua is aged 25 years or younger; 79% of the total population lives on less than US$2.00 dollars per day and 45% on less than US$1.00 per day (Conferencias Internacionales de Educación de Adultos VI (CONFINTEA VI), 2008). In 2007, 2,089,773 (40.6%) Nicaraguans were employed (756, 294 in the formal sector and 1,333,479 in the informal sector). Although Nicaragua's judicial system specifies the protection of children against child labour, 265,881 children and adolescents (13. 4% of the total work force) were working in the informal sector in 2006. Significant gender inequalities appear, as men tend to receive salaries, while women tend to be employed in small family businesses (CONFINTEA VI, 2008). According to the Plan Nacional de Desarrollo Humano (PNDH) (2010), Nicaragua experienced a 2% decline in human development among girls in 2009.

Nicaraguans have used migration to neighbouring countries or the United States and tourism to escape poverty. In 2000, 20% of the total population migrated to another country, particularly Costa Rica. More than 75% of the 300,000 registered immigrants in Costa Rica were of Nicaraguan

origin; this number is the equivalent to 8% of the total population in Costa Rica (Villa & Martinez, 2001). Nicaragua has the highest migration rate of women in Latin America (Mahler & Ugrina, 2006). In 2011, remittances from immigrants totalled US$905.1 million, a 29.8% increase from 2006 (PNDH, 2012, p. 19). Tourism is Nicaragua's best resource in terms of economic development. In 2008, the country received more than one million tourists, a 25.41% increase from 2007. In 2011, revenue from tourism was US$377.1 million US, a 22.2% increase from 2010. In 2011, foreign investment was US$967.9 million, a 90.5% increase from 2008 (PNDH, 2012).

Granada. The city of Granada (the site of the research presented here) has an estimated population of over 110,000, making it Nicaragua's fourth largest city. It is advertised as an ideal retirement place (see www.topretirements.com). As in many other colonial cities in Latin America, its downtown core has a central plaza and other important city buildings. These buildings have recently been remodelled to encourage tourism. In our initial community consultations Granada emerged as a suspected site of CSEC due to the high incidence of tourism.

Violence against women is an ongoing problem in Nicaragua. In 2011, 37,000 cases of sexual violence were reported (Riddell, 2012). On June 22, 2012, the current Nicaraguan government passed law #779, which criminalizes violence against women. Since then, 85 feminicides have been reported, with only 27 arrests and four prison sentences (Carlsen, 2013). Nicaragua has an anti-abortion law, which includes therapeutic abortion after sexual violence, thus rape survivors are forced to carry high-risk pregnancies. In 2011, 1,453 births were reported among children and adolescents aged 10–14 years, but none of these were investigated (Riddell, 2012). There is a high possibility that these births are related to CSEC.

The Study

A qualitative research methodology was selected to investigate the experiences of, and perceptions about, CSEC among the general population of Granada. Data was collected through focus groups (Krueger & Casey, 2009), in-depth and situational interviews (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005), and observations (Spencer & Davies, 2010). Together, this data helped clarify the multi-layered meanings of complex concepts (Gilgun, Daly, & Handel, 1992) and allowed in-depth analysis of participants' lived experiences and the socially constructed reality within which they were situated (Marshall & Rossman, 1995; Strauss & Corbin, 1990, 1994).

During data collection and analysis, the research team tried to remain aware of the power imbalances between researchers and participants (Hollway, 2001). A critical step in addressing power imbalances is to view qualitative research as a process that may be used to further the social agendas and resilience of disempowered groups (Ungar, 2003; Ungar & Nichol, 2000). To this end, we applied the principles of community-based participatory research (CBPR) (Minkler & Wallerstein, 2002): (i) genuine partnerships, (ii) research efforts that include capacity building, (iii) findings and knowledge to benefit all partners, and (iv) long-term commitments to effectively reduce disparities (Israel et al., 2003). The present study is the product of previous and ongoing relationships among academic organizations, NGOs, and government institutions in Canada and Nicaragua funded by SSHRC – International Opportunity Grant (Carranza et al., 2008).

Recruitment

Given the sensitivity of the research topic, recruitment was carefully planned. We conducted initial consultations with key community leaders. This was followed with town hall meetings with community stakeholders. This community engagement was important in the development of a

community-based research advisory group (CBRAG), which was pivotal in providing feedback throughout the study. This group also provided essential feedback about the initial interview guides and supported the team in the direction of the project (e.g., recruitment strategies and local observations).

Participants' Description

We had a total of 72 participants: 50 females and 22 males. We conducted eight focus groups with some participants (N=48; 32 females and 16 males), including employees at government institutions, NGOs, human rights advocates, community leaders, adolescents at risk (13–17 years), youth at risk (18–27 years), parents of children and adolescents at risk, media, and parents in general. We also conducted 12 individual in-depth interviews (7 females and 5 males) with adolescents, community leaders, and family members of children involved in CSEC. An additional 12 situational interviews were carried out (11 females and 1 male), with community neighbours, street vendors, doormen, and business administrators. Situational interviews refer to those that were carried out in the moment and without previous arrangement.

Data Analysis

We applied the principles of grounded theory (GT): data was systematically gathered and analyzed using a "bottom up" strategy involving theme analysis (Charmaz, 2005). The process of data gathering and analysis was recursive. Data analysis began after the first few interviews, and the results of this analysis informed the direction of subsequent interviews (Patton, 2001). Transcriptions were entered into NVivo9, computer software for managing and analyzing qualitative data (Bazeley & Richards, 2000). As concepts were constructed and themes were identified in the analytical process, they were compared, contrasted, and grouped following the open coding procedure described by Strauss and Corbin (1990). Axial coding was also employed to construct conceptual schemas that reflected the relationship between categories. During this process, categories were changed, dropped, and organized hierarchically, and each was simultaneously related to its context (LaRossa, 2005). Each research team member carried a journal to record and systematize emergent themes, and regularly checked with each other about the themes that were emerging. The goals were to seek alternative explanations, to identify and account for disconfirming cases, and to ensure the quality of the data analysis (Seale, 1999).

Findings

This section begins by discussing the locations in the city of Granada identified by participants as having high incidences of CSEC. Second, it presents the research team's observations, and finally describes the themes that emerged in the data analysis as most significant: (i) the supply/network of CSEC, and (ii) the intersection of globalization and local realities, or "glocalization."

The Presence of CSEC

Locations were initially identified and mapped via initial community consultations. Participants in focus groups, individual interviews, and situational interviews later confirmed these locations. Participants reported several locations where CSEC could be observed, especially at night, in areas associated with the tourist sector such as the *Zona Central* (downtown), *la Calle* (street) *de la Calzada*, the central park (near the main Catholic cathedral), a corner near the local bank, and an area with many bars.

Participants said that the *Calzada* has been developed in recent years to attract tourists, with outdoor cafes, music, and European-style restaurants ready to welcome visiting nationals and foreign tourists. They said that most of these cafes and restaurants and the like are "equipped" to provide "combo" services: a female child or adolescent, drinks, drugs, a room, and a boy. According to participants, a teenage boy is placed outside the room for two reasons: (i) to ensure the safety of the male customer; and (ii) to ensure the child delivers the sexual favours in accordance with the verbal contract and payment received.

Other locations reported included*: la Calle de la Karaguala*, the beach at the lake, exits and entrances to the main highways, and *barrios* (neighbourhoods):

> If you go to the highway or main entrance to Granada coming from Managua, you see a lot of them there. Or if you go to certain *barrios*, they're there…you see them in the open.

Interviewees were highly aware of the locations where CSEC occurred; these appeared to be common knowledge.

Observations

Prior to data collection, the research team visited Granada several times for community consultations through town hall meetings and observations; these were conducted at various timeframes: weekends/weekdays, daytime/night time, and holidays/workdays.

The team spent some time in Granada during the *hipica,* a week-long cultural celebration rooted in Catholicism. Many cultural events take place during the day, including traditional dances and horse races, and at night time the cafés are full of customers. The research team was able to observe many adult and/or elderly Caucasian, Black, and, what appeared to be, Nicaraguan men accompanied by female teenagers, who generally appeared to be 13–17 years old. Each man and the accompanying adolescent would be served food and beer. After a period of time, they would walk toward the rear, enter a back door, and disappear. They appeared to be accompanied by a male teenager at all times.

The research team also observed a teenage boy and one or two female adolescents walking back and forth on the *Calzada*. On other occasions, boys would arrive with one or two adolescent girls and talk with someone in the restaurant, usually a waiter, sit down at a table, and minutes later a Caucasian man would sit down with them. Sometimes they would eat together; other times they would talk for a couple of minutes and then walk up or down the *Calzada* or disappear down the street, near the local bank.

Other activities were observed further down the *Calzada*, by the central park, while children and teenagers were performing a dance for an audience of at least 70 people. In the shadows and at the margins of this public activity were groups of female adolescents (approximately 13–15 years old). A man accompanied by a local teenage boy would arrive and the girls would leave one at a time, while the teenage boy stayed. Approximately an hour and half later, the girls would come back and slip something into the boy's hand.

On other occasions, the team witnessed, several times, young Caucasian men (approximately 30–35 years old) calling, "*Cuanto*?" (How much?) to female adolescents walking home from school in their uniforms. The girls would look at each other and walk much faster, trying to get away from the foreign men. These types of interactions were carried out in public, in broad daylight.

The team noted a decrease in these public activities while conducting observations on workdays. However, on holidays the scenarios described above would recur; the number of locals participating in celebrations appeared to decrease, and fewer Nicaraguan male tourists were observed.

The Supply: Network of CSEC

Respondents said that some adolescents get involved in CSEC on their own accord and/or as a group endeavour, while others are involved in a more complex network. A street vendor commented:

> They see a man and say, '*Oye Amigo sexo normal for* $40.00' [Hey friend, normal sex for US$40.00]. Other say, '20.00 *Córdobas por un rato*' [A bit of time for 20 Cordovas]. Other say, 'US$150 room included….Of course they charge more to the *gringos* [White men] and the foreigners. However, when they are in a group of three or four, they make the offer to the *gringo*. The *gringo* takes a look at their body and then says, 'You,' and then she names her price…

Other respondents said that Granada has a working network with a clear distribution of tasks and responsibilities. One adolescent said:

> There are older people, men and women that get men for them. They [adults] get the money and then they give the money to the *chavalas* [female adolescents]. Also there are other *chavalas* that walk with *chavalos* [male adolescents] and the *chavalos* look for the men…like they do the *conecte* [link]…The men ask the *chavalos*, 'Hey *tenes chavalas?*' [Hey Do you have teenage girls?]. So… you see the *chavalos* walking up and down the *Calzada* asking men, 'Do you want a *chavala*?'... Also taxi drivers look for clients and then they go to get them [adolescents] and say, 'Let's go I have a client for you'… They have specific hotels where they go to …

A government employee commented:

> They [adults] offer them money. Other adolescents that are involved in it, too. They [adults] tell them that there is money in that…They have a *red* [network], when a man asks for a *chavala*, they call her and say, 'there is someone waiting for you in such and such a place'…The waiters are involved… they allow the *chavalas* to come into the restaurant. They tell them to what hotel to go. They call the taxi driver that they know…

The network sustaining CSEC in Granada is complex. Our results reveal a high level of awareness about the existing networks and perpetrators involved in CSEC. The government employee's comment had undertones of fear and frustration, while the adolescent's comment

reflected a sense of amusement; she described the situation in a matter-of-fact way. It is noteworthy that the open communication in the exchanges described in the excerpts appears to be common knowledge, and part of ordinary life.

CSEC: Intersection of Globalization and Local Realities – Glocalization

Respondents said that various forms of CSEC took place in Granada, such as child pornography, trafficking children to other cities for the purpose of CSEC, and one-time or regular customers.

> There was a foreigner here that was sexually abusing the children. He would make videos; take photos in a local lodging place. There were a lot of children involved; the owner of the place would see that as if there wasn't anything wrong with it. [Community leader]

> We know there is trafficking in children here. They offer them a kind of a job. Once they get there, they realize it was for prostitution. They had them like incarcerated them and told them, 'I fed you, you have to pay me now.' That debt goes on forever… [Government institution employee]

Demand

Participants reported that demand for CSEC in Granada comes from different sources: men from Managua, Masaya, León, locals, and foreigners. They said that when the men involved in CSEC are locals or nationals, they are usually older; i.e., middle-aged, and come from high social strata. This means they have the financial resources to spend on illicit activities involving CSEC. According to our respondents, these men are usually married and "bored with their wives," and seek out sexual favours from female children and adolescents to "entertain themselves," but respondents also stressed that they considered these actions to be disrespectful to the men's wives.

Respondents said that foreigners accessing CSEC also tend to be middle-aged men who come to Granada as tourists regularly or sporadically. They also referred to some foreigners who have moved to Granada permanently, and are involved in CSEC:

> There is a kid that has a *gringo* [White man] as a boyfriend. He went to the house and asked for the mother's permission [consent] *para jalar con ella* [date her]. But that is not dating. He is an old man and she is a *chavala* [child]… I would have never agreed to that. That man takes her to Managua. They stay there for a couple of days there, doing who know what. [Mother #1]

> There are several kids that *jalan* [date] *gringos* and you see them holding hands. Sometimes, the *gringo* [White man] even chooses which child he wants. Yes, yes, it would be nice if one of these *gringos* married one of them and took them away from all of these, you see cases like that. There was one that I know married the *gringo* and now she sends *reales* [money] to her mother. That is pretty… [Community Leader]

Although demand for CSEC comes from both nationals and foreigners, respondents said that foreigners who have moved to Granada permanently have contributed to a higher incidence of CSEC. Interestingly, respondents tended to blame the children and their parents, rather than the men soliciting sexual favours from children; this invisibilizes the demand and the embedded power dynamics of the perpetrator.

Additionally, foreign men appear to use Nicaraguan cultural traditions such as asking for a parent's permission to date their daughter, as strategies to legitimize their illicit actions. In Nicaraguan culture, asking parental permission to date a female adolescent indicates a suitor's good intentions, i.e., eventual marriage. Parents may also hope that a foreigner will take the child away from poverty and into a better life, which in turn might bring financial benefit to the family; if so, this would help illustrate the mercantile nature of CSEC.

The Myth of Tolerance of CSEC

Our data suggest that the social construct of "tolerance to CSEC" is situated within a complex process involving tensions, frustration, fear of retaliation from those involved in CSEC, fear of social stigma among survivors, helplessness due to the extreme poverty in which most children and adolescents in Granada live, perceiving reporting CSEC as a "waste of time," lack of knowledge or sensitivity, and most importantly desensitization to the issue, leading to the perception of it as "normal" among the general population and local authorities. Our respondents made comments such as: "If I report it, she is just going to turn back, so why bother," and "You call the police and nothing is done." Other comments included:

> I think is fear ... the children get attacked on the streets when it becomes known in their communities. They stop them in their communities and ask, '*Cuanto cobras*?' [How much do you charge?]... Once in the legal system they make it about the victim and her family and not the man...before you know charges are being dropped because according to them the kid went looking for it... [NGO staff member]

> I think is the lack of sensitivity on the issue because if other sexual aggressions are reported, particularly those that happen at home with a minor or an adolescent. This [CSEC] needs to be seen the same... we see it as something *normal* and not like something illegal [Teacher]

> The police are walking around the [Central] plaza around 10 o'clock at night. That park is full of 16 year-old *chavala*s. They are sitting on one table with old men... They are being sold alcoholic drinks, the bar owners are there, but they don't say a thing! The police walks around and see it and *se hacen de la vista gorda* [turn the blind eye] who reports? Nobody, nobody has the courage. Let's say someone does report it, the police go and they apprehend, but they don't do anything to him because he is a foreigner and has money [Community leader]

Respondents' comments suggested a sense of intimidation caused by the presence of wealthy White men in Granada. Additionally, the fact that police officers and the judicial system do not perform their expected duties caused mistrust among the general population, resulting in a sense of powerlessness with regard to preventing CSEC in their city.

One focus group discussion involving NGO staff members and community advocates revealed the need for a more complex analysis of tolerance:

> At the beginning of this [CSEC] you would be *asustados* [startled] to see a 50 or 60 year-old gringo with 13 or 14 years old a little *chavalas* …Now, it has become the norm. Now we no longer get startled or stop to look or even think, 'what is wrong with this?' It is not that people don't care about the situation, but… it is about the fact that you report and nothing is done. You report it, the men get away and you know that those men are friends with people in higher places… We know that people in power are also involved…you never know what may happen…

Another participant added:

> Sometimes, I think that we are still *en la época de la colonia* [colonial times] where the White men came and gave mirrors and trinkets to the Indigenous people and before they realized they were slaves, raping their women and children…[tears] they… we were robbed of our culture…[sob] now they're coming with their dollars or the Euros showing it to the people and our children, taking advantage of their…our poverty, and once again changing our culture to fit their needs…now it [CSEC] has become our way of life and children's and their parents' way out of poverty…We're losing *nuestra querida Granada* [our dear Granada]…"

Systems of oppression seem to prevail over children's protection and the upholding of their human rights. The presence of foreigners perceived as wealthy seems to undermine the responsibilities and obligations of government institutions and non-government organizations charged with the protection of children against local, national, and foreign predators.

Discussion

Our findings support those presented in internal reports of NGOs and government organizations (Covenant House, 2001 & 2004; ECPAT, 2000; Save the Children, 2007 & 2011). They confirm that CSEC is rooted in economic disparities and gender-based violence and help explain feelings of tolerance regarding CSEC. Together, the data reveal a nuanced process full of disparities and tensions. First, fear of reprisals from those involved in CSEC can result in a lack of reporting. Second, some respondents perceived reporting as a waste of time, because various authorities are involved in CSEC. Tolerance can be interpreted as a way of protecting survivors and their families, due to corruption in the system and how the system tends to re-victimize them; specifically, because the legal system focuses on the survivor's character, rather than focusing on the perpetrator and others involved in breaking the law.

The findings of this study are significant because they clarify the intersection of globalization with the local realities: glocalization. The findings also clarify the dual forces of demand and supply: both bring about human rights violations, particularly among impoverished female children and adolescents. Consequently, despite the child protection and human right movements, sexual relations between men and children are being re-constructed as "normal" relations and as part of foreign men's entitlements. These entitlements reinforce patterns of coloniality between White men and the "Other." Quijano (2007) referred to these patterns as a coloniality of power: power relations

embedded in a contemporary global model of power-shaping relations of ethnicity, class, and gender.

The findings indicate that children in Granada are not perceived as having rights, such as the right to be recognized as human, and the right to be treated as developing children. In the context of globalization, the rights of the Other are grossly pushed aside by men soliciting sexual favours, while local business persons, taxi drivers, waiters, and government representatives such as the police and the judicial systems are coopted to once again serve the nation's wealthy resident and vising tourists.

CSEC is a social phenomenon in which all sectors of society are implicated, either by omission or by direct participation. Government institutions, NGOs, and members of the general population enact a coloniality of power locally: the dynamics of domination and subordination are so embedded in their daily life that they have become mundane. In Granada, the human rights of local children remain elusive and imaginary. The colonial power dynamics between the global South and the global North are reformulated as White men exercise their dominance, not only over the local children, but over entire communities of the colonial subject (the inferior Other), by scorning their traditions, their laws, and the international human rights code.

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Dissertation Abstract

Social Network Analysis in the Decision to Test for HIV

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ABSTRACT: This study's purpose was to examine how information flows through informal and more relaxed interactions to influence individuals' decisions to test for HIV. Promotion of HIV testing is critical in the fight against HIV and AIDS. A sample of 33 females and 29 males of African and Caribbean origin who had previously tested positive or negative for HIV participated in the study. By using measurement instruments adapted from Silverman, Hecht, McMillin, and Chang (2008), four types of social network ties were identified that influenced individuals' decisions to get tested for HIV. The four types of social network ties were immediate family, extended family, friends, and acquaintances. A mixed method approach (Creswell, 2008) was applied through simultaneous collection of a combination of qualitative and quantitative data. Specifically, social networks for individual participants were defined using a name generator followed by in-depth interviews. A thematic analysis of the qualitative descriptions of the network members' influence was performed. Statistical tests were conducted to determine the influence of each of the four social network relationship ties in HIV testing. The tallied results of the quantitative and qualitative data demonstrated the influence of different social networks in decisions to test for HIV.

Problem Statement

The Joint United Nations Program on HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS) and the World Health Organization (WHO) (2007) reported that HIV testing contributes to the reduction of new infections from HIV transmission. When people living with HIV are totally unaware of their HIV status, they will continue to spread the virus to their sexual partners. This is why the promotion of HIV testing is important.

Despite the progress made in potential life-saving treatment of HIV/AIDS, the majority of infected people still present themselves very late for testing with advanced HIV-related illnesses (UNAIDS/WHO, 2010). The British HIV Association (2006) reported 25% of diagnoses occurred too late, and that late diagnosis accounted for 35% of HIV-related deaths in the United Kingdom. In 2009, UNAIDS and the WHO reported that about 33.4 million people around the world were

living with the AIDS virus, and the number of people newly infected globally had remained at about 2.7 million annually.

The Public Health Agency of Canada (2008b) reported that about 27% of the 58,000 Canadians living with HIV are unaware of their status, and are therefore unable to obtain treatment even when treatment is accessible. The Public Health Agency also noted that HIV rates in Canada have increased over the past five years. Since many of the infected individuals are unaware of their condition, HIV/AIDS has remained a hidden epidemic in the country.

In their 2008 report, the Public Health Agency found that, by 2007, over 20,000 cases of AIDS had, so far, been diagnosed in the country. The number of diagnosed new infections has been contained at about 300 per year due to the impact of antiretroviral therapy (Public Health Agency of Canada, 2008a). Encouraging people to get HIV testing could not only radically improve access to treatment, but also reduce the further spread of HIV/AIDS.

Social Network Strategies in HIV Testing

Wellman (1988) defined social networks as collections of people and/or organizations connected to each other through relationships. Haythornthwaite (1996) noted that social networks also refer to interactions between people and organizations, including who knows, works with, or communicates with whom.

Social Network Theory views social relationships in terms of nodes and ties. Nodes are the individual actors in a network and ties are the relationships between the individual actors or network members. Social network theory differs from sociological theory that defines society as built up of individuals. Instead, the theory emphasizes the relations between individuals, and models society as networks of sets of relations or ties. Wasserman and Faust (1999) noted that relational ties (linkages) between actors are routes for transfer or flow of resources (either material or nonmaterial). Wellman (1988) viewed the network as a resource for social support, emotional support, companionship, time, information, knowledge, expertise, money, business transactions, and shared activity. He also noted that social networks could have some constraining effects on the individual because of lack of access to social capital.

Social network analysis is a process for analyzing a social network and identifying key actors, groups, and vulnerabilities, as well as the changes in these variables. It provides a rich set of concepts and analytical ways with which to understand the patterns of resource exchange relationships by empirical observation of these relationships. When applied to HIV testing, social network analysis identifies the type of information influencing individuals' decisions to get tested for HIV; actors in a social network can possess helpful information sources in network outlets. Social network analysis reveals how this information flows around all the network members.

The original concept of social networks was developed by Georg Simmel at the beginning of the 20th century (Cross & Parker, 2004). Since its inception, the concept has been developed and applied by modern computer technologies. Recently, social network approaches have turned out to be useful in explaining many real-world phenomena in social studies.

Klovdahl's study (1985) of social networks and the spread of HIV/AIDS was one of the first in public health. Davies (2009) applied social network analysis in epidemiological studies to understand the spread of HIV/AIDS. Heckathorn, Anthony and Weakliem (1999) compared results of a network-based HIV prevention intervention with the standard form of street-based outreach intervention. The results showed that network intervention outperformed the standard approach in

the level of HIV risk reduction. Amirkhanian, Kelly, Kabakchieva, McAuliffe, and Vassileva (2003) used social network analysis to study young men who have sex with men in Russia. An HIV Prevention study of injection drug users and their drug and sexual network members in Thailand and Philadelphia, by Latkin et al. (2009) found that injection drug users in dense networks shared needles more frequently than those in less dense networks. Social network research continues to be applied in public health.

In promoting HIV testing, McCree, Eke, and Williams (2007) suggested that social network strategies provided an opportunity to target entire networks, if needed, rather than just individuals, because actors in a network are linked to each other by social relationships. From 2003-2005, the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) demonstrated the feasibility of using social network strategies to identify individuals with undiagnosed HIV infection (CDC, 2006). The recruiters targeted men of colour who have sex with men, and men who have sex with men and are also injection drug users in their social networks. However, the model could still be applied to the wider population without the need of enlisting recruiters.

HIV/AIDS is a stigmatized illness. Singling out particular population groups for testing can stigmatize patients with the disease, which then causes others to resist all attempts to test for HIV (Halkitis, et al., 2011). HIV patients have a right to refuse testing for HIV, if they wish. Patients are protected by law and cannot be pressured or forced into testing for HIV against their will (Baggaley, 2008). Enlisting people to actually recruit others for HIV testing is a breach of the confidentiality that is normally a pre-requisite for HIV testing. The purposeful and planned use of social network strategies will more likely provide an effective approach in identifying persons with undiagnosed HIV infection for testing.

Methods

This study was retrospective, with primary data collection from participants who already had had HIV testing. The mixed method approach that was used combined qualitative and quantitative techniques for data collection. The quantitative method's purpose was to identify the independent and dependent variables in the study and their relationship, as well as the mediating and moderating variables in the decisions to get HIV testing.

The qualitative method was designed to collect expressions of personal experiences from participants. A thematic analysis of the qualitative descriptions of the network members' influence in the individuals' decisions to get HIV testing was performed. Data collected from the two research techniques were merged into one coherent whole that was analyzed and interpreted as a single data set for the study.

Analysis of Results

SPSS 16.0 was used to manage and analyze the quantitative data. Descriptive statistics were computed for characteristics of the participants and their networks. Analysis of variance (ANOVA) and t-tests were performed to compare the network characteristics across the subgroups of participants and across types of networks. Independent-samples t-tests were conducted to assess the relationship of the social network variables with social support. Evidence of independent-samples t-tests are shown in tables. Chi-square tests were conducted to compare the influence of family members, extended family members, friends and acquaintances in HIV testing. The results did not show any statistically sound distinction because the sample size was not large enough.

The qualitative inquiry helped to capture the data that quantitative methods of research would not have managed to capture. Some factors that influenced individuals' decisions to get HIV testing could be understood fully through qualitative research. The mixed method approach used in this study had considerable merit in giving more strength and credibility to the findings than if either quantitative or qualitative technique were used alone.

Table 1 Social Network Influence on the Individual Decision to be Tested for HIV by Gender

	Female (*N* = 33)		Male (*N* = 29)			
	M	*SD*	**M**	*SD*	*T(d)*	*P*
Influence on HIV testing – Immediate family	2.89	2.06	2.73	1.83	.29(48)	.77
Influence on HIV testing – Extended family	2.36	1.68	2.14	1.52	.48(48)	.63
Influence on HIV testing – Friends	3.39	1.77	3.91	1.44	-.1.11(48)	.27
Influence on HIV testing – Acquaintances	2.93	1.82	2.50	1.63	.86(48)	.39

Note. Influence was rated on a 5-point scale (1 = Very weak, 2 = Weak, 3 = Strong, 4 = Fairly strong, and 5 = Very strong).

Discussion and Conclusion

The study findings indicated that participants engaged in interactions about their daily life and experiences with network members. Friends were perceived to have the greatest influence on the decisions to test for HIV among the 16 to 34 year old participants followed, in order of importance, by immediate family, acquaintances and extended family members. These findings are inconsistent with Granovetter's "Strength of Weak Ties" theory (1983). The theory emphasized that weak ties provided more information flow of new ideas to network members than strong ties, though the context in this study differs from that which Granovetter's research was based upon. On the contrary, Weimann (1983) argued that weak ties provide the bridges for the diffusion of innovations across boundaries of social groups, but that decision making is influenced mainly by strong ties in each group.

Close friends empathized easily with each other's health problems, and they trusted each other with private information about HIV because of their similar social experiences. Friends were easily accessible to network members because they experienced a common social culture. The influence of friends on network members was woven into the activities of their everyday life. Information among friends was both given and received in a relaxed atmosphere during social interaction.

The results highlighted in this study have important implications for academics, public health organizations and policy-makers. The research contributes to the literature by identifying the effects and influence of social network relationship ties on an individual's decision to test for HIV. These findings have considerable merit in the fight against HIV and AIDS globally. For policy-makers and health professionals, coming to a more complete understanding of these dynamics will enable them to make institutional decisions and allocate resources to enhance available support, thus encouraging, promoting, and leading to increased testing for HIV.

Though sexual networks provide the routes through which the HIV infection was transmitted, social networks play a major role in transmitting information that influences individuals' decisions to test for HIV and prevent further infection (Heckathorn, Anthony & Weakliem, 1999).

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