

Public Voices



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Public Voices

Community-Based Research: Act Locally, Think Globally

Symposium

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Volume XII

Number 2

Publisher

Public Voices is published by the National Center for Public Performance at the School of Public Affairs and Administration (SPAA), Rutgers University-Campus at Newark.
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Front Cover

"*Taking the Census*" by Francis William Edmonds, oil on canvas, 1854. In *Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History*. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2000–.
<http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/works-of-art/2006.457>.

Subscriptions

Subscriptions are available on a per volume basis (two issues) at the following rates: \$36 per year for institutions, agencies and libraries; \$24 per year for individuals; \$12 for single copies and back orders. Noninstitutional subscribers can make payments by personal check or money order to:

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School of Public Affairs and Administration (SPAA)
Rutgers University, Campus at Newark
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Washington, DC 20042-0041

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<http://spaa.newark.rutgers.edu/pv>

ISSN 1072-5660

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Sophie Till

Three years ago Sophie Till started working with pianist Edna Golandsky, the leading exponent of the Taubman Piano Technique, an internationally acclaimed approach that is well known to pianists, on the one hand, for allowing pianists to attain a phenomenal level of virtuosity and on the other, for solving very serious piano-related injuries. Till, a violinist, quickly realized that here was a unique technical approach that could not only identify and itemize the minute movements that underlie a virtuoso technique but could show how these movements interact and go into music making at the highest level. Furthermore, through the work of the Golandsky Institute, she saw a pedagogical approach that had been developed to a remarkable depth and level of clarity. It was an approach that had the power to communicate in a way she had never seen before, despite her own first class violin training from the earliest age. While the geography and “look” on the violin are different from the piano, the laws governing coordinate motion specifically in playing the instrument are the same for pianists and violinists. As a result of Till’s work translating the technique for violin, a new pedagogical approach for violinists of all ages is emerging; the Taubman/Golandsky Approach to the Violin. In reflecting on these new developments, Edna Golandsky wrote, “I have been working with the Taubman Approach for more than 30 years and have worked regularly with other instrumentalists. However, Sophie Till was the first violinist who asked me to teach her with the same depth that I do with pianists. With her conceptual and intellectual agility as

well as complete dedication to helping others, she has been the perfect partner to translate this body of knowledge for violinists. Through this collaboration, Sophie is helping develop a new ‘language’ for violinist that will prevent future problems, solve present ones and start beginners on the right road to becoming the best they can be. The implications of this new work for violinists are enormous.”

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Considering their years of study, students identified specific course topics, activities and assignments as well as relationships with students, advisors, and internship supervisors. Support of fellow students and unconventional experiences such as meeting a homeless man on the street had a strong impact on students’ development of the qualities being studied. Implications for social work education and professional training for the helping professions are discussed. These preliminary results are part of a larger longitudinal study in progress.

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The students gained perspectives on the diversity of the African continent in general and Kenya in particular. Through course assignments such as journal entries, reflections on pertinent readings, discussion boards and experiences visiting primary classrooms, students acquired deeper insights into the educational system in Kenya, which helped quell misconceptions about the country. The notion of triple identity – citizen in a community, nation and world – was experienced by the students. A critical pedagogy approach, Ignatian pedagogy, in-depth reflection, international service-learning and learning outcomes will form the framework of the article.

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TCMC partners with community organizations and health professionals to ensure that students learn the fundamentals of community engagement and service-based practice. The curriculum involves student research projects that foster commitment to community involvement and participatory research. TCMC also collaborates with several educational partners in the region. An example is the partnership with a regional university to develop a public health certificate program and a combined MD/MPH program. Interprofessional training is another feature of the curriculum and TCMC is partnering with dental professionals in the region to incorporate oral health into the medical school curriculum, with a focus on preventive oral health care. Through these and several other programs, TCMC aspires to train community-oriented physicians who will practice medicine in a holistic manner and ultimately contribute to improving health in Northeastern Pennsylvania and beyond.

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Taking the Census

by Francis William Edmonds, 1854

The United States Census of 1850 was the first such survey in this country to require that heads of households provide information on their dependents. The process of interrogation caused a good deal of confusion and inspired numerous jokes. Francis William Edmonds's amusing portrayal features a father making a painstaking effort (counting on his fingers) to give the white-bearded census taker his family statistics, while his giggling children hide from sight. A reviewer who saw the picture at the national Academy of Design exhibition in 1854 described the main character as a "farmer, rough and awkward, reckoning in brown study the number of the boys and girls, evidently more at home in the use of the ox-gad, which lies on the floor, than in figuring." The small portrait print of George Washington just above the father's head evokes not only the genesis of the country's democratic political system but also the by then legendary admonition never to tell a lie. With its carefully delineated interior based on prototypes from Dutch genre scenes, the composition reveals Edmonds at his finest, taking a common moment from the daily life of middle-class Americans and turning it into a moralizing and socially critical tableau.

Information taken from <http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/works-of-art/2006.457> on May 25, 2012

Community-Based Research: Act Locally, Think Globally

Alexander R. Dawoody

In 2011 the Institute for Public Policy and Economic Development held its 4th Annual Faculty Symposium at the University of Scranton. It involved faculty and student presentations from seven institutions of higher learning in Northeastern Pennsylvania. These included the University of Scranton, Marywood University, The Commonwealth Medical College, Misericordia University, Kings College, Wilkes University, Keystone College, Luzerne County Community College, and Pennsylvania State University/Wilkes-Barre. The theme of the symposium was how to anchor faculty and student research into community-related issues versus, as one of the presenters describes it, a “helicopter” research, whereby a researcher remotely chooses an issue to investigate, participates in the local setting only for the duration of the research, and then dumps the findings as a pie from the sky without any relevance or meaningful impact of results on the study’s subjects and community.

We decided to choose the former and look at issues relevant to Northeastern Pennsylvania and conduct researches on them. Hence emerged the theme of our symposium and all papers were anchored in such an approach. In order to give voice and scholarly venue to these efforts, we approached *Public Voices* for possibly hosting the papers presented during the symposium. We are grateful that the journal accepted our proposal and was gracious to give us a voice. We submitted ten papers to a peer-reviewed process and four papers were accepted (with some revisions). These papers include topics that range from an approach to violin as well as developing professional competence in graduate schools and student experiences with the social work curriculum to integrating service learning in an academic graduate course and, finally, improving the health of Northeastern Pennsylvania through medical education and community engagement. Not only these papers are community related, but they are also globally-oriented, reflecting the motto of “act locally, think globally.” This silo-buster of “Glo-Local” is an interdisciplinary approach to local/community-related issues within the context of a global perspective. We are delighted to include these papers in this special *Public Voices* symposium on community-related research. These papers truly reflect the journal’s artistic and scholarly theme and its unique way in interpreting public administration.

Sophie Till, a clinical assistant professor of violin at Marywood University, begins this symposium by writing on the Taubman/Golandsky approach to the violin. Her article deals with what is perceived to be “normal” to a musician. As she explains in her version of “Wacky Wednesday,” the wackiness of living in pain caused by playing-related injuries is often accepted in the musical culture as the state of normality. Understanding how to get the body to function at the instrument becomes the dilemma. The body remains the body with its laws of motion, and the instrument remains unto its laws. For example, the laws governing coordinate motion for the arms and fingers in playing the violin remain the same. Studying them then can help with answering how the world of the motion goes into the music making, solving the problem of injuries, and developing a pedagogical approach to access knowledge at all levels. The essence of the approach is in that nothing is forced into the body. Students may start by not challenging the logic of what they are being taught. Gradually, however, they no longer do as they are taught; instead, they possess concrete physical knowledge and diagnostic tools. Through this article, Sophie provides a pragmatic and realistic approach to the understanding of the culture of musicians where “wackiness” is often confused with normality. This is important because what a community often perceives as normal blankets various layers of wackiness and abnormality. In appreciating such wackiness, the community will have better appreciation and understanding of its culture.

Christine Kessen, associate professor of social work at Marywood University, and Kielty Turner, assistant professor of social work at Marywood University, present the next topic on developing professional competence in graduate schools and student experiences of the social work curriculum. Christine and Kielty’s article explores the development of professional competence in masters-level social work students at a faith-based university in the northeastern United States. They use focus groups in order to get students to discuss aspects of the implicit and explicit curriculum that develop mindfulness, self-compassion, and empathy. Through this study, students identify specific course topics, activities and assignments as well as relationships with advisors and internship supervisors. Unconventional experiences, such as meeting a homeless man on the street, are explored in order to examine their impact on educational development in social work. The research questions asked during this study were: 1) How does the explicit social work curriculum affect the development of mindfulness, self-compassion, and empathy? and 2) How does the implicit social work curriculum affect the development of mindfulness, self-compassion, and empathy?

A preliminary analysis identified the factors in the explicit and implicit curriculum that foster the development of mindfulness, self-compassion, and empathy in the participants. They include fostering mutual respect between students and faculty, faculty functioning with flexibility and exhibiting concern about students, other students in a cohort providing support to demonstrate techniques for self-care, and availability of university-wide activities encouraging students to take time out for themselves. The focus group generated comments that stressed students’ emphasis on and concern for personal, warm educational environment, empathy, and interpersonal skills. Participants also identified factors in the explicit and implicit curriculum which they perceived as assisting them in developing empathy and interpersonal skills.

Christine and Kielty's study is important for the community and the educational institutions functioning within it because it emphasizes through an empirically-based analysis the need for fostering mindfulness, self-compassion, and empathy in students. It also emphasizes clear identification of learning experiences relative to these qualities and the benefits of teaching them throughout the curriculum.

Tata Mbugua, assistant professor at the University of Scranton, and her graduate student Lauren Godek introduce the third article in the symposium. The title of their article is "Integrating International Service Learning in an Academic Graduate Course: An Instructor and Student Perspective." Tata and Lauren's descriptive paper aims to describe and share perspectives on a graduate course that integrated an international service-learning component. The course, taught in Kenya during the summer of 2010, had six graduate teacher candidates. The article describes the experiences of Tata and a teacher candidate, Lauren, who had never traveled outside of the United States prior to enrolling in this course. A critical pedagogy approach, Ignatian pedagogy, in-depth reflection, international service learning, and learning outcomes formed the framework of the article.

According to this article, the increasing number of mandates from accrediting bodies as well as the state and national organizations pertaining to teacher education are unlikely to include anything international or provide specific guidelines on how to include international exposure of teacher candidates. The study recommends that colleges and universities include such skills in their courses and contextualize the impetus to develop an international service-learning component within graduate courses.

Tata's course resides with the Panuska College of Professional Studies (PCPS), where academic programs enhance and extend their mission through service learning. Such institutional commitment to service had won the University of Scranton the President's Higher Education Community Service Honor Roll in 2010. This honor bridges community efforts and globalization through education and service learning. With regard to Tata's graduate course, PCPS's commitment to service learning created an opportunity to incorporate an international service-learning component into structured academic content.

Tata and Lauren reflect on their experience in Kenya by applying an Ignatian pedagogical paradigm, which implies that teacher candidates assimilate facts, consider relationships to others, and discuss topics, with the instructor being pivotal in these reflections. Completion of the reflective components of the course was done primarily through oral class discussions and written journal reflections. One of their tasks was to compare and contrast the socio-economic status of Kenya and the USA, as well as the cosmopolitan city of Nairobi and its slums. While observing students in the Kindergarten through fifth grade classrooms, Tata and Lauren noted the complex social stressors and how different classrooms in Kenya were from those in the United States. There were fifty to sixty students per teacher in a classroom in Kenya, for example, but the need for classroom management was minimal because all the students were yearning to learn. At the Nyumbani Children's Home, Tata and Lauren also learned about the HIV/AIDS epidemic in Kenya. They met with children who were HIV+ and were abandoned as orphans. The children, however, were hopeful and filled with creativity. They drew pictures, read in the library, and played games of skill.

Tata and Lauren engaged Kenyan teachers in a discussion geared to the needs assessment from these teachers' perspective rather than imposing theirs. Lauren stepped outside her comfort zone to learn new perspectives on sustainability, experience social stigma of children living with HIV/AIDS, gain cultural competencies in the realm of teacher/student ratio, and get familiarized with a political situation that sought to empower the populace. Having such experiential opportunities to engage in authentic international service learning had fostered in Lauren global awareness and cultural competencies and sensitivity, which is an important dimension in transformational teaching in a real world context.

Finally, Olapeju Simoyan and Janet Townsend, both faculty at The Commonwealth Medical College, conclude the symposium with their article entitled "Improving the Health of Northeastern Pennsylvania through Medical Education and Community Engagement." The article stresses the mission of The Commonwealth Medical College (TCMC) and its emphasis on community engagement.

According to Olapeju and Janet, TCMC plays a critical role in helping alleviate severe health professional shortage in Northeastern Pennsylvania by training and educating future community physicians for this region.

In carrying out its social mission to improve health outcomes, The Commonwealth Medical College's curricular framework and strategies: 1) support patient centered values, skills and behaviors; 2) involve students as active adult learners in a positive learning environment; 3) provide them with numerous opportunities to learn from and with other health professionals; and 4) offer training opportunities in assuring quality and effectiveness of care in both primary care and specialty settings.

Olapeju and Janet's article refers to community engagement as a core element of any research effort involving communities. It requires academic members to become part of the community and community members to become part of the research team. They add that community engagement in research is often operationalized in the form of partnerships and collaborations that help mobilize resources and serve as catalysts for changing policies, programs, and practices, with the long-term goal of improved health outcomes and elimination of health disparities. The authors indicate that it is on the principle of community responsiveness that TCMC came to existence. This helped, from the outset, to initiate relationships with community leaders and determine priority health needs from the perspective of community representatives. Additionally, active support of community engagement by TCMC's senior leadership resulted in significant institutional buy-in to this model of collaborative research and curricular planning.

As part of community engagement activities, TCMC faculty and staff have developed the Community Health Research Projects (CHRP) program for the first-year medical (MD) students and the Master of Biomedical Science (MBS) students. Working with community mentors and under faculty supervision, students identify and research topics that are of importance to the community mentors and their agencies. The results of such projects can further inform TCMC's outreach to the community. At the same time, students gain exposure to community health

through the CHRP experience, in addition to coursework in the core areas of public health, such as Biostatistics, Epidemiology, Social and Behavioral Health, Health Policy and Management. They begin to develop perspectives and skills that will prepare them to serve as advocates for patients and their families in navigating complexities of the health care system. The intended long-term outcomes of increasing students' exposure to public health and preventive medicine include producing physicians who are public health- and prevention-oriented, regardless of specialty.

Olapeju and Janet also address TCMC's commitment to social justice and diversity realized through reaching into the "pipeline" to identify and prepare future physicians, scientist and public health professionals from disadvantaged and underrepresented groups. Thus, to make higher education more accessible to economically disadvantaged students and encourage the pursuit of health-related career paths, TCMC has received funding to run the REACH HEI program that will serve approximately 400 high school and undergraduate students from educationally or economically disadvantaged backgrounds or first-generation college attendees over a three-year period. In order to identify such students, TCMC has developed partnerships with various high schools, colleges and community organizations.

The authors also focus on TCMC's efforts to incorporate oral health into the medical school curriculum to address the need for oral health education for medical students. These efforts combine didactic training in oral health with hands-on sessions, where students learn how to perform thorough oral exams, screen for oral cancer and apply fluoride varnishes.

The final curricular component that Olapeju and Janet discuss in their article is interprofessional education that involves training students to evaluate and assess the roles and contributions of various healthcare professionals in delivering healthcare services to individuals, families and communities. To provide opportunities for interactive educational experiences for their students, TCMC faculty collaborate with health profession schools in 17 colleges and universities of the region.

The four articles comprising the symposium are excellent examples of interdisciplinary approach in education to community engagement. Education and research lose their impact and relevance if they follow the old "helicopter" model. On the other hand, with the interconnectedness of local communities within a global context, researches geared toward local community-related issues not only have important implications for their immediate communities of study but also for the globe as a whole. Whether it is music, social work, service learning, or health care, the world is connected through its various communities and is better served through researches anchored in these Glob-Localized communities.

Dr. Alexander R. Dawoody is Assistant Professor of Public Policy and Administration at Marywood University, Scranton, PA.

The Taubman/Golandsky Approach to the Violin

Sophie Till

Five-year-old Faye hoots with laughter as she looks at the pages of Dr. Seuss' "Wacky Wednesday." Each page depicts a "normal" scene of daily life with tiny features gone awry.

"The stroller has no wheels! His head is on backwards!" She lists them on her fingers until she finds the prescribed number. It is comical.

It would be easy to write a string players edition of "Wacky Wednesday:"

Page 1: A violinist receives his two degrees from a leading American conservatory. He wins an orchestra position. His career consists of resting for several weeks during the year in order to stop the pain in his left arm, which he accumulates when he is playing in the orchestra. This is the only way he can sustain his career.

Page 2: A violinist in a leading chamber orchestra sits in terror at rehearsals and concerts because she is consumed with anxiety that she cannot get her bow to the string and move her arm, she feels immobilized.

Page 3: A list of string faculty for a summer program, each has a biography declaring their exceptional training with names of well-known institutions and leading teachers. Each year at least one faculty member struggles with a physical issue and has to miss rehearsals in order to just make it through the concerts. Their contracts state that they should be playing every rehearsal.

Page 4: Depicts a public school teacher, former violin professor and concert master, no longer able to play at all and needing a new career.

Another edition of "Wacky Wednesday" might show:

Page 1: A lawyer on his way to work shuts his finger in his car door. He curses at his stupidity and next time he is extra careful not to do the same.

Page 2: A three year old stubs his toes because he is not wearing shoes. It takes a few more toe-stubbings but the learning has begun. We look at the three year old in disbelief, when after six toe-stubbings he is still not getting the point.

There is something deeply awry in the culture that musicians learn in and function in as professionals, that we accept this wacky picture as “normal.” How can it be “normal” to rest for a few weeks and then do exactly the same thing like the violinist, over and over again? The cultural scene for musicians is of course blurred by the artistic and emotional qualities of being a musician and the romantic associations of the emotional world, the dark and tortured artistic personality. Romanticism has a lot to answer for – bring on the Age of Enlightenment.

It cannot be that there is something wrong with the instruments and there is certainly nothing wrong with the human body. The essence of the problem lies in our understanding of how to get the body to function at the instrument to the specific requirements of playing the instrument. The body remains the body with its laws of motion, and the instrument remains unto its laws.

Ten years ago, my duo partner, a pianist, became severely injured, to the point he could no longer play. After months of desperate searching for solutions he was put in touch with piano pedagogue Edna Golandsky in New York City. Ms. Golandsky is the leading exponent of the Taubman Piano Technique and Director of the Golandsky Institute. Under Ms. Golandsky’s guidance he not only recovered but gradually surpassed his former level of virtuosity and musicianship. As we started performing together again, I noticed that he had concrete answers to problems that arose. Despite my own first-class training, I only had a patchwork of guesses. There would be a brief moment of “aha,” but then hours trying to chase what had happened to make that experience happen and retain it. Not a comforting feeling if you have one shot in a concert. Chasing such moments is familiar to musicians. I finally accompanied my pianist friend to a lesson with Edna Golandsky and asked her a question about a passage that had caused problems in a recording we had made earlier that same day. Within five minutes she had transformed the passage beyond anything I had managed to achieve in months. Fascinated, I started taking lessons. Violin lessons with a pianist. I gradually realized that hers was a comprehensive body of knowledge about playing that was a goldmine. While the “look” on the violin is different, the laws governing co-ordinate motion for the arms and fingers remain the same.

Under the auspices of the Golandsky Institute, the Taubman Piano Technique is an internationally acclaimed approach that is well known to pianists for allowing pianists to attain a phenomenal level of virtuosity, as well as having an incredible track record of solving playing-related injuries. It is the combination of three aspects that make this work so important; first, the comprehensive body of knowledge about the minute, often invisible world of co-ordinate motion that goes into playing; second, how this world of motion goes into music making of the highest caliber and third, the development of a pedagogical approach that is exceptional in its clarity and depth, that allows students and professionals access to the knowledge at all levels.

Decades ago pianist Dorothy Taubman undertook an extraordinarily extensive study of the motions in the fingers, hand and arm that allow the body to play with ease, speed and power. Taubman says, “The complexities and subtleties of the movements are such that it is understandable why they have defied detection. Some are miniscule, and some not even visible. But once revealed, they are a magical world of motion.”¹ The more visible finger action is made easy by a combination of almost entirely invisible arm and hand motions. What the Taubman work can do is identify and itemize these miniscule movements and explain how they interact and combine.

As performers we inhabit an internal landscape where the physicality of playing converges with the demands of the music (emotional/aural). It is very hard to describe the intensity and vividness of that internal landscape to a non-performer, but when the body is struggling, the performance becomes a tightrope walk between the physical and musical demands (a challenge for any brain to deal with). The Taubman work functions in this vivid internal landscape. The tiniest motions become enormous, concrete and vital. The entire way of learning changes. Historically, unlike some other disciplines, we are not taught to challenge our teachers and the logic of what we are being taught. With the Taubman work, the physical logic informs us in the teaching and learning process. If it does not feel right, it is not right. Even a five year old can usually respond to the question, “Does this way feel better, or this way feel better?” Gradually the student is no longer doing as they are told, but possessing concrete physical knowledge and diagnostic tools. My students have had to learn how to take a Taubman/Golandsky lesson. They walk in with their “shopping list” of problems, and we work through them until each is answered. When the student has real solutions and nothing is vague, the list is covered. It might be one question on that list or many. A fundamental difference is that nothing is forced into the body. You can get the body to do many things if you force it in, but this is not a skill. When the body is forced to do something, the body will eventually pay the price. If that extra hard passage in the middle of the concerto only works when I have practiced it a hundred times, then I do not have the skill to do it, it has been forced in.

As string players we need this body of knowledge desperately. Fortunately with the intellectual athleticism of Edna Golandsky and her willingness to work with me, the support of the Golandsky Institute and Marywood University, it is becoming available for string players. I suspect it will be my life’s work translating and developing the work for violin with its corresponding pedagogy. But even one piece of this information beats a lifetime of pain-relief pills and internal struggle. “Wacky Wednesday” is supposed to be comical not tragic reality.

Notes

¹ Dorothy Taubman and Edna Golandsky, “Introductory Principles and Concepts,” *Virtuosity in a Box: The Taubman Techniques*, Volume 1, (Medusa, NY, 1995), DVD.

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Developing Professional Competence in Graduate School: Student Experiences of the Social Work Curriculum

Christine Kessen and Kietly Turner

Curriculum concern has grown since social work education has been shown to be related to a decreased sense of personal competence among masters level students (Ying 2008). When required to perform at a professional level during their internships, students often express anxiety (Gelman 2004). Although the development of empathy as an interpersonal skill is an accreditation requirement of the Council on Social Work Education (CSWE 2008), empathy is thought to decrease during professional studies (Hojat et al. 2009; Stratton, Saunders, and Elam 2008) and during internships (Bellini, Baime, and Shea 2002).

However, mindfulness has been shown to be associated with increased self awareness (Brown and Ryan 2003) and to have a mediating effect on Master of Social Work (MSW) students' sense of personal competence and mental health (Ying 2008; Ying 2009). Mindfulness skills training has shown some potential to increase self-compassion in healthy adults (Birnie, Speca, and Carlson 2010) and in health care professionals (Shapiro et al. 2005). Including loving-kindness meditation, mindfulness training may enhance the development of empathy (Shapiro et al. 2005).

Self-compassion has been conceptualized as having three components: self-kindness, common humanity and mindfulness (Neff 2003). It is positively associated with mastery goals (Neff, Hsieh, and Dejitterat 2005) and with effective coping with professional challenges for MSW students (Ying and Han 2009). Both mindfulness and self-compassion may be associated with the development of empathy as well as professional competence.

While the social work literature discusses student functioning when entering field placements or internships (Gelman 2004) and during their years of study (Ying 2008; Ying 2009; Ying and Han, 2009), literature is lacking on the relationship between the social work curriculum and the

development of these three qualities. This qualitative study explores student experiences of the social work curriculum (explicit and implicit) as it relates to the development of mindfulness, self-compassion, and empathy.

Method

In this exploratory, qualitative study, twelve MSW students participated in four focus groups over a two month period. (Each student attended one focus group with two to four students attending each group.) Focus groups occurred over the noon hour and participation was voluntary. Students were asked to share their experiences with the development of mindfulness, self-compassion, and empathy during their years of study. Focus groups were audio taped and later transcribed.

Research Question 1: How does the explicit social work curriculum affect the development of mindfulness, self-compassion, and empathy?

Research Question 2: How does the implicit social work curriculum affect the development of mindfulness, self-compassion, and empathy?

Students were given a definition of mindfulness as non-judgmental present moment awareness; self-compassion as kindness to one's self in instances of perceived inadequacy or suffering; and empathy as the ability to imagine what another person is feeling and thinking. Group leaders prompted participants to consider aspects of the implicit and explicit curriculum such as courses, student activities, internships, etc. as needed. The students were also asked to discuss the relationships and connections among the three qualities as they develop.

Results

A preliminary analysis identified the factors in the explicit and implicit curriculum which foster the development of mindfulness, self-compassion, and empathy in the participants. Students also discussed the connections among the three qualities.

Development of mindfulness

Students reported that role playing a client situation as well as cultural awareness exercises in or for a class helped to develop mindfulness. Learning “tuning in” skills in their social work practice classes (skills related to understanding the client’s as well as one’s own present emotional and cognitive state) gave them an opportunity to discuss mindfulness skills with others. Course readings provided time to be reflective. A few classes offered specific mindfulness exercises.

Internship supervisors modeled mindfulness in their work with clients and co-workers which some students sought to emulate. Process recordings, an internship assignment requiring a

sentence-by-sentence transcript of a client interview, helped students to focus on the present moment. The cases themselves, often new experiences for the students, were thought to require nonjudgmental awareness.

Students experienced nonjudgmental awareness when discussing cases in class and in their internships. Becoming aware of one's own needs and self-care were emphasized by some instructors and internship supervisors. In the school environment, meeting other students with an interest in mindfulness fostered further exploration and study.

Student comments include:

Another student ran a group [for a class] basically on mindfulness and we took turns, we walked around the classroom, just trying to only be aware of what was happening then and there. And the experience I got was very calming, and I found it to be amazing how many little things happen to you in a day that you don't realize happens.

It was something that I practiced in my internship, or I learned to attune to. My supervisor at the placement [internship] practiced it, modeled it for me. And it became a daily occurrence for me, . . . seeing it modeled.

Also taking the ethics course made me more aware, brought me more into that present moment awareness. . . It slowed me down to look at my values, versus society's values, versus the NASW [National Association of Social Workers] professional values brought me to a calmer state. I think that whole process of slowing me down and questioning, looking at things brought me more into a mindful state. I know we also did a breathing, guided imagery experience, that experience was helpful, It was very calming. . . On a personal level, I've spent more time reading up . . . trying to spend a few minutes each day being still, practicing that stillness, and it helps me throughout my entire day.

Definitely mindfulness in my internship . . . I see these children who have like nothing . . . I have to be nonjudgmental because what I think is best is not necessarily what is best. And that is definitely something I have learned in my field [internship].

My field setting [internship] this year is in a [locked facility]. So mindfulness has been something that I kind of had no choice but to really take on, because you have to look at the person in the present moment, you can't focus on their past or what if they come back or will they make it. You just have to focus on where they are right now, what they want to learn, and it doesn't matter why they're there. Everyone is in the same group, seeking the same treatment, so I think that I've learned it in my own way. . . and we apply it in our own way. . . definitely more in field [internship] than in class I've learned mindfulness.

Development of self-compassion

Students reported that they applied the Strengths Perspective, a treatment approach taught in social work practice classes, to themselves while learning its use with clients. An internship supervisor modeled the Strengths Perspective by identifying the student's strengths which helped the student develop self-compassion. Professors and internship supervisors taught and emphasized the need for self-care.

The school environment fostered mutual respect among students and faculty at the graduate level. Professors were viewed as flexible and concerned that students take care of themselves. Support from other students in their cohort and hearing other students' techniques for self-care were beneficial. Having many activities available in the university helped some students take time out for themselves.

Student comments include:

I remember [Director of Field Education] reminding me to practice compassion. . . "What would you do for a client? Would you stand there and beat up on the client? No, you wouldn't. You'd try to help him with coping strategies. Now do this for yourself." I found that helpful.

The biggest aspect of self-care came from other students in my cohort. Even carpooling an hour here with another student—every week we carpool—and just to talk on the way here and on the way home is a big aspect of self-care for both of us.

Definitely the faculty. . . you're an adult now, you respect them and they respect you. When you're respected by others [faculty], you're going to have that self respect and think positively of yourself.

It's a very personal, warm environment [School of Social Work] and I think that definitely helps develop self-compassion when you're surrounded by that.

There are a couple professors . . . would say "You don't have to get all A's." They set the tone, like you don't have to be a high achiever and burn out, just relax and just learn. Be here to learn and don't try to be perfect. . . Professors set the tone that way. I felt more relaxed in their classes.

Development of empathy

The structure of the classes with extended time for discussion allowed hearing others' perspectives. Class content of films from other cultures, cases with ethical dilemmas, readings that fostered discussion, and group projects, particularly a class assignment where a student interviewed a homeless man on the street were reported by participants to increase their mindful

self-awareness. Learning to separate feelings from events during class activities and experiencing international faculty who brought experiences from other cultures were beneficial.

Students voiced that the entire internship experience – listening to clients and supervisors and encountering life problems that they had not experienced previously – was strongly associated with their development of empathy. Students found that the support from their supervisors as well as professors in their classes helped them meet the internship challenges.

The open-mindedness of the school environment allowed students to explore new ideas which helped in developing empathy. The student association service projects – raising money for a cause – helped students understand a social problem and identify ways to help address it. Learning to relate to other students in their cohort who were experiencing serious health or family problems was also instrumental.

Student comments include:

We did a project [for practice class] where we went downtown. . . you have to put yourself out there and find out what it is like to be in a real-life situation rather than just reading about it in a book. One experience that I had was finding a man, sitting out on the street, his physical appearance was just kind of battered, missing a shoe, very stereotypically homeless looking. As we began to speak to him, he was very friendly, very paranoid, talked about things like being on the phone with the President, nuclear missiles, things like that. To see that somebody is out on the street like that and may not have the connections . . . that could be any of us.

This is huge in field [internship], just that hands on interaction with clients, hearing their stories and listening to them and I think that develops empathy.

Recently a student's father passed away . . . you can't say I've been there I know what you are going through, . . . training [coursework] taught me to be empathetic rather than sympathetic.

Having professors from other countries and hearing international examples, that's new and being able to hear that, to understand perspectives from other countries helps to develop empathy.

Connections

Students reported differences in the timing of the development of the three qualities. Some students experienced mindfulness as the first quality to develop, with empathy and self-compassion following. Others reported that self-compassion came first, and then empathy with clients and others in their environment. Still others found that empathy with clients came first, and then mindfulness developed. Self-compassion was viewed as optional by some. Finally,

some students found that mindfulness and empathy developed at the same time, and others saw that all could occur separately.

Student comments include:

I think if I'm mindful and aware of my thoughts, I'm able to acknowledge maybe some prejudices or biases I have towards a client, so I can be aware of it, I can move past that, I can be more empathetic. Also if I am more mindful of my thoughts, more nonjudgmental of my thoughts, I can be compassionate towards myself.

I think it begins with mindfulness, and then by being empathetic to others, you know, you need to practice what you preach, and that leads to self-compassion.

For me, it can start with empathy. I work with kids [with disabilities] . . . seeing what they go through. You become very empathetic which leads you to be a little bit more mindful of yourself— what am I doing? How am I helping? . . . definitely leads to self-compassion, being more kind to yourself so that you can help others.

First and foremost you have to have self-compassion. You have to be kind to yourself. . . that allows you to have empathy. Then it branches out into mindfulness.

I think in terms of self-compassion, that first you have to be aware that you need it. So I can see how mindfulness needs to play into an awareness before you could ever come to a place of self-compassion. And the same could be said about empathy. If you aren't present in that moment of understanding where someone else is at, then you're never going to reach a place of empathy. So it almost seems to me like mindfulness needs to come first and then the other two are almost puzzle pieces that fit into it.

Discussion

Empathy, an interpersonal skill, is an accreditation requirement of the Council on Social Work Education (CSWE 2008). However, this skill has been found to decrease during professional studies (Hojat et al. 2009; Stratton, Saunders, and Elam 2008) and during internships (Bellini, Baime, and Shea 2002). Factors in the master level social work curriculum which foster the development of empathy and the related qualities of mindfulness and self-compassion have not been studied. In this preliminary qualitative study, participants were asked to identify factors in the explicit and implicit curriculum which they perceive assisted them to develop these qualities. Additionally, they were asked to discuss the connections between the development of the three qualities.

Students frequently mentioned real-life experiences involving clients, internships, professors, and fellow students as fostering the development of the three qualities under study. They also reported experiential exercises and cases from real-life situations as having an impact. Individual papers and tests (except those related to internships) were mentioned less often.

While students were enthusiastic about the items they discussed, students often needed to think for some time before identifying a relevant experience. Students were clear that the curriculum and school environment contained limited items that fostered the development of the three qualities under study.

Limitations

This study was conducted at a private religiously sponsored university in the northeastern United States. Results may not be representative of other student populations.

Volunteers for the focus groups were students with an interest in the three qualities under study which could create bias. Some students had prior training and experience with mindfulness that could influence their perceptions of their school experience. Students were less familiar with the concept of self-compassion and some students questioned its appropriateness. While the concept of empathy was familiar, our definition taken from the Council on Social Work Education was new to students. The terms of mindfulness, self-compassion, and empathy were not frequently used in the school experience, so students may have missed identifying school experiences that fit the definitions.

Future research recommendations include surveying a total school population of MSW students as to their agreement or disagreement with the items identified in this study. In a future study, we intend to conduct such a survey.

Implications

If schools wish to foster mindfulness, self-compassion, and empathy in their students, clear identification of learning experiences as they relate to these qualities would be recommended. Since students do not report the same progression in the development of these qualities, all three qualities could be taught at the same time. It might be beneficial to teach all three qualities throughout the curriculum since students report being able to learn them in different orders.

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Integrating International Service-Learning in an Academic Graduate Course: An Instructor and Student Perspective

Tata Mbugua and Lauren Godek

“Service-learning has demonstrated that, properly implemented, it can be a powerful pedagogy, reinvigorating the disciplines, energizing teaching and learning, and contributing strongly to student development.”

—Howard Berry, leading thinker in the field of service-learning

Introduction to Internationalizing Teacher Education

In recent years, state departments of education and several organizations in the USA have focused their attention on improving teacher education. Specifically, the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education (AACTE), the American Council on Education (ACE), the American Association of State Colleges and Universities, the Association of American Universities (AAU), and The International Partnership for Service-Learning (IPSL) have published policy papers on the need for more international perspectives and diversity training in teacher education. Within the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, the Pennsylvania Department of Education (PDE)’s Chapter 49 program revisions identify this need through the requirement that schools of education incorporate in their teacher preparation programs instruction in working with diverse students including those who are English Language Learners (ELL) and students with special needs. In practice, this initiative is articulated through the Chapter 49 mandates that all teacher candidates take three credits or 90 hours of ELL, nine credits or 270 hours of special education and a series of field experience hours (PDE 2010). The overarching goal of these revisions is to ensure that teacher candidates in Pennsylvania are well prepared through research and competency-based academic content complimented with practical field experiences that allow them to encounter the reality of classroom diversity.

However, the increasing number of mandates from accrediting bodies as well as the state and national organizations pertaining to teacher education are unlikely to include anything international or provide specific guidelines on how to integrate international perspectives into graduate courses. It is imperative that colleges of education in general and education faculty in particular explore ways of including this skill set in their courses. This dimension of preparing teachers has the 21st century potential of obviating what Bloom termed as *The Closing of the American Mind* (Bloom 1987). This is timely in light of the projected population dynamics in the USA which indicate increased diversity where Non-Hispanic Whites will no longer make up the majority in 2042, and by 2050 they will compose 46.3% of the population (U.S. Census Bureau 2011). This population reality will continue to reflect K-12 classrooms, and, as a consequence, teacher preparation programs may find as their daunting task the responsibility of preparing teachers who are culturally responsive (Castro 2010). One way of inculcating this skill set in teacher candidates is through curricular revisions that integrate academic study with an international service-learning component in both undergraduate and graduate courses.

Defining International Service Learning

According to Bringle, Hatcher and Jones (2010), international service-learning is a high-impact pedagogy that borrows from the domains of service-learning, study abroad and international education to promote global civic outcomes. It has the potential to improve students' academic attainment, appreciation of cultural diversity, awareness of global issues and contribute to their personal and professional growth (Annette 2003; Lewis and Niesenbaum 2005; Roberts 2003). Additionally, international service-learning provides opportunities for internationalizing teacher training (Schneider 2003).

As early as 1997, Silcox and Leek made a compelling argument that the time for international service-learning as a unique and desirable approach to the teaching and learning process had come. Today, research on international service-learning supports their vision in a variety of ways focused on highlighting the importance of integrating academic studies with service-learning to enhance, inform and apply classroom theory through experiences and observation. A key characteristic of international service-learning is that students and faculty travel to another country for a designated period of time as part of an academic course with a community-based application (Tonkin 2005). Students and faculty are usually hosted by an institution or agency and complete service-learning requirements in the host country (Silcox and Leek 1997). In the case of The University of Scranton, a Catholic and Jesuit university, the participants were hosted by The Catholic University of Eastern Africa (CUEA) in Nairobi, Kenya, with whom they have been collaborating since 2004. CUEA received a Civil Charter in 1992, making it a private institution. Its mission is "to promote excellence in research, quality teaching and community service by preparing morally upright leaders based on the intellectual tradition of the Catholic Church (CUEA 2011)."

Contextualizing the Impetus to Develop an International Service-Learning Component within a Graduate Course

The course titled *Cross-Cultural and Global Perspectives in Education* is primarily offered as an on-campus elective graduate course and is taught exclusively by the instructor during the Intersession (January) semester. The inspiration to develop this graduate course with an international service-learning component comes from a variety of sources which will be articulated below. Pivotal amongst these is the fact that in the past four years graduate students taking the on-campus version of the course have consistently provided evaluative feedback which indicated that, while the course was academically sound and engaging, it lacked meaningful contextual relevance (Mbugua 2010).

In addressing the students' needs, the instructor adopted a critically responsive pedagogy (Jakubowski 2003) by integrating the international service-learning component that connects learning to the real world. As a naturalized U.S. citizen born in Kenya, the instructor has extensively travelled internationally, which has meant moving between cultures all her life. This experience has shaped her scholarly pursuits, academic work and pedagogical style. Secondly, the instructor has been involved in taking The University of Scranton students to Kenya for service-learning since 2004, when she developed the first service-learning trip to Kenya. This opportunity has been facilitated by the catholic identity of both The Catholic University of Eastern Africa and The University of Scranton.

Thirdly, The University of Scranton's commitment to service is demonstrable through its domestic and international service programs. Its principles of Jesuit education and Ignatian pedagogy provide an infrastructure and specific expectation for students and faculty to engage in service-learning. Ignatian pedagogy encompasses three areas of focus: experience, reflection and action. Through *Cura Personalis* (care of the whole person) The University of Scranton is dedicated to the integration of "international study, service and research opportunities for students, faculty and staff" (Strategic Plan 2010-2015). Subsequently, the Strategic Plan alludes to the provision of a superior, transformational learning experience, preparing students who, in the words of Jesuit founder St. Ignatius Loyola, will "Go set the world on fire" (1).

The graduate course resides in the Panuska College of Professional Studies (PCPS), where academic programs enhance and extend the Ignatian mission through service-learning and students' dedication to being "men and women for others" (Graduate Studies Catalog 2011-2012). PCPS academic programs are committed to service-learning through theory and practice and reflection through action. At the undergraduate level, students in PCPS academic programs perform community service through coursework and projects as a requirement for graduation. This commitment by the College made it feasible to provide graduate students with diversity-related encounters through the international service-learning opportunity embedded in structured academic content (Berry 2005). In effect, there is potential to make initial steps toward internationalizing the graduate curriculum. It should be noted that in some institutions of higher education that place an emphasis on liberal arts education (classics and philosophy), service learning courses struggle for recognition due to its focus on community and learning-by-doing approach (Woodman 2005).

In recognition of its institutional commitment to service, The University of Scranton was named to the President's Higher Education Community Service Honor Roll for 2010. This is the

highest federal recognition colleges and universities can receive for their commitment to volunteering, service-learning and civic engagement. The University of Scranton is among 36 colleges in the nation and 17 schools in Pennsylvania to be named to the President's Community Service Honor Roll. To be eligible for the 2012 President's Higher Education Community Service Honor Roll, the community service performed by an institution of higher education "must have been in response to real needs and there must be tangible community benefits" (U.S. Government 2008).

On Jesuit Education and Ignatian Pedagogy Paradigm

The Jesuit tradition of Ignatian pedagogy aims to prepare student beyond academic mastery through the application of a process by which teachers accompany learners in the lifelong pursuit of competence, conscience and compassionate commitment (Korth 2008). Such an Ignatian pedagogical paradigm can help teachers and learners to focus their work in a manner that is academically sound and at the same time formative of persons for others (Kolvenbach S.J., 2005). The graduate course was developed with this preferred Ignatian pedagogical approach of context, experience, reflection, action and evaluation in mind. A discussion of each aspect of the pedagogy will be contextualized within the instructor's before-departure discussions, as well as during and after-travel experiences highlighted through a student's voice.

Sites Selection as the Context for the Graduate Travel Course

According to Jesuit education and Ignatian pedagogy, *context* implies that the instructor learns about the students' environment. In this regard, the faculty member is well versed with the Kenyan context. The sites used for the course had been pre-selected in summer 2009 when the instructor traveled to Kenya with two education faculty members on a service-learning study tour.

As the press continues to give much attention to shortcomings in teacher preparation in the USA through films and TV programs such as "*Waiting for Superman*," "*No Child Left Behind*," "*Education in America: Don't Fail Me*" and "*Savage Inequalities in American Schools*," the instructor has always chosen to think of the international dimensions of the issue. Specifically, for the past thirteen years, the instructor has sought to learn why teachers might be ill-prepared to introduce their K-6 students to knowledge about today's world in general and the African continent in particular. Consequently, the instructor has been struck by how shy or challenged teacher candidates are when it comes to course content and discussions about issues of geography, global awareness and global interconnectedness. Prior to taking this course, many students have "confessed" to the fact that they cannot name 3 out of 55 countries on the African continent.

This has been apparent in three specific courses that the instructor teaches at both the undergraduate and graduate levels – *Integrated Methods: Social Studies/Language Arts*, *Cross-cultural and Global Perspectives in Education* and *Advanced Foundations of Education*. The latter has a component of global

and comparative educational perspectives in line with the National Council for Social Studies curriculum standard nine, global connections (NCSS 2010). Previous strategies to address geographic illiteracy have included the faculty member securing internal grants to revise the courses to integrate global education, sustainability and social justice issues. The instructor further infuses pertinent international educational experiences in all her courses, including her first-hand experiences teaching in institutions of higher education within the European Union during this instructor's sabbatical year in 2008.

Kenya was selected as the site for the graduate travel course, granted the instructor's linguistic and cultural competence for the country and the well-established institutional collaboration between The University of Scranton and The Catholic University of Eastern Africa (CUEA) for the past seven years. Students were to broaden their global awareness through the immersion experience in a culture that was significantly unlike their own, one, for example, in which poverty was apparently different in magnitude compared to the poverty students were accustomed to seeing in the U. S.

The *experience* aspect implies that the instructor provides opportunities for students to experience course material with mind, heart and will, thereby bringing it alive. At the pre-departure stage, the instructor ensured that students engaged with the course content and read pertinent literature about Kenya. These included, but were not limited to, the understanding of Kenya's historical and colonial past as well as current history. Such readings included Caroline Elkin's "*Imperial Reckoning: The Untold Story of Britain's Gulag in Kenya*," David Anderson's "*Histories of the Hanged: Britain's Dirty War in Kenya and the End of Empire*," Wangari Maathai's "*Unbowed*" and current events from local Kenyan newspapers. Through instructor-designed intercultural training and activities, students developed "cultural self-awareness, culturally appropriate behavioral responses or skills and a positive orientation toward other cultures" (Levy 1995, 1). Although English is the official language and medium of instruction in Kenya, the instructor taught Swahili language to the trip participants. Other aspects of the intercultural training entailed the introduction of cultural nuances of the Kenyan society.

There was on-going structured reflection in the before, during and after-travel stages. *Reflection* in Ignatian pedagogy implies that teacher candidates assimilate facts, consider relationships to others and discuss topics, with the instructor being pivotal in these reflections. Completion of the reflective components of the course was done primarily through class discussions, e-journals and hand-written reflections in hard-cover bound journals. Students provided detailed reflections on their experiences and observations. These reflections elicited the new perspectives students were gaining about education within a broader context of diversity in Kenya.

Other logistical issues pertaining to vaccinations, air tickets, securing of a physical base in Kenya, local ground transportation and a two-week itinerary were completed with relative ease. This was due to the fact that the instructor had conducted international service trips to the Kenya site on a number of occasions prior to the summer 2010 departure.

Lauren Godek's Voice and Reflection on International Service Learning

Lauren’s participation in this article was necessitated by a) her availability, willingness and commitment to share her experiences over the summer and b) the fact that Lauren was the only teacher candidate who had never traveled out of the United States of America.

Imagine moving to a country in which you do not know anyone, the customs are different from those you are used to and you do not speak the language. Immigrant children in many countries are put in this position each day. For example, within the Scranton School District, where a number of University of Scranton students are placed for student teaching practicum, linguistic, cultural and socioeconomic diversity is apparent. According to Lou Paris, Director of Elementary Education, 36% of students are Hispanic, African American, Asian or Multiracial/American Indian (June 15, 2011). Although they are not all English Language Learners, there is a sizable population of students whose first language is not English. These students face many challenges each day as they attend school. They must not only learn the language, they must also master cultural nuances and the academic content.

To understand the challenging realities that these students face, I took an elective graduate course which entailed international service-learning in Kenya during the summer of 2010. Prior to this opportunity, I had never been out of the country. To prepare, I attended sessions held by the instructor in which I learned pedagogical strategies for ELLs (Giambo and Szecsi 2005/2006) and culturally responsive teaching (Villegas and Lucas 2002; Castro 2010). In order to transition into Kenyan society, we were introduced to basic vocabulary in the Swahili language, read pertinent articles and discussed the cultural differences that I would experience. I gained an understanding of the history of Kenya by reading and completing a reflective reading/writing strategy that uses S.Q.U.I.R.Ts (Table 1) for *Histories of the Hanged: The Dirty War in Kenya and the End of Empire* by David Anderson, *Imperial Reckoning: The Untold Story of Britain’s Gulag in Kenya* by Caroline Elkins, and *Unbowed* by Wangari Maathai.

Table 1
S (Summarizing sentence about the content)
Q (Question that has been answered in your mind by reading the article)
U (Understanding which has been verified for you by reading the article)
R (Reality that has to be considered when applying things to real life)
I (Insight that has been stimulated by reading the article)
T (Thought in parting – an area that needs further thought)

As part of a widening horizons approach (NCSS 2003), the instructor required the reading and analysis of *Say You’re One of Them* by Uwem Akpan and *Three Cups of Tea* by Greg Mortenson and David Oliver Retin, which deepened my understanding of life and education on the African continent and provided global perspectives on education, respectively. These two readings

allowed me to gain insights into the educational challenges children face locally, nationally and globally. Some examples of these challenges include lack of educational resources, adequate learning facilities and basic needs—food, water and clothing. Other challenges emerging from the readings and subsequently observed in Kenya include issues of social justice, immigration and refugee integration.

Upon arrival in Nairobi, Kenya, the first academic task was to attend a lecture at the United States Embassy the following day. This lecture, conducted by the educational and cultural attaché, was critical in setting the stage for what I was to experience during our two weeks' stay in Kenya. It was important to hear varied perspectives about the experiences of Americans living in Kenya from the official representatives of the United States government. The four main speakers included educational, political, economic and security detail officials. I was able to connect the presentations to our academic course content with respect to stereotypes and the broader role the USA plays in protecting its geo-political strategic interests. There were many opportunities to compare and contrast the socio-economic status of Kenya and the USA as the presentations clearly informed us about the affluent Nairobi suburbs, the cosmopolitan city of Nairobi with its 24 hour shopping malls, the slums and the rural agricultural countryside. These realities result in educational disparities similar to those found in the USA. I was able to see and relate the socio-economic diversity in Kenya with that of Northeastern Pennsylvania.



University of Scranton faculty, alumni and graduate students at Uhuru Park, Nairobi (*photo courtesy of Tata Mbugua*)

While observing the kindergarten through fifth grade classrooms at Ndurarua Primary School, one of the slum schools on the outskirts of Nairobi, I noted the complex social stressors that we had learned about in the earlier section of the course. These classrooms were different from any I

had seen in the United States. There were fifty to sixty students per teacher. However, an important observation was that even with such a high student-teacher ratio, all the students were yearning to learn and therefore distractions were minimal. This was a contrast to some students in the USA who are not as eager to learn, thereby necessitating the application of a variety of motivational and classroom management strategies.

I was able to contrast the level of poverty seen in Kenya with that of Northeastern Pennsylvania. In the slum school I observed on the outskirts of Nairobi some of the students wore clothes with holes and had worn-out shoes. There was no electricity, overfilled bathrooms and few educational materials, such as pencils and paper. Even so, it was remarkable to see how, in spite of the extreme poverty, the students were so excited to be learning in school. Although students in the Scranton School District are provided with the infrastructure and educational materials for learning, the issue of poverty still exists, with 60% of the student population receiving free or reduced price meals (Hall 2012).

The course content on issues and applications of cultural and linguistic diversity teaching was evident in students' learning in Kenya. In the primary school that I observed in Nairobi, children learned both English, the main medium of instruction, and Swahili. In addition, many students also spoke languages from their ethnic communities. The ease with which they code-switched from one language to another in one sentence was remarkable. This phenomenon corroborated what research states, namely, that early learning of, and immersion in, other languages is the key to acquiring linguistic competencies (O'Neal and Ringler 2010). I observed teaching strategies where Kenyan teachers assisted young children by speaking in the child's first language, then translating the same in English. This further heightened my awareness and an acute sense of the need for teachers to be comfortable around many languages in the classroom, especially in the USA, where there is increasing linguistic diversity. An added advantage would be the teacher's ability to speak more than one language and the knowledge to seek resources for English Language Learners. When sitting in a Swahili class or listening to students on the playground, the experience increased my sense of empathy for students who are ELLs: I could identify with how these students feel in the United States. I was clearly in the minority in a new setting, like none I had ever experienced with people who looked and spoke different from me. From these teaching observation opportunities at Ndururu Primary School, I acquired cross-cultural competencies – such as multimodal strategies needed in working with multilingual learners in a close relationship with the community (Pinzon and Bariga 2006), as well as the concept of minority versus majority.

Although I was accepted by these students because they were excited to learn curriculum content in general and about the United States specifically, I quickly learned about the stereotypes held across different cultures. For example, many students believed that all Americans were rich, but the students' definition of rich differed from that of most Americans, given the different constructs of poverty. I tried to dispel some of the stereotypes that the Kenyan students had about Americans, as I explained that city schools in the United States have many of the poverty-related challenges, including shortage of school resources and inadequate school buildings that these Kenyan students experience.

As I reflected on the reality of my third, fourth and fifth graders in the USA, the similarities on how the Kenyan children viewed Americans and vice versa became clear to me. For example, some of my students are interested in learning about different world cultures. However, they, too, base their opinions on stereotypical images found in the media or in books. Thus, some of the students in the USA believe that most people in Kenya are poor, starving, living in mud huts, with animals roaming in the background. As a teacher who has experienced these stereotypical ideas of students, I work to teach students to look beyond the stereotypes, to research and to consider other viewpoints before making judgments about a group of people who are different from them (Mbugua, Wadas, Casey, and Finnerty2004).

Another setting that we visited was Nyumbani Children's Home which was started by a Jesuit medical doctor Fr. D'Agostino, S.J. This is a facility for children who are affected and infected by HIV/AIDs. Here I learned about the HIV/AIDs epidemic in Kenya and its impact on young children and their families (AJAN 2009). I met children who, because they were HIV/AIDs+, had experienced discrimination at home and school. Some were abandoned by their families due to the stigma associated with HIV/AIDs, leading to their status as orphans. These challenges notwithstanding, the children were filled with hope, happiness and creativity. The children drew pictures in their homes, read in the well-maintained library and played games of skill outside, using the materials they had, such as three sticks. The director of the Home Sister Mary Owens and her staff provide these children with a loving environment, in which they receive appropriate HIV/AIDs medical treatment which is normally too expensive for average Kenyan families to afford. The antiretroviral therapy (ART) and the highly sophisticated medical equipment used at the Home are funded through the President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR), part of America's initiative aimed at combating the global HIV/AIDs epidemic (Bharath-Kumar, Becker-Benton, Lettenmaier, Fehringer, and Bertrand 2009). These children are able to attend public schools and subsequently go to college, because the HIV/AIDs stigma has been minimized. Due to the care and services provided at Nyumbani and by its other programs, such as Lea Toto and Nyumbani Village, some of the children are gradually being reintegrated into society (Owens 2012). Seeing these children made me realize that all children, including those with special needs, can grow to become smart, healthy adults, if their proper medical, nutritional and psycho-social needs are met, instead of growing in an atmosphere of socio-economic injustice.

Another institution we visited was the Catholic University of East Africa (CUEA) in Nairobi. We met with a group of CUEA faculty, administrators and graduate-level teacher candidates. We engaged in meaningful dialogue that compared and contrasted the issues of teacher preparation programs, linguistic diversity, special education and the impact of poverty on education between Kenya and the USA.

The Kenyan graduate students were interested in detailed discussions about differentiated instruction and special education that help to meet the needs of all students. These commonly used approaches to teaching in the USA are in their early stages of implementation in the Kenyan classrooms. From an American perspective, we were interested in gaining a deeper understanding about issues of linguistic and cultural diversity and learning about ways to address them in the classroom. During our visits to a variety of classrooms in Kenya, it was clear that

teachers were adept at working with this dimension of diversity, granted that Kenya is a multilingual and multiracial country. From these engaging dialogue and conversations, I was able to reflect on my experiences both as a student and a teacher in the United States. The experience confirmed the similarities and differences between Kenya and US teacher training programs.



Lauren Godek at the Nyumbani Children's Home (*photo courtesy Tata Mbugua*)

The visit to the Kenya Institute of Education (KIE), the government agency charged with the development and implementation of the national curricula for primary and secondary education, was insightful. KIE is also responsible for teacher training. There I was able to compare the best practices and educational reforms taking place in Kenya and the USA. For example, both have an 8-4-4 system of education and emphasize standards-based curriculum and high-stakes testing. In Kenya students complete eight years of primary school, four years of high school and four years of university education, as in the United States. The revised Kenyan curriculum emphasizes academic standards and competencies as well as the integration of technology as a tool for teaching and learning (MOEST 2005). The latter involved the digitizing of the primary and secondary education curriculum to make it more accessible to all students. In Kenya students must pass a national exam in eighth grade and at the end of high school. The notion of national

testing in Kenya compares to the No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB) in that students must take state exams for accountability and monitoring of student yearly progress (Rush and Scherff 2012).



Faculty and students from The University of Scranton and the Catholic University of East Africa
(photo courtesy of Tata Mbugua)

It became clear from the discussions that, because many students only complete school up to grade eight in Kenya, it is important for students to learn about topics such as HIV/AIDS, pollution and children's rights at a young age. The curriculum, which is based on themes, is learner centered and focuses on student interest and creativity. This Kenyan curriculum therefore is similar to the one in the United States, which is standards-based, with a focus on authentic learning and assessments.

Having read Wangari Maathai's book *Unbowed*, issues of eco-tourism, environment and sustainability came full circle when we took a two day safari to the Amboseli National Park. The park is located at the border of Kenya and Tanzania and below Africa's highest mountain, Mount Kilimanjaro.



Amboseli National Park, Kenya, Africa, 2010 (*photo courtesy Tata Mbugua*)

Traveling from Nairobi, we were able to experience the diversity of the countryside, the Great Rift Valley, the impressive flora and fauna and the planting of trees to curb deforestation, as encouraged by the Green Belt Movement started by Wangari Maathai. More importantly, we observed the delicate balance between human cultivation and the government reserved wildlife parks which make tourism one of the largest foreign exchange earners for Kenya (Mwakio and Beja 2011). During one of the pre-dawn tours of the game, we experienced a spectacular scene illuminating Darwin's survival of the fittest. A lion was preparing to ambush a zebra for breakfast, but the other zebras "conferred" with each other and worked with the wildebeests to ensure that no one from the group was eaten by the lion. Out of this experience, I recognized a sense of community and the importance of working together in the animal setting, as I had seen with humans during my time in Kenya and at The University of Scranton, a Jesuit institution.

Later in the day, we visited a Maasai community, one of the marginalized communities in Kenya. Whilst their living structures known as "manyattas" were different from the Indian reservations in the USA, I was able to reflect on the reality of marginalized people and how eerily similar both communities on different continents were.

Another valuable experience that connected the academic content of our course with experiential learning was a visit to Dagoretti Children's Center, an institution which caters to children with special needs. We played with the children and interacted with their teachers during a luncheon

discussion about the trends in special education in both countries. I was struck to learn how few special education services are available to children and adults with disabilities. Specifically, I learned that the practice of inclusion, where special needs children are placed in a least restrictive environment, usually in the general education classroom, was in its infancy in Kenya. Upon reflection on our classroom readings, I realized that it was not long ago when the situation in the US was similar to that in Kenya. For example, students with learning disabilities were provided institutional care or located in the basement of regular school buildings in different parts of the USA about forty years ago (U.S. Department of Education 2007). The magnitude of educational reform efforts in the area of special education differs between the two countries. In the United States, students with special needs have access to free and appropriate education, whereas in Kenya institutional care is prevalent.

In Pennsylvania, the Department of Education (PDE) created new programmatic mandates called Chapter 49 revisions to ensure that teacher candidates are equipped with the knowledge and strategies to work with students with disabilities as well as students who are English Language Learners (PDE 2008). Within the Kenyan context, the Ministry of Education in collaboration with the Kenya Institute of Special Education (KISE) is prioritizing the use of established guidelines for special education (Godia 2008).

I learned many valuable lessons from taking part in many service-learning opportunities in Kenya. However, I am just one of the 2,850 University of Scranton students who participate in volunteer service each year, as service-learning is part of the Jesuit mission, and we as students are often encouraged to “Go set the world on fire” (University of Scranton Press 2011)!” The immersion program in Kenya allowed graduate students to follow this mantra.

At the end of our trip, there was a profound moment worth mentioning. It entailed the evaluation and subsequent action of our experiences at Ndururua Primary School. Moved to *action* (which in Ignatian pedagogy proceeds from experience and reflection) as a preliminary way to address the dire needs of the school, we applied the needs assessment model learned in our course. We engaged Ndururua Primary School teachers in a discussion geared to the needs assessment from their perspective rather than imposing ours. The teachers identified as an immediate goal for us to purchase some school supplies for the children. A group of us offered to go with the driver to one of the shopping malls, Nakumatt Junction, where, using our personal money, we bought a variety of school supplies (pencils, erasers, notebooks, sharpeners, educational posters, crayons, etc.). This, together with some school supplies we brought from the USA that had been donated by children at an elementary school near The University of Scranton, enabled us to provide school supplies to at least half the school. The children, their teachers and their principal in return thanked us with songs and dance.

We gained much knowledge, especially widened global perspectives to education and human interconnectedness, from the experiences at Ndururua Primary School, Nyumbani Children’s Home, CUEA, KIE, and the Dagoretti Children’s Center. We further discussed preliminary future collaborative partnerships with Ndururua Primary School and KIE. The culmination of these discussions pointed to future opportunities with the understanding that representatives from

both institutions would confer and write to our team regarding areas that they felt we could collaborate on.

Conclusions and Tangible Benefits

Developing elective graduate courses with an international service-learning component holds great potential for tangible “value-added” (Miller and Gonzalez 2009) aspects. Within the context of The University of Scranton, the graduate course supports the institution’s 2010-2015 Strategic Plan. Some tangible benefits can be seen through the lens of Lauren’s experiences in Kenya. She courageously stepped outside several of her comfort zones. This included trying new foods, learning Swahili language phrases and gaining new perspectives on ecotourism/environment and sustainability. Further, she appreciated the social stigma faced by children living with HIV/AIDs. From the teacher perspective, Lauren acquired cultural competencies and knowledge, especially in the realm of teacher/student ratio.

Creating concrete experiential opportunities for graduate students to engage in authentic international service learning fosters global awareness and equips them with culturally relevant practices in teaching. This is a critically important dimension of teaching and learning which takes course participants outside of the traditional classroom into the real world. In effect, it allows teacher candidates to gain specific skill-sets necessary for today’s global citizenship by applying lessons learned in an international context to their classrooms. In Lauren’s context, the international service experience appeared to have enhanced her interest in working with students who are ELLs and to design strategies and activities that promote language literacy. Further, the experiences provided different perspectives in relation to classroom pedagogy, realities of students with special needs and cultural nuances of linguistic diversity. Villegas and Lucas refer to this as socio-cultural consciousness (2002).

The international service-learning course helped students and teachers break barriers, informed them about different cultures and formed partnerships with different groups of people. These international service-learning experiences lead to global awareness, understanding of social justice issues and peaceful relations among different peoples. These ideas learned in the course can be applied to teaching in Northeastern Pennsylvania, especially when working with diverse groups of students as one finds in the Scranton area.

It can be argued that transformative experiences such as the ones offered by the graduate elective course will allow pre-service teachers to subsequently enrich their K-12 students' knowledge about other cultures as well as educational realities in a different part of the world. Teachers apply teaching strategies and share authentic experiences in their classrooms as a way of preparing young people to understand and appreciate our global interconnectedness and global interdependence.

The authors contend that this article opens room for conversations, dialogue and further research to support a rationale for integrating an international service-learning component in graduate teacher preparation programs. These authentic experiences have the potential to help create

global citizens who are civically engaged and responsive to the needs of others, both locally and globally.

At the personal level, both faculty and students developed a heightened sense of civic responsibility and personal effectiveness through participation in the international service-learning course implemented in Kenya. At the same time, through structured reflection, the instructor appropriately connected the international service-learning experience to the academic course material. The primary forms of reflection used were written reflection in the form of journals and papers before, during and after course implementation in Kenya. These reflections were enhanced by discussions among graduate students, accompanying faculty and stakeholders in Kenya.

The established and ongoing collaboration with Ndururu Primary School suggests that international service-learning has the potential of providing concrete means by which institutions of higher education can educate students to become concerned and involved global citizens. It is hoped that the learning outcomes of this descriptive study will provide insights for higher education faculty to consider integrating international service-learning in their academic courses in creative ways that target the PDE's standards and competencies while providing cross-cultural and global competencies to teacher candidates.

Recommendations

In the increasingly diverse classrooms of the 21st century containing ELLs, students with special needs, and those with different cultural backgrounds, institutions of higher education have a responsibility to prepare teachers who are culturally responsive and globally aware in order to address the needs of all learners. One way of achieving this goal is by integrating academic coursework with international service-learning opportunities. This involves the acquisition of content knowledge and requisite skills that would lead to awareness, appreciation and perspective consciousness about other cultures.

Currently the PDE Chapter 49 program revisions fit well within the public affairs domain, granted that a majority of K-12 schools in the United States are considered to be "public." It therefore becomes vital for teachers to be prepared to address the unique learning needs of all students. A case in point is The University of Scranton's teacher preparation program that requires service learning for its students.

Although the positive outcomes of service-learning can be linked to the mission statements of The University of Scranton, it is the instructor's view that these time consuming yet academically rewarding faculty initiatives that support the University mission be taken more into consideration in the tenure or promotion process. Further, the authors contend that institutions of higher education interested in internationalizing their curriculum provide resources and grants to faculty who develop courses that integrate international service-learning experiences.

In terms of practical and pedagogical aspects of integrating international service-learning, it is imperative that students be well-oriented before engaging in service-learning through both academic content and intercultural activities. In addition, students need to be supported during the experience and upon return to their home institutions. A post-immersion course that was developed and implemented at The University of Scranton for the first time in the fall of the 2010 semester would be a logical starting point for accomplishing this goal. Because international service learning holds potential for producing culturally competent teachers, the example discussed above would serve as an model for higher education institutions to replicate and modify according to their needs.

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Improving the Health of Northeastern Pennsylvania through Medical Education and Community Engagement

Olapeju Simoyan and Janet Townsend

Introduction

Social Accountability in Medical Schools

Over a decade ago, the World Summit on Medical Education called for a radical change in medical education in order to meet worldwide requirements for health care (Playdon, 1994). The need for public health programs to be informed by community needs with an emphasis on social justice has also been noted (Mogedal, 1994) and recent expert reports have called for increased social accountability of medical schools (Skochelack, 2010). While most medical schools do not necessarily address social justice in their missions, some are addressing these issues in impressive ways. The University of Wisconsin School of Medicine and Public Health has developed a unique approach to addressing the traditional separation between medicine and public health by combining the two disciplines in one school (UWSMPH website). The health care needs of the region are being addressed while they educate health professionals and conduct research. Mullan and colleagues' (2010) study of US medical schools showed that school rankings based on social mission score differ from those that use research funding, traditionally one of the major factors considered in school rankings. Their findings suggest that medical school initiatives can increase the proportion of physicians who practice primary care and work in underserved areas. The Commonwealth Medical College's curricular framework and strategies were inspired by those medical and other health professions schools that had a clear social mission to improve health outcomes and curricular components that: 1) supported patient centered values, skills and behaviors; 2) involved students as active adult learners in a positive learning environment; 3) included students in numerous opportunities to learn from and with other health professionals; and 4) provided training opportunities in assuring quality and effectiveness of care in both primary care and specialty settings, as noted by Skochelack (2010).

The Commonwealth Medical College (TCMC) was founded with these specific goals in mind and recruited leadership, faculty and staff who were committed to the mission.

More than one-third of Pennsylvania's practicing physicians are expected to retire over the next decade, resulting in a severe shortage. Over the next 20 years, TCMC anticipates adding over 400 practicing physicians to northeast and north central Pennsylvania. In addition, the College anticipates adding \$70 million to the regional economy creating new jobs, and collaborating with others in improving health outcomes in the region. Multiple relationships have been established with academic institutions and community organizations, some of which are described in this paper. TCMC uses a distributive model of medical education, with a central location in Scranton (Lackawanna County/north campus), and two satellite campuses in Wilkes-Barre (Luzerne County/south campus) and Williamsport (Lycoming County/west campus). The college serves a 16- county area of Northeastern PA that is mostly rural and the first classes of MD and Master of Biomedical Sciences (MBS) students were admitted in August of 2009. TCMC employs a holistic admissions process that values diversity and commitment to service, prioritizes admitting students from Pennsylvania and the region, and seeks to admit students who are attracted to TCMC's mission.

Assessing the Region's Health Status

County health rankings (UWPHI website) place Lackawanna County 49th out of the 67 counties in Pennsylvania for health outcomes. Carbon, Luzerne and Wayne Counties rank 58th, 59th and 57th respectively. In terms of mortality (defined as years of potential life lost prior to age 75), Lackawanna County ranks 48th, Luzerne County 63rd and Wayne County 62nd. These statistics serve as an urgent call to action to improve the health status of the citizenry of Northeastern PA.

Community Engagement

Community engagement, a core element of any research effort involving communities, requires academic members to become part of the community and community members to become part of the research team (COPR, 2008). Community engagement in research is often operationalized in the form of partnerships and collaborations that help mobilize resources and serve as catalysts for changing policies, programs, and practices (COPR, 2008), with the long term goal of improved health outcomes and elimination of health disparities (CCPH website).

There are various models of community engagement, which may or may not involve research. For example, the Wisconsin Office of Rural Health staffs a Rural Health Council that develops recommendations to strengthen rural communities by securing funding for community based collaborations to improve health indicators (UWSMPH website). Another impressive effort is that of the Alliance for Rural Community Health (ARCH) in Mendocino County, California (ARCH website). ARCH is a collaboration of eight community health centers that work together to address community health care issues in a cost-effective and efficient manner. Their activities

include working with stakeholders to educate policy makers about health issues facing rural communities and advocating for increased funding for rural primary care providers.

TCMC was built on the principle of community responsiveness. As a new institution in the region, it was important to initiate relationships with community leaders and determine priority health needs from the perspectives of community representatives. Thus, in 2009, prior to the arrival of the first students, TCMC staff and faculty conducted an internally funded regional health assessment, involving focus groups comprised of representatives from various community, faith-based and governmental organizations. The study was conducted in close collaboration with a Community Health Advisory Board that helped to guide the process and dissemination strategies. Leadership, staff and faculty members from all TCMC departments supported the study by taking field notes, assisting with the analysis, and participating in discussions with the advisory board. Findings have been used to guide the curriculum, including the community health research projects described below. Briefly, issues identified in several of the focus groups include lack of access to oral and mental health care and drug and alcohol treatment services, as well as insufficient primary and specialty care services. It was also noted that TCMC is expected to train physicians who “connect with their community.”

Members of the Community Health Advisory Board and focus group participants indicated that TCMC’s efforts at community outreach and engagement contributed to increased trust of the medical college.

Active participation in and advocacy for community engagement activities by senior leaders, including the dean, resulted in significant institutional buy-in to this model of collaborative research and curricular planning. A detailed report of this needs assessment has been published elsewhere (Garrettson et al., 2010).

Mogedal (1994) rightly noted that the notion of learning from the community confirms that the latter has something to contribute and implies a willingness to share power. In this spirit, TCMC faculty and staff developed the Community Health Research Projects (CHRP) program for first year medical (MD) students and the Master of Biomedical Science (MBS) students. Working with community mentors and under faculty supervision, students identify and research topics that are of importance to the community mentors and their agencies. The CHRPs then serve as pilot projects for future research. In one of the CHRP projects, clients at a methadone maintenance clinic in Wilkes-Barre were surveyed to determine barriers to communication between providers at the methadone clinic and primary care clinicians. In another project, focus group sessions were held with members of the Amish community in the Williamsport area and in upper Dauphin County to determine their health needs from their own perspectives. The results will further inform TCMC’s outreach to this population and will be disseminated to leaders at regional health care facilities that serve members of the Amish community. Community mentors are recruited through the network that TCMC has established with community agencies and stakeholder recommendations. Challenges include managing schedules of all involved (students, community mentors and faculty) and identifying projects that are significant to community agencies, meaningful to students and that can be completed within an academic year. The projects are “housed” in the Department of Family, Community and Rural Health, one of two clinical departments at the medical college. The small size of full time faculty – a total of five –

means significant burdens are placed on faculty time. Changes have been made over the past few years to ease this burden. These include reducing the number of projects conducted each year, with students assigned to fewer, larger groups, and recruiting additional community mentors with research expertise. A detailed description of the process of implementation of these projects in the first two years has been previously published (Simoyan et al., 2011).

In addition to community health, the curriculum at TCMC emphasizes the importance of considering the family context in the provision of health care services. First year medical students are assigned to families referred through community agencies that they follow throughout their four years of medical school. The students are exposed to the health care system “through the eyes of their assigned families,” and learn about the many factors that influence health and illness. Through this experience, which includes structured interactions and reflections, students begin to develop the perspectives and skills that will prepare them to serve as advocates for patients and their families in navigating the complex health care system. This portion of the curriculum is also supervised by faculty in the department of Family, Community and Rural Health.

Public Health in Medical Education

Medical education has been challenged to “have a broader emphasis on prevention, including a focus on the patient’s family, and by extension the public as a whole” (Federman, 2008). Public health courses were not typically part of medical school curricula in the past. In 1994, the Medicine and Public Health Initiative sought to bridge the gap between the two disciplines. Subsequently, there have been numerous attempts by government agencies and academic institutions to incorporate public health training into medical education. These include combined MD/MPH programs and the addition of public health courses into the mainstream medical curriculum. Ruis and Golden posit that although this approach is useful, it perpetrates the idea that public health and medicine are two completely separate fields. These authors analyze the “schism” between medical and public health education from a historical perspective in a recent paper (2008). In a separate essay, Fineberg (2011) outlines the various ways in which public health matters to medicine and medical education, despite their different perspectives. He notes that many initiatives are bringing the values and principles of public health into medical education. This is evident in several institutions that have made significant attempts to integrate public health into the medical curriculum, including the University of New Mexico, Brody School of Medicine at East Carolina University and the University of Wisconsin School of Medicine and Public Health, to name a few. The exact modalities may differ, but the overarching aims are to increase the exposure of medical students to public health and preventive medicine. The intended long-term outcomes would presumably include producing physicians who are public health- and prevention-oriented, regardless of specialty.

All TCMC students gain some exposure to community health through the CHRP experience and opportunities for further specialized training in public health will soon be available for those with a special interest in public health. TCMC is collaborating with a regional university to develop a public health certificate program, in addition to a combined MD/MPH program for students

wishing to combine a public health degree with their medical training. In addition to coursework in the core areas of public health (Biostatistics, Epidemiology, Social and Behavioral Health, Health Policy and Management and Environmental Health), students will receive training in a broad range of public health topics, and will serve internships in public health agencies (locally or internationally) to give them real–world experiences.

Pipeline Programs

TCMC’s commitment to social justice and diversity also involves reaching into the “pipeline” to identify and better prepare future generations of physicians, scientists and public health professionals from disadvantaged and underrepresented groups. TCMC recently received funding from the Health Careers Opportunities Program (HCOP) of the Health Resources and Services Administration (HRSA), U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, to establish a Regional Education Academy for Careers in Health-Higher Education Initiative (REACH-HEI, pronounced “*reach high*”). Partnerships have been developed with various high schools, colleges and community organizations to make higher education more accessible to economically disadvantaged students and encourage the pursuit of health-related career paths. The REACH HEI program is administered through TCMC’s Office of Community Engagement and Equity and operates in Lackawanna, Luzerne and Monroe Counties. It will serve approximately 400 high school and undergraduate students over a three-year period. Participants are selected through an application process and, to qualify, must be from educationally or economically disadvantaged backgrounds or first-generation college attendees. In addition to improving their science proficiency, participants obtain early exposure to clinical, science and public health careers along with guidance and mentoring. REACH HEI participants are engaged in a variety of academic and enrichment activities, including lectures from health professionals, research experience (lab and community) and site visits to health care facilities. In addition to classes in the sciences such as physics, chemistry and biology, they are exposed to clinical topics that have public health relevance such as obesity and cancer. They receive guidance and coaching regarding preparing for the medical college admissions test (MCAT) and the process of applying to health professional schools. Participants have the opportunity to develop their public speaking skills through debates and poster presentations at the end of the summer session. TCMC faculty, including basic scientists and clinicians, serve as research mentors by hosting students for the research component. Several faculty members are also involved in presenting lectures in their areas of expertise. The REACH HEI program is administered via grant-funded positions which include a program manager and project coordinator. A limited amount of salary support from the grant has been available for faculty with significant involvement in the program. In the long-term, the program will expand the current pool of qualified individuals in the area and will help to address the growing health care professional needs in the region. Selected medical students act as mentors and teaching assistants in the summer programs, thus serving as role models for the participants.

In recent years, there has been an emphasis on undergraduate training in public health, both as a means of preparing premedical students for careers in medicine and public health and also to have an educated citizenry. The Institute of Medicine recommends that all undergraduates

(regardless of majors) should have access to education in public health (Gebbie et al., 2003). Indeed, basic concepts in epidemiology have applications to decision making in other fields. For example, the critical thinking skills required for diagnosing a disease or investigating an outbreak can be applied in making non-medical decisions at the population level. In line with this, REACH-HEI participants receive exposure to introductory public health topics. The focus is on helping the students develop a “population” perspective on health issues. They are exposed to public health career opportunities and public health-related activities such as the investigation of outbreaks of infectious disease. This exposure and training in basic public health will be valuable even to those who decide to pursue careers outside of the clinical and public health fields. Decisions that affect population health, such as fluoridation of local water supplies, are often decided by local referenda, and people are more likely to make informed decisions when voting on such issues if they have a basic understanding of public health. Also, for future politicians, a basic understanding of public health issues will inform their decisions and policy making on health-related matters.

Incorporating Oral Health into Medical Education

Dental caries is one of the most common diseases of childhood, more than five times as common as asthma and seven times as common as hay fever (US HHS, 2000). Despite this, oral health has traditionally not been part of the curriculum in medical schools. A 2009 survey found that the majority of responding medical schools surveyed offered very little oral health education, and of those that did, most devoted less than five hours to this subject (Ferullo et al., 2011). Of note, recent advances in biomedical sciences have blurred the distinctions between medicine and dentistry from both diagnostic and therapeutic standpoints (The Macy Study, 2008). The Institute of Medicine has also called for closer integration of dentistry with medicine and the healthcare system as a whole (Institute of Medicine, 1995). The Surgeon General’s report of 2000 brought attention to the fact that oral health is an integral part of general health and that oral health disparities can be aggravated by health care professionals’ lack of knowledge in this area (US HHS, 2000).

Since low income children are likely to see physicians prior to seeing dentists (Mouradian et al., 2000), their unmet oral health needs can be addressed in part by increasing the number of primary care physicians with training in preventive oral health care. The need for such integration of care is further borne out by the fact that oral health was mentioned as an area of need in the majority of the focus groups in the regional health assessment conducted by TCMC.

One of the community health research projects conducted by TCMC students involved studying smokeless tobacco users and found a higher prevalence of leukoplakia and mouth sores in users of smokeless tobacco compared with nonusers. Although the results were not unexpected, the information will be useful for planning future interventions.

In response to the need for oral health education among medical professionals, TCMC is incorporating oral health into the medical school curriculum, with financial support from the Dental Trade Alliance Foundation. Students receive didactic training in oral health, in addition to

hands-on sessions, where they learn how to perform thorough oral exams, screen for oral cancer and apply fluoride varnishes.

Faculty development sessions on oral health are also planned for primary care physicians in the region. TCMC is partnering with members of the local dental society and other dental professionals in the region to successfully implement this program, further strengthening its interprofessional partnerships. This portion of the curriculum is overseen by a faculty member in the Department of Family, Community and Rural Health who, in addition to being a family physician, is board certified in dental public health.

Interprofessional Education

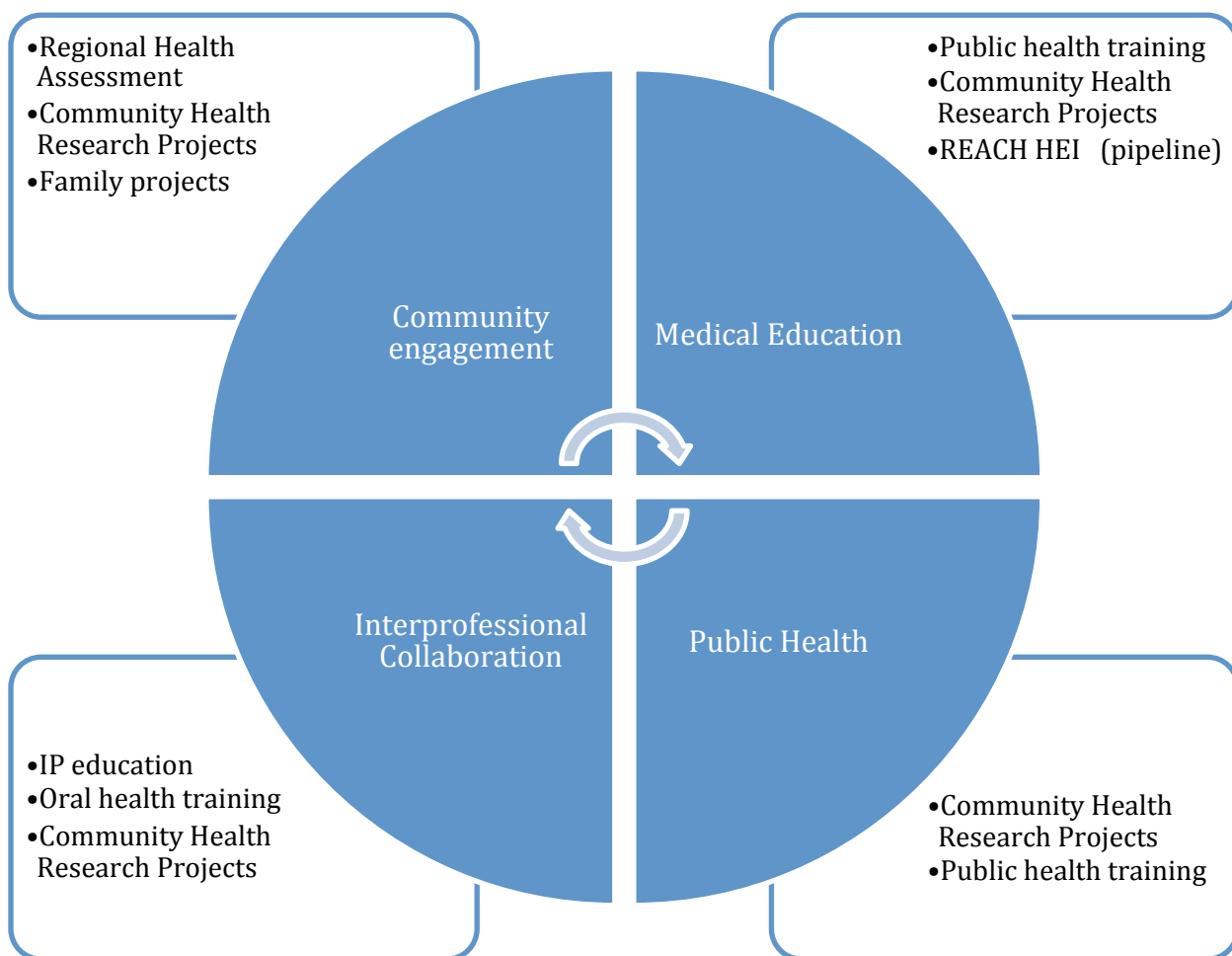
Interprofessional education has been recognized by the World Health Organization as a necessary step in preparing a health work force that can respond to local health needs (WHO). Interprofessional education is an important part of the curriculum at TCMC, in which medical school faculty collaborate with health profession schools in 17 area colleges and universities to provide opportunities for interactive educational experiences for students. Participating institutions include Misericordia University, Kings College, Wilkes University, Luzerne County Community College, University of Scranton, Penn College of Technology and Lock Haven University. Interprofessional Education Day involves approximately 500 regional students and is now an annual event. Medical students interact with students from several other health profession schools to learn about each others' professions and discuss clinical cases that emphasize the team approach to patient care. The program includes, but is not limited to, students from nursing, radiography, dental hygiene, pharmacy, occupational therapy and social work programs. The interprofessional education curriculum trains students to evaluate and assess the roles, contributions and expertise of various healthcare professionals in the delivery of healthcare services to individuals, families and communities. Faculty from the various schools are involved in developing the curriculum, planning the activities and serving as facilitators for the interdisciplinary student groups on Interprofessional Education Day. Additional interprofessional learning opportunities are being developed. TCMC students also have the opportunity to learn from other health professionals during scheduled community agency visits.

Challenges and Institutional Support

While enjoying tremendous institutional and community support in carrying out these various research and teaching initiatives, TCMC's faculty and staff have encountered a number of challenges. Building a new medical school is a complex task that demands commitment, hard work, flexibility and resilience. The economic downturn, decreases in available federal and foundation grants and resulting limits on expansion of staff and faculty required a constant attention to setting priorities and focusing on feasible next steps. With a region encompassing sixteen mostly rural counties, the difficulties of building relationships and collaborating with key stakeholders in each community are daunting. By building many of these activities into the required curriculum, collaborating with community and academic partners to develop programs

together, providing internship opportunities to various health professional students in the region, and pursuing extramural funding opportunities, TCMC has continued to progress in its community engaged approach to improving the health of the region. Such a goal will require decades of work; as such, focus on smaller short and medium range goals provides satisfying accomplishments for TCMC and its partners. An active, multifaceted approach to identifying and pursuing opportunities for funding that will support the core mission is likely to sustain the programs developed to date as well as provide resources for further growth.

Figure 1



IP education: interprofessional education

REACH HEI: Regional Education Academy for Careers in Health- Higher Education Initiative

Summary

TCMC is addressing community needs through multiple educational and community outreach projects, such as the ones described above. Starting with the Regional Health Assessment, links were formed with various community agencies to identify priority health needs. With the arrival of students in the fall of 2009, the Community Health Research Projects were launched. Students are learning to address community health needs and practice population medicine while training to be clinicians and researchers. The community is being actively engaged, with new partnerships continually being developed and existing ones being strengthened. In addition, TCMC's holistic approach to medical education, and specifically the efforts in the areas of public health, oral health, pipeline programs and interprofessional education, demonstrate a strong commitment to training competent physicians who "connect with their community," are culturally competent and will practice medicine in a manner that is patient-centered and community-oriented.

These future physicians and health care professionals are the future of health care in Northeastern PA, and, working together with other professionals, community leaders and administrators, it is anticipated that they will contribute significantly to a healthier community in Northeastern Pennsylvania and beyond.

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Pop Culture as Civics Lesson: Exploring the Dearth of State Legislatures in Hollywood's Public Sector

Mordecai Lee

Introduction

The importance of legislatures to public administration is almost tautological. To understand public administration and its qualitative difference from business administration (and nonprofit management, for that matter), one has to highlight the role of public law. For example, under the color of law, government managers can exercise coercive procedures if necessary, such as eminent domain, seizures, even imprisonment. Laws give birth, scope and, sometimes, death to the programs that bureaucrats implement. The legislature giveth and the legislature taketh away. Strictly speaking, public administration is not “doing the constitution,” rather, it is doing the *law*. That makes public law central to government management. In fact, public administration could not exist without the foundation of law (Rosenbloom, O’Leary and Chanin, 2010; Lynn, 2009; Cooper, 2006).

With the importance of laws to government management, public attitudes about public administration are, consciously or unconsciously, also influenced by attitudes towards law-making and law-makers. Those opinions have increasingly been shaped, at least in part, by popular culture and entertainment sources. Pop culture has transmuted to become the civics lesson for the nation writ large. One recent analysis in *Public Voices* focused on Hollywood’s depiction of law-making at the federal level (Lee, 2009). This article extends that review to another major source of laws in the United States, state legislatures. Given that movies have been a “tenacious mirror and shaper, barometer and vessel of US popular culture” (Coyne, 2008, 17), this inquiry seeks to identify the image of state legislatures in popular culture, specifically on the screen. How has Hollywood depicted state legislatures? Have the images been positive or negative? Relatively accurate or relatively fanciful?

Literature Review, Methodology and Scope

There is a growing and substantial body of scholarly work on depictions of US politics and government in cinema. Some of the most recent volumes have been (in reverse chronological order): Coyne (2008), Booker (2007), Wielde and Schultz (2007), Giglio (2005), Christiansen and Haas (2005), Keyishian (2003), Scott (2000), Schultz (2000) and Gianos (1998). Another indication of the mainstreaming of the academic study of political movies is the existence of the Section on Politics, Film and Literature in the American Political Science Association.

However, this scholarship focuses more on the federal government than state and local, more on executives than legislators, and more on politics than governing. The legislative process is slow moving and un-dramatic; so, it is generally not a good fit for the needs of the medium (Van Belle and Mash, 2010, 165-66; Giglio, 2005, 143). These tendencies are also reflected in movies themselves, not just scholarly analysis of them. It seems that presidential politics rather than sub-national legislative bodies appeal to a bigger audience, and commercial incentives dictate appealing to the largest possible audience (and, even so, the audience for political films is not large in comparison with other audiences).¹ In general, the extant literature has not addressed the screen image of state legislatures.

The qualitative methodology used in the above-cited scholarly literature has generally been to identify recurring themes in movies selected for inclusion. According to Christensen and Hass, “political analysis of film has commonly taken a qualitative or even literary approach” (2005, 4). Several recent studies have followed this exploratory methodological template, by defining the scope of the inquiry, methods used to identify relevant films, and analytic foci to evaluate them (Wielde and Schultz, 2007, 64-65; Giglio, 2005, 35-42; Christiansen and Haas, 2005, 291-99; Lee, 2004, 158-161). Earlier exploratory scholarship, such as Miller (1999, 5) and Hinton (1994, 23), relied on horizon-scanning methods. Similarly, this inquiry began with standard (print) reference works and directories on film and television, widely-used online reference sources with a reputation for quality (such as *tcm.com* and *IMDb.com*), the extant literature (whether scholarly or popular), and collegial networking.

Besides identifying and describing movies and television that depict state legislatures, a central standard of analysis here will be verisimilitude, namely Nichols’ standard of “representing reality” (1991). Do fictional films about state legislatures have some realistic dimensions? To what extent are these cinematic images reflective of the actual work of state legislatures? Such a standard of verisimilitude may be in direct conflict with Hollywood’s imperative, namely, to release commercially successful films. Popular entertainment may require so great a manipulation of the legislative process as to erase any link to reality. Therefore, authenticity goes to the issue of whether pop culture has provided a helpful and somewhat accurate civics lesson to the citizenry on state legislatures or not. Verisimilitude can be applied to films depicting state legislatures by relying on two sources. First, using a traditional academic approach, by relying on descriptions of state legislatures in the recent literature by academic researchers (Rosenthal, 2009; Little and Ogle, 2006; Squire and Hamm, 2005). Second, based on the less orthodox research method of participant observation, cinematic depictions are compared to the author’s own personal experience as a state legislator (Lee, 2006; 2008). Also, by analyzing the portrayal

of state legislatures on the large and small screens, it may be possible through this exploratory inquiry to identify common and recurring themes. If so, that would suggest something of a consistent view of state legislatures in American popular and political culture.

Following the pattern of the scholarly literature cited above, the substantive scope of this inquiry needs to be identified with some precision. First, the goal is to identify and examine the fictional screen image of US state legislatures. This precludes documentaries such as Frederick Wiseman's *State Legislature* [2006] and Charles Guggenheim's *The First Branch of Government: From Grass Roots to Law* [1976] as well as historical re-enactments.² Second, the focus on state legislatures would, by definition, also exclude colonial-era legislative bodies, such as the South Carolina Provincial Assembly in *The Patriot* [2000] (Rodat, 1998; Molstad, 2000, 37, 44-53) or the pre-Independence Virginia House of Burgesses in *The Howards of Virginia* [1940]. It also excludes a territorial convention for statehood, as depicted in *The Man Who Shot Liberty Valance* [1962] (Bellah, 1962, 144, 188). Third, farces and parodies are excluded because, by definition, they do not even pretend to provide any realistic (even if exaggerated) depiction of an institution at work. When a comedy is so broad as to erase any link to verisimilitude, then it loses its analytic value. An example in this category would be *Louisiana Purchase* [1941].

Finally, the fourth criterion is that the film must depict the state legislature or a member at work, whether engaged in the law-making process or exercising other institutional and constitutional responsibilities, such as impeachment. This would exclude a surprisingly lengthy list of movies, including the ceremonial session of the Georgia Legislature apologizing to singer Ray Charles (*Ray* [2004]) for racial discrimination (White, 2004, 184-85), or movies with only fleeting and ancillary depictions of the work of a state legislature, such as the brief scene in *Wilson* [1945] of New Jersey Governor Woodrow Wilson meeting with legislative leaders in his office, or a prisoner corresponding with the legislature in *Shawshank Redemption* [1994]. Another movie about a state legislator, but not showing him at work, is *Abe Lincoln in Illinois* [1940], with state representative Lincoln sonorously quipping to a few of his colleagues at a tavern in Vandalia (then the Illinois capital) that he decided not to run for reelection because "There's one thing I've learned here in politics. That is: ignorance is no obstacle to advancement. In fact, in some cases, it's quite an advantage." Farther afield are two cowboy movies: *The Silver Bullet* [1942] depicting a campaign for state senate and showing a woman winning the race and *Fighting Bill Carson* [1945] about the consequences of new banking law enacted by the Texas legislature. Similarly, *Home Town Story* [1951] is about a state senator defeated for reelection and then writing newspaper columns critical of the new state legislature (including his replacement) for being under the thumb of business.³

Based on this selection process, six movies and one TV pilot presented substantial scenes of a state legislature at work on enacting laws or executing other legislative responsibilities, such as impeachment. The first section analyzes, in order of release, three films with extensive scenes that are deserving – using the standard of verisimilitude – of being quoted at some length. They have major scenes depicting state legislatures. The next section summarizes more briefly three other movies with lesser depictions of the legislative branch (also listed in order of release). The third section of the article focuses on one television series that was based in a state legislature.

Major Cinematic Depictions of State Legislatures

Birth of a Nation [1915]

Director: D. W. Griffith. Screenplay: D. W. Griffith and Frank E. Woods (1994). Original literary source: novel by Thomas Dixon, Jr. (1970). Category: drama.

This movie is often considered the first major feature film ever released and that it transformed the film industry. However, it was a racist apologia for the white terrorism of the Jim Crow south. The narrative was propelled by a pivotal scene in a Southern Reconstruction state legislature. The scene served as the justification for creating the Ku Klux Klan, supposedly to protect whites from blacks in general, and to protect white women from supposedly predatory black men in particular.

The benefit of it being a silent film is that the title cards provide explicit description of what is being depicted visually. (All quotes are from the published shooting script [Griffith and Woods, 1994].) So, for example, the two cards introducing the scene in the state legislature read “The negro⁴ party in control in the State House of representatives, 101 blacks against 23 whites, session of 1871. AN HISTORICAL FACSIMILE of the State House of Representatives of South Carolina as it was in 1870” (upper case in original). Another card, later in the sequence, stated “The helpless white minority.” Included in this extended sequence:

- [Shot number] 843. A man standing below the Speaker of the House reads a bill. The Speaker raps his gavel and points toward the right.
844. A man eats peanuts from a bag as another in a top hat talks to him. The man in the top hat helps himself to a peanut.
845. TITLE: The honorable member for Ulster.
846. As other House members look on, a representative furtively takes a bottle of liquor from beneath a book and steals a mouthful. He replaces the bottle and, looking straight ahead, suppresses a smile.
847. A representative with his feet on his desk takes off a shoe, as another, standing in front of him eating a joint of meat, turns.
848. A man in a check suit is making a point with emphatic movements of his arms, when he stops in mid-gesture and looks out left.
849. The legislator eating the joint of meat waves a document in one hand and with his other hand gestures toward the man with his feet on the desk. Nearby, another man stands and addresses the Speaker.

850. The man in the check suit brings a handkerchief to his nose and gestures vigorously toward the left.

851. The man with the joint of meat continues to eat, as the man with his feet on the desk twirls his toes.

852. TITLE: The speaker rules that all members must wear shoes.

The sequence showed the legislature adopting two laws. One was that “all whites must salute negro officers on the streets.” If there is any historical accuracy to this claim, this legislative enactment probably related to all Union officers, not only to African-American ones. The other showed “Passage of a bill, providing for the intermarriage of blacks and whites.” Note the weasel wording “providing for.” This was probably a deliberate effort by the filmmaker to misrepresent the facts. It is highly probable that a Reconstruction legislature would have repealed a pre-Civil War state law that *prohibited* racial intermarriage (even if the black spouse was a freedman or freedwoman), along with a raft of other anti-black legislation that was on the books. Repealing a ban is quite different from encouraging or promoting something, which the wording “providing for” deliberately implied.

If there is any redeeming quality to the virulent racism of the movie, it is in a modest degree of verisimilitude in some aspects of how state legislatures work, such as the hubbub and constant movement on the floor, the Speaker gaveling for attention, the clerk reading the title of a bill and floor debate on a bill.

All the King's Men [1949]

Director: Robert Rossen. Screenplay: Robert Rossen (1972). Original novel: Robert Penn Warren (1946).⁵ Category: drama.

The movie (of a novel) was a fictionalized biography of Louisiana Governor Huey Long. After his election, he was shown (in scene 73) dominating the state legislature in person by “yelling at the legislators during a session. WILLIE: ‘I demand that this bill be passed. Nobody's going to tell me how to run this state’.” Later, his opponents accused him of undermining democracy and becoming a dictator. They pursued constitutional means to remove him from office through impeachment. He, of course, fights this through his legislative allies and voters. His first tactic is to prevent the motion for impeachment from being introduced (quotes from the screenplay that are not dialogue, such as stage directions, are presented in *italics*):

[Scene 80] SENATOR [Paul Ford]: These are serious charges that Judge Stanton has given to the press. This legislature is entitled to a complete and full report on the Pillsbury affair. Let the truth be known.

2ND SENATOR: Let it come out.

3RD SENATOR: I move that we adjourn.

4TH SENATOR: I second the motion.

CHAIRMAN: All those in favor, say aye... Motion carried. The house is adjourned.
... *other senators rise up in their seats in protest.*

But in a following session, they succeeded in introducing their motion:

[Scene 109] *Interior: State Legislature, Night. There is great excitement in the assembly room. One senator steps forward and addresses the speaker of the house.*

SENATOR [Paul Ford]: Mr. Speaker, I offer a house resolution. Whereas Willie Stark, governor of this state, has been guilty of incompetence, corruption, and favoritism in office—yes, and other high crimes—that he is hereby impeached, and ordered to be tried by the senate.

His resolution is met with a mixture of cheers and boos.

[Scene 123] *Interior: State Legislature, Day. The speaker is trying to speak over the clamor of the chanting [by the crowd of supporters of the governor demonstrating outside the Capitol building].*

SPEAKER: We will first proceed to take the judgment of the senate on the question of the impeachment of the governor.

SENATOR (rising): Mr. Speaker, this is a farce to ask us to vote in the face of the kind of intimidation and pressure that has been exerted here in the past few weeks. Even that crowd outside, yelling on cue, is part of that pressure.

CROWD NOISE: We want Willie. We want Willie.

The governor had rounded up enough votes to prevent the passage of the impeachment resolution. He did that by all means necessary, including blackmail and corruption. The impeachment vote then occurred off screen. Finally:

[Scene 126] *Exterior: State Capitol, Night. Newsmen, photographers stand about, bored. The crowd, every bit as large, is quiet but expectant. Everyone holds still as the announcer's voice is heard again.*

ANNOUNCER: Attention, please. Attention, please. The balloting on the impeachment proceedings against Governor Stark has just ended. This is the result: Willie Stark has won.

The crowd explodes.

In terms of authenticity, the movie succeeded in conveying the heart-beating peak moments of excitement that can occasionally occur in a legislature, while wholly avoided the boring and eye-glazing reality of day-to-day legislative work. It also succeeded in conveying the hubbub and chaos of legislative sessions, the importance of the presiding officer to affect outcomes and the (sometimes illegal) tactics that a governor can use to prevail in the legislature.

On the other hand, the movie greatly confused the normal impeachment process of a bicameral legislature, such as the impeachment decision occurring in the lower house, and the trial in the senate. Also, confusingly, the title of the presiding office of the Senate was presented as the Speaker, a moniker almost always limited to the presiding officer of the lower house.

*"Ada" [1961]*⁶

Director: Daniel Mann. Screenplay: William Driskill (1960) and Arthur Sheekman. Original novel: Wirt Williams (1959). Category: drama.

This movie has an extremely convoluted and Hollywoodish plot that climaxes with an extended scene in the chambers of a southern state legislature. Good ol' country boy and singer Bo Gillis (Dean Martin) is picked by the state's corrupt political boss Sylvester Marin (Wilfred Hyde-White) to run for governor of a southern state. (The novel, but not the movie, explicitly took place in Louisiana.) On the campaign trail, Martin meets a former prostitute, Ada Dallas (Susan Hayward) and marries her. Before the wedding, she tells him of her past and that it might damage him politically, but he does not care. Her secret past holds, and Gillis wins the election. Then, his lieutenant governor resigns due to a scandal and the Governor names his wife as Lt. Governor. Meanwhile, Gillis realizes how he has been used by the political boss and decides to break with him and push for reform legislation. But he becomes estranged from his wife/Lt. Gov. because he thinks she is conniving with the political boss against him. Gillis then is critically injured by a suspicious explosion of his car, which may well have been planned by the political boss. As a result, the governor is unable to exercise his office while in the hospital, so his wife becomes acting governor. She tries to push her husband's new reform legislation through the State Legislature over the objections of the political boss, who has successfully dominated the legislature for years.

There is a showdown session in the legislature with the three main characters sitting apart in the galleries surrounding the chambers. Gillis has just been released from the hospital (though has not yet reassumed his office) and is still suspicious that his wife betrayed him. Dallas is trying to pass the reform legislation, and Sylvester is trying to stop it by any means necessary. The screenwriter's instructions to the director set the legislative scene: "The House is seething – a stadium before the fight. All the Members move to their desks. Babble of voices die. Hear the end of the roll call coming over. The Members answering" (Driskill, 1960, 122).

Given the vividness of the scene and the obscurity of the movie (at the time of writing it had not been released on DVD or Blu-ray and was only shown occasionally on Turner Classic Movies),

it deserves to be quoted at some length. (Excerpts are from the shooting script [Driskill, 1960, 123-42, underlining in original] and slightly revised based on the released version). After the prayer, the house began what would become a roller coaster of a session:

SPEAKER: The hour of ten having arrived, the special order of business set for this time is consideration of House Bills #2130, 2131, 2132, which are the Special Tax on Canneries Bill, the Tax Exemption for Private Hospitals Bill and the State Printing Contract Bill. The first order on file is House Bill #2130. Clerk will read.

Clerk standing in front of rostrum reads as page enters and places placard with legend: HB 2130.

CLERK: House Bill #2130. An act to provide for a separation tax on Canneries...

JOE ADAMS: Mr. Speaker...

SPEAKER: The Chair recognizes Mr. Joe Adams.

JOE ADAMS: I wish to speak in favor of this bill. (*Finger points to Ada in gallery.*) I say that anyone who witholds [sic] his support of the Governor on these measures is no true friend of the state. We've had a secret boss governing long enough in these parts. And I'm referring to the man who holds no office from the people but who is well-known to all of us – Sylvester Marin – (*cries from other side of the House*) Sylvester Marin and his tax-eatin', bribe-given', bribe-takin' crowd!

SPEAKER: You're out of order, Mr. Adams...

NATFIELD: Lies, lies, lies!

JOE ADAMS: Mr. Speaker, my time has not expired and I'm not done speakin'!

During Adams' attack, the Speaker is pounding his gavel that Adams is out of order. Various members of the Assembly on the floor are being heard from and we will also hear from Adams' supporters. "Let him speak." Various members calling out, seeking recognition from the chair: "Mr. Speaker..." "Mr. Speaker..." "Mr. Speaker, order of personal privilege..." "Let him speak..." The Speaker bangs for silence.

SPEAKER: Gentlemen, the House will be in order. Now, we will transact no further business until all of the members take their seats. In order, Gentlemen. In order...Mister Warren Natfield.

WARREN NATFIELD: Thank you. This Bill is vicious, it's dangerous, and it's utterly without merit. We condemn any tax bill that seeks to impose a heavy tax burden on this great industry of this state. Are we gonna bankrupt as fine a businessman

as Richard Bradville to satisfy the petty vanity of that woman! (*and now his finger also seeks out Ada and points at her*)

HARRY DAVERS: Naw! They'd rather increase the sales tax two percent – so that they can relieve the big boys at the top by sweatin' it out of the little fellows at the bottom!

SPEAKER: Gentlemen, gentlemen, this will not do! –

After several more minutes of this raucous debate, the Speaker (an ally of Sylvester, the political boss), calls for a vote:

SPEAKER: All debate having finished the clerk will prepare the roll. All the members will please vote.

We see the Clerk go for his key ... as the men go to their desks to press the button ... as they start to vote. The board goes awry. Red and Green lights flashing. Howls of fury from the floor. Screams of protest.

A MEMBER: I voted “yes” but it shows red!

ANOTHER MEMBER: I haven't even voted yet – and my light's red!

ANOTHER MEMBER: Make 'em change my vote!

ANOTHER MEMBER: The damn machine is fixed! It's fixed! Somebody's been tamperin' with that votin' machine.

SPEAKER: All the members having voted – the Clerk will please clear the roll.

At this point during the voting with the board not registering the votes as they are being made, Members from the floor call to the Speaker. “Mr. Speaker, Mr. Speaker...that is not the way I voted...”

MEMBER: Mr. Speaker, I demand a roll call.

Sylvester forces will also be shouting. A majority of Ada's forces yelling for a roll call. The Speaker has a replica of the board - and consults it - trying to force the vote through, starts to give information to Clerk - who tries to announce it:

CLERK: Ayes 34, –

But he is interrupted by:

MEMBERS: Point of order – point of order –

The Speaker makes a last attempt in Sylvester's behalf, recognizes another one of Sylvester's men.

ALLY OF SYLVESTER #2: I move to adjourn...

However the fight has reached a point where Joe Adams and his allies overwhelmingly demand, fight for, and aggressively force the speaker to recognize the majority vote to show a hand vote. The Speaker recognizes his momentary defeat and the Adams forces demand and get the roll call.

SPEAKER: Very well, the clerk will call the roll.

There were several other twists and turns in this long scene that misrepresent legislative reality, including a roll call vote on the bill interrupted to hear evidence against the Acting Governor (of her secret past as a prostitute); the Governor addressing the house from the gallery in support of his wife; and members being able to hold the floor even when not at their seats. Then, in a wild finish, truth wins out. The supporters of the Governor and Lt. Governor prevail, and the corrupt political boss loses his power. The bill passes. Adams tells reporters the passage of the bill is just the beginning of a reform program. The Governor-husband and Lt. Governor-wife reconcile. Fade out. Hollywood got its happy ending.⁷

Notwithstanding the unrealistic elements of the final scene, the portion reproduced in part above was remarkable for capturing the drama of the legislative process, the importance of parliamentary procedure, the partisan versus institutional roles of the presiding officer, and the ever-changing mood of a legislative body. The largely forgotten film deserves to be remembered by those who welcome apt, riveting and partly accurate depictions of the work of a state legislature, however overdramatized.

Lesser Cinematic Depictions of State Legislatures

Blossoms in the Dust [1941]

Director: Mervyn LeRoy. Screenplay: Anita Loos. Screen story: Ralph Wheelwright. Category: drama.

The movie was a dramatization of real events. In post-WWI Texas, motherless homemaker Edna Gladney established and ran a nonprofit orphanage for parentless children or children given up by their parents for economic or other reasons. She arranged for the adoption of most of these children. However, some middle-class couples were reluctant to adopt a child who was listed, on his or her birth certificate, as being "illegitimate." These potential parents feared they would be tainted by the stigma of the immoral circumstances of the child's birth, given that it was openly stated on a permanent public document.

Gladney then pushed for changing the Texas state law to remove references to the illegitimacy of the child's birth from all past and future birth certificates. With an approximation of verisimilitude, the movie showed her lobbying to find a legislator who would agree to introduce such a bill, several senators meeting informally to discuss the probable objections to the bill (such as costs of implementation), and finally floor debate in the State Senate. However, at that point the movie veered to Hollywood melodrama. Gladney was shown sitting in the gallery while her bill was being debated and then rising and giving a speech in favor of the bill. Similarly, another woman in the gallery who opposed the bill (based on maintaining moral standards) then rose and gave a short speech voicing her views. The Senators on both sides of the issue looked up at the galleries and listened quietly to both speeches. Eventually, the bill passed.

Blaze [1989]

Director: Ron Shelton. Screenplay: Ron Shelton (1984). Original source: Blaze Starr and Huey Perry (1989). Category: comedy.

The movie was loosely based on the memoirs of a stripper who briefly had an affair with Louisiana Governor Earl K. Long. However, unlike the previously mentioned *Louisiana Purchase*, it is more in the nature of a comedy and satire than a parody. Therefore, it merits this brief mention. The movie included an extended scene of the governor (Paul Newman) appearing uninvited on the floor of the State Assembly while it was debating a bill relating to voting rights of African-Americans. Supposedly, Long was in favor of permitting more blacks to vote (as they would vote for him given that he was a so-called 'moderate' on race relations) while orthodox racist legislators vehemently opposed the bill (Shelton, 1984, 55-60; Starr and Perry, 1989, 139-41). While the scene presented some degree of verisimilitude with the setting of a legislative chamber, the events portrayed are still exaggerated to the point that there is little other merit in it from the perspective of this inquiry.

All the King's Men [2006]

Director: Steven Zaillian. Screenplay: Steven Zaillian. Original novel: Robert Penn Warren (1946). Category: drama.

This movie was a remake of the 1949 movie, and the basic plot was very similar. For the scenes of the state legislature, there were some minor variations. In the first version the governor was seen on the floor of the house demanding it pass a bill (on an unstated subject) that he wanted. In this second version the bill was identified as relating to education, was defeated and the governor was watching this happen seated in the gallery. For the impeachment sequence, the scene took place in the senate, so this had to have been the trial, not the impeachment vote of the lower house. The final vote was announced: 17-22. This gave the governor a very comfortable margin of victory. While not quite as vivid as some of the scenes in the 1949 version, the remake also captured a degree of verisimilitude of a state legislature at work, whether on routine business of a bill or the extraordinary business of impeachment.

Television Series: Slattery's People [1964-65]

This was a weekly series on the CBS television network. Episodes were aired during the 1964-65 season and for a few months in the fall of 1965. It was cancelled midseason in November 1965 due to low ratings. The central character of the series was state assemblyman and minority leader James Slattery, “an idealistic, concerned state representative who was very interested in governmental reforms and constantly found himself involved in causes” (Brooks and Marsh, 2003, 1085). While the series took place in a generic state capital, some locale shooting occurred in the California statehouse in Sacramento.

A total of 36 episodes were aired, about half of them dealing specifically with Slattery's work inside the legislature, the other half were on issues he was involved in as a civic leader and lawyer, but were not related to his legislative office. In the former category, there were episodes dealing with debating bills, committee work, and preparing bills. In some of those episodes he was the advocate for causes, in others acting as leader of his party (TV.com, 2009; Keith-Lucas, 1965). Unfortunately, the scripts and videotapes of the series, except the first episode, have been withdrawn from circulation and were not accessible to this researcher. Copies of scripts held by academic libraries all had absolute prohibitions on copying. Therefore, this analysis was limited to the pilot.

This is the opening scene shown in the first episode (Moser, 1974, 172-77), slightly edited to remove tangential material:

BUTLER (Majority Leader): ... And by way of conclusion, ladies and gentlemen of the House, I'm sure you are quite aware that there are seated in this chamber certain parties who have been playing “games”, so to speak, with this valuable piece of legislation. And the “games” these people have been playing... one party in particular... I am sure disgust you every bit as much as they disgust me. Is this person so blinded by his conceit that he believes we don't know what's going on? Does he think we're so stupid that we don't realize what he's up to in proposing these amendments? If so, then let me assure him in the name of the membership of this House that he is tragically mistaken. Gentlemen, let us show this man once and for all that there is no room for ruthless political maneuverings in this chamber.

Slattery moves into frame, grasps the arm of the microphone. He's quietly angry but it's evident he has full control of himself.

SLATTERY: Mister Speaker?

Up on the rostrum, the Speaker, tough, iron-jawed Bert Metcalf, turns his attention to Slattery.

METCAFF: Mister Slattery, for what purpose do you rise?

SLATTERY: Mister Speaker, will you inquire if the honorable member from Pierce County will yield for a question?

METCAFF: Will you yield?

BUTLER (bit annoyed): Yes... all right.

SLATTERY (evenly): Mister Butler, I'm sure there's no doubt in anyone's mind who you're referring to, so I can only assume you've forgotten my name. It's Slattery, Mister Butler. S-L-A-T-T-E-R-Y.

A moderate wave of laughter sweeps the floor.

METCAFF: Your remarks are not in order, Mister Slattery. Do you have a question or don't you?

SLATTERY (simply): Yes sir. I'd like to know if Mister Butler knows my name.

BUTLER: Unfortunately, sir... I know it only too well.

SLATTERY (snaps quickly): Then why don't you use it? This is a state legislature, not a prep school debating squad.

As Speaker Metcaff gavels once, Slattery quickly pulls down his mike stand and takes his seat. Metcaff frowns darkly in his direction, then turns and nods to Butler.

METCAFF: Proceed, Mister Butler.

Butler's uncomfortable. There's little or nothing more he can say. Strategically he's smart enough to know the best thing for him to do is close briefly and sit down. He does just that.

BUTLER: I'm not going to belabor you, gentlemen. This bill, as it stands, merits your full support. I strongly urge a "No" vote on Mister Slattery's proposed amendments.

Butler sits down, lowering his mike as he does so.

This snippet of the debate rings true regarding the cut and thrust of debate, as well as the unspoken aspects of lawmaking. Signaling that this storytelling is closer to reality than Hollywood's insistence on a happy ending, Slattery's amendments are defeated, 32-39, as they usually would when sponsored by the minority party (Moser, 1974, 180). Slattery is consoled by Representative Harry Sanborn, a member of the majority party. The teleplay tries to explain the seemingly odd alliance: "He and Slattery are close friends despite the fact they belong to opposing political parties."

Hodson, faculty member at Sacramento State University and a former California legislative aide, wrote of “the relevancy and comparative accuracy of the plots.” For example, notwithstanding some melodramatic elements in the climax of the premiere episode, he judged that it would “resonate with anyone with capitol experience” (Hodson, 2008). The quality of the first episode was so high that a book on television writing reproduced it in full, considering it as “impeccable” and “excellent” and a worthy model to “constantly use it as a reference” (Trapnell, 1974, 166-67; 1966, 166-67). This indicates that the episode accomplished, at least in part, the criterion of authenticity as sought by this inquiry.

After being granted access by the studio to all the episodes shortly after the series was cancelled, Keith-Lucas concluded in her master’s thesis that the series comprises “a body of direct information which is conveyed about the structures and responsibilities of the legislative process. Very few people have ever actually visited a stage legislature; some of the processes of writing bills, committees, and hearings might be completely unfamiliar” (1965, 43). In particular, she identified an underlying theme of the entire series that “The institution is upheld throughout; there is a clear commitment to the idea of democracy and to legal means of working in it” (45). Her conclusion confirms the verisimilitude of the pilot of the TV series and of subsequent episodes.

Summary, Conclusions and Future Research

This exploratory inquiry identified six movies and one television series that depicted state legislatures in action. Of those seven examples, six took place in the 20th century and one in the 19th century. Geographically, all six films took place in the South. This hints that the gothic, racist, machine-dominated and sometimes corrupt image of southern politics in the pre-civil rights era was especially appealing to writers. While the TV series was ageographical, the California legislature served as its model for the writer-creator and some exterior shots were taken there. Regarding historicity, of the seven, five were ostensibly inspired by historical events, such as Reconstruction, Louisiana Governors Huey and Earl Long, and Texas legislation about birth certificates.

Regarding legislative functions, five focused on enacting laws, while two highlighted the power of impeachment. Governors were prominent in a slight majority of these seven screen depictions of state legislatures. Besides the two movies featuring impeachment proceedings against a governor, two others focused on legislative treatment of bills requested by the governor. This is a good civics lesson regarding the role of the chief executive in the legislative process but probably also indicates Hollywood’s imperative for storytelling that focuses on individuals (governors) rather than institutions (legislatures). In general, these movies and TV images focused on moments of high drama, which is central to visual storytelling. This included the pilot and premiere episode of *Slattery’s People*, which focused on an investigation of tampering with the integrity of the legislative process and ended with a climactic scene of identifying the wrongdoer.

These seven examples confirm the dearth of movies about state legislators. They are meager gruel in the much larger body of political movies. Still, notwithstanding the application of Hollywood fiction and fantasy, the scenes highlighted here did a creditable job of conveying the hurly-burly of a legislature at work. Rather than knocking the predictable Hollywood formula, one can instead admire these modest examples that successfully convey, to some degree, the authentic nature of state legislatures at work. In that respect, Hollywood's state legislature can be much more engaging than, for example, a standard civics textbook on the state legislature or on state government in general. As identified here, the visual medium has some advantages over print in its ability to capture and convey to the mass audience the occasionally dynamic, even exciting, nature of a state legislature at work.

For years, the academic literature on the historical accuracy of movies was very critical of how much Hollywood got it wrong. But more recently, some writers have suggested that television and movies require a certain degree of melodrama and that critiques of historical accuracy need to bring that into consideration (McCrisken and Pepper, 2005; Toplin, 2002). Such a perspective is also appropriate for this examination of screen depictions of state legislatures. Given that Hollywood's needs must be met, this exploratory inquiry has identified several examples of a modest level of verisimilitude regarding the reality of state legislatures, despite the overall dearth of movies on that subject. In that respect, Hollywood got it partly right. Maybe that is all one can reasonably expect, perhaps even be pleasantly surprised by these vivid and partially accurate depictions of a state legislature at work.

Therefore, a fair conclusion appears to be that Hollywood's civics lesson about state legislatures is creditable. It may be highly fictionalized and, of course, unable to meet the exacting standards of academic rigor. Still, as popular education, Hollywood crumbs about state legislatures are, indirectly, a real enough lesson about the work of the legislative branch in the state level of government. While these films reinforce the general American distrust of government, they nonetheless show state legislatures at work, implementing their law-making and impeachment responsibilities, and show an intensity of purpose and a clear focus on the importance of the legislative process and floor debate. So, notwithstanding the many flaws of these films as evaluated by the strict criterion of verisimilitude, the general and broad civics lesson they convey is a relatively positive and useful one in terms of (unintentionally) educating the public-at-large about state legislatures.

Further explorations of pop culture as a civics lesson about American government would help public administration better understand wherefrom some of the negativity aimed at it comes or is reinforced. Up to now, there has been a Washington-centric bias in political films and, therefore, in scholarly analysis of films as well. It is hoped that this inquiry will encourage additional efforts to go beyond the literature's current focus on the federal government. Future research about Hollywood's state legislatures could examine in more detail all the episodes of *Slattery's People*, if it is possible to locate and obtain permission to access them. Other related research subjects on the state level of government could include trends in the depiction of governors and, if there is enough material, of the judicial branch. Similarly, local government is another welcome subject for research on its visual image in popular culture. There are quite a few movies about local politics, but there has been little academic focus on the managerial activities of

mayors, the legislative work of city councils, or of municipal administration in general. Given its importance in the emergence of the field of public administration in the US, are there any movies about the profession of city managers? Another direction would be to examine depictions of the legislative branch in other countries, such as the provincial parliament of Quebec in *I Confess* [1953], the national parliament in *Canadian Pacific* [1949] and the Cuban Senate in *We Were Strangers* [1949].

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Notes

¹ I am indebted to one of the anonymous reviewers for this observation.

² Note on style: Movie titles are displayed in *italics*, immediately followed by the year of release in *bracketed italics*, e.g. *Blossoms in the Dust [1941]*. This helps differentiate movie titles and, especially, dates of release from conventional APA-style source references used elsewhere in this article, e.g. "screenplay by Robert Rossen (1972)."

³ Marilyn Monroe had one of her first starring roles in this movie.

⁴ The word "Negro" is commonly capitalized, but not here, probably deliberately to be derogatory.

⁵ The high standing the novel has attained over time prompted the publisher to release a restored version of the book in 2001 (Warren, 2001). It included the text that the copyeditors at the publishing house had deleted from the author's submittal version, before publishing it in 1946. The 1946 published version of the novel had 464 pages, while the restored original version had 642.

⁶ For reasons that are unclear, as released by the studio, the movie title was in quotation marks.

⁷ A short clip of the tumultuous legislative session is included near the end of the movie's trailer. Retrieved September 2011: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0Rvw-TsafSU>

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The Art of Improvisation and Street-Level Bureaucracy

Lauren Bock Mullins

It is opening night of an interactive dinner theatre traveling show in Philadelphia, and the cast is all a buzz in preparation for an action-packed performance. Energy is high, as hip-hop music plays on an outdated boom box in a tiny, run-down apartment in South Philadelphia to serve as our dressing rooms, right near the famous cheese steak tourist traps. After getting hair and makeup done by a professional stylist, I get dressed in my tacky red satin dress and cannot help but laugh when I see the fake hair they have clipped into my ponytail. A total transformation from a preppy graduate student to an over-the-top, abrasive, nail salon artist who happens to be a bridesmaid in her best friend's wedding.

Once I arrive at the boat where the show is taking place, it is clear that the audience is boarding for the evening, and nervousness sets in. The pit in my stomach is undeniable, but hopefully it will give me an edge. I once was told by a director that when you stop getting nervous before a performance, you should pack it in, that the nerves keep you fresh and give you the spark to make your performance dynamic.

The smell of mediocre catered food is in the air, the music begins to play, and suddenly we enter a virtual reality. Greeting guests as they arrive and telling them how excited I am to see them, how I am thrilled for my best friend getting married, I slowly become my character. With nothing but a loose script to guide the structure of the show, most of my night is spent spontaneously interacting with guests and fellow actors, developing story lines, hitting plot points, dancing, and trying to be funny. Completely made-up conversations take place, an actor I barely know pretends to be my best friend since childhood, and a gentleman I have met only twice acts as my possessive, passionate boyfriend. At various moments, I have to remind myself mentally to remain in character, especially when an audience member asks me a candid personal question, or when one of my fellow cast members seems to slightly stray from the storyline. We were improvising, and it was exciting, fun, and a lot of hard work. Dinner theatre on a boat, with the longest running off-Broadway show in history, *Tony n Tina's Wedding*, taught me a great deal about the challenges and excitement attached to the art of improvisation.

Improvisation is defined by T. McMullen (2011) as an inter-subjective practice that raises the question of whether the separation between the self and the other is real and suggests, as in Buddhism, that the separation happens through mental creations, that it is not inherently separate. Dan Goldstein (1996) says good improvisers appear to be confident whether or not they are

cognizant of what is happening. R. Caines' case study of Australian hip-hop music points to improvisation as a way to reclaim history (2011). In fact, we can think of improvisation in a number of different ways, depending on whom you ask. No two improv experiences are ever the same. Each improvisational experience is collectively shaped by the actors, what is going on in the scene, and the audience. Improvisation relies on the environment for cues, the narrative for patterns, practice for skill sharpening and good timing. It involves a level of comfort with the storyline and fellow actors, an ability to think on your feet, and the skill to brush inhibitions aside and go beyond yourself and who you are as a person. The object of improvisation is entertainment and laughter. Good improvisation usually involves some sort of training, but it can be argued that it often involves an innate ability.

Improvisation is similar to street-level bureaucracy because it involves discretion. I know this from personal experience working as a professional services specialist at a state university for over four years and from experience working in the public school system as a substitute teacher. Both the improv actor and the street-level bureaucrat have a decent amount of discretion, with the common goal of keeping the customer happy. According to Lipsky (1980), street-level bureaucrats exercise discretion when working with the underprivileged, which can lead to behavior that is both irrational and inefficient. Maynard-Moody and Musheno's (2003) case study of street-level bureaucrats provided for us a candid look at the complicated world of discretion. Although improvisational actors exercise discretion in fictitious situations, the process is much the same as street-level bureaucrats: the action decisions are based on feeling out the situation and playing to the crowd/reading their clients, their decisions reflect personal values, and often decisions are made in a split-second. Both engage in imperfect interpretations of what they should be doing. Not all improv decisions are the best ones, and sometimes they do not work out the way the actor intended, eliciting a different response from the audience than they were hoping, or missing an opportunity to make a better decision on the spot. Both improvisational actors and street-level bureaucrats gain knowledge from experience, engage in role-playing to varying degrees, and have a sense of power and leadership, since each is a position of authority. The improvisational actor may not have the force of the law behind him, but in ideal situations, he is in charge of the improvisational scene and leads the audience through the story. Just like the street-level bureaucrat, the improvisational actor knows more than the client and is privy to information the client is not.

Similar to improvisation, acting in general is known to be an experience that transports the actor to a level of "heightened awareness," and is known to be associated with an "altered state of consciousness" which alters aspects of a person's thinking such as perception, memory, higher-level thought processes, meaning or significance of experiences, self-control, and sense of personal identity, among other aspects (Scheiffele, 2001). This is similar to the adrenaline and heightened awareness experienced by a cop as she is making an arrest, or by a social worker that is engaging a mentally ill patient who is trying to attack him. We do not have to look far to see the similarity between an actor in costume and a street-level bureaucrat in uniform—instead of acting out a script, the bureaucrat acts out the law and policy based on their own abilities, values and interpretations, often under conditions that heighten awareness. Of course, depending on the situation, it is likely that a street-level bureaucrat may experience a higher level of anxiety or

awareness in a situation that could be extremely dangerous, such as apprehending an armed assailant.

Although the street-level bureaucrat is like the improvisational actor, since he/she plays the role of a trained professional who provides a service, there are major differences between improvisation and street-level bureaucracy. Perhaps the most significant difference with improvisation is that the actor takes on a character that is different from his or her persona in real life, whereas the work role of a street-level bureaucrat may not be as separate from the real persona as the character is for the improvisational actor. For example, a police officer can be a father, a husband, a son and a police officer, but somewhere along the line these identities will become somewhat enmeshed. For an improvisational actor, the character one is playing could be completely outlandish in relation to the person—an outgoing, gregarious person could play a shy introvert who barely speaks and is socially awkward. Sometimes the lines of a performer's identities could blur, but, since the same character typically isn't replayed by the same person over the course of a career (unlike the police officer), this blurring is less likely to occur and would occur to a lesser degree.

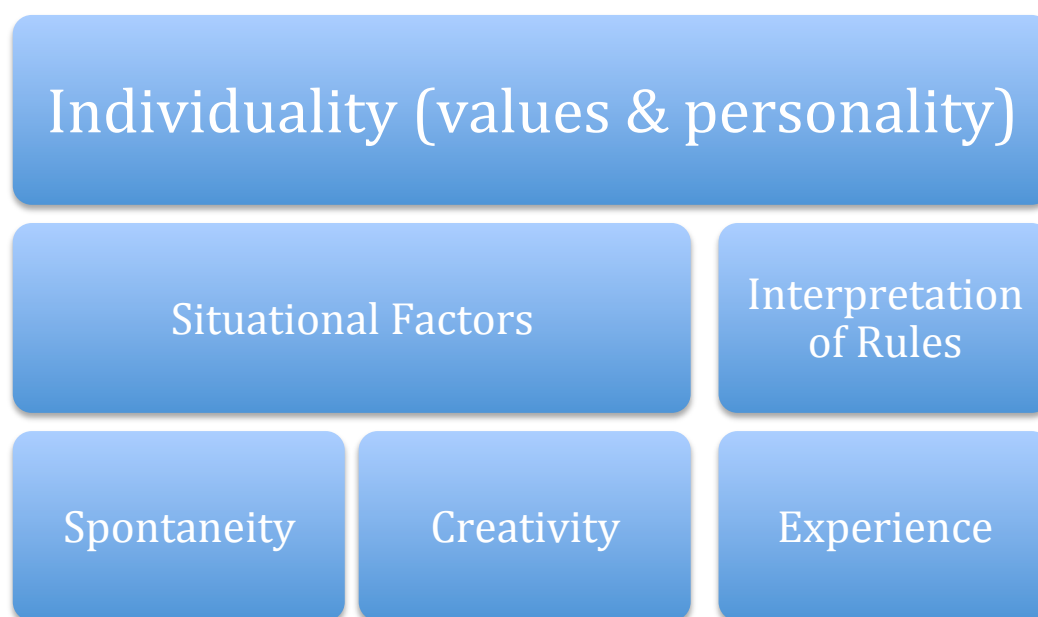
In terms of discretion, the actor serves the audience while the bureaucrat serves the democratic constituency. At the end of the day the improv actor moves onto her next audition, while the street level bureaucrat doesn't get the chance to play a new character. His or her character is fixed around whom he or she is, both in and out of uniform. The plot points of the street-level bureaucrat are not fixed, and at any moment a decision made can mean the difference between life and death. Street-level bureaucrats often work alone or with one partner, which is very different from the improvisational actor, and so they must be more reliant on their own authority. Unlike the improvisational actor, whose director or producer may be viewing their performance and providing a certain level of accountability and supervision, the street-level bureaucrat is often unsupervised and left to his or her own devices, accountable first and foremost to one's self. The object of street-level bureaucracy is conflict resolution, as opposed to entertainment, which takes on a more serious tone and sense of responsibility. Street-level bureaucrats are implementing law and policy, which could have graver consequences than implementation of a play script.

Perhaps the most useful difference to consider is that street-level bureaucrats do not enjoy the opportunity to rehearse the same exact story over and over again, making minor adjustments. Every arrest or incident carries with it its own storyline, and the street-level bureaucrat has little time to digest the facts and act, whereas the improvisational actor's baseline plot points remain the same. This is significant when you consider exactly how much preparation goes into a good improvisational performance—there is much work to be done before the curtains are up, before anyone murmurs the first words of the “script.” Street-level bureaucrats are trained in their particular trade, they may seek out therapy from a professional when needed due to job-related issues, but the aspect of street-level bureaucracy, the discretion, has an essence unto itself that permeates all rules, laws and policies. The discretion supersedes all previous training and experience, and the decision made using discretion is an imprecise convergence of a wide array of factors. Instincts, personal preference, sense of humor, sense of self, and any other subjective

factors could be involved. This imprecise convergence, in a way, can be thought of as the element of creativity.

Like improvisation, street-level bureaucracy can be thought of as an art because it involves a blending of various factors in different ways, so that each decision made with discretion can be thought of as a work of art. The factors involved in both street-level bureaucratic discretion and improvisation include individuality (values, personality, instincts, sense of self, etc.), situational factors such as the issue or action in question and the people involved, interpretation of the rules (whether it is the law or a play script), spontaneity, creativity and experience (applying past experience to make informed decisions) (Please see Exhibit 1). Imagining street-level bureaucracy as more of an art than a science, in which these acts are combined in various different ways, allows us to engage the concept in a more open-ended way. In this way we can learn from the art of improvisation, in order to inform how we think about and study street-level bureaucracy, which is a constantly moving target, an imprecise convergence of various factors—a true work of art.

Exhibit 1. Factors involved in Bureaucratic Discretion and Improvisation



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Of Promise and Peril: Doctoral Study in Public Administration in the 21st Century

John R. Phillips

Prefatory Note

This article is a revised and expanded version of a guest lecture presented to first-year students in the Doctor of Public Administration program, University of Illinois-Springfield (UIS), on November 15, 2011. Such a lecture is a one-time event, and any relevance it may have beyond the immediate audience requires some explanation. As a recent graduate of the university's doctoral program, the author felt a sense of kinship with the entering students. There were important differences between their experiences and his, however. The first-year students were entering their studies at mid-career; he did so when most of his colleagues had retired, and he was approaching seventy when he received the degree. The students were, he assumed, newcomers to the literature of public administration; he had lived with that literature for more than forty years. They came to doctoral study from a diverse set of backgrounds; he came to it after many years of teaching public administration at the graduate and undergraduate levels; after extensive experience as a public sector administrator; and after decades of work in colleges and universities as a faculty member, dean, provost, vice-president, and acting president. It is from the perspective of the experiences of that long career that he hoped to offer the students some thoughts on doctoral study in public administration that would help them along the way. In preparing the lecture for publication, the author hoped, too, that his thoughts about one particular doctoral program might be helpful to students pursuing graduate studies in other PhD and DPA programs.

I

As a means of bringing together several strands of thought about what it means to study public administration in the twenty-first century, I have chosen the theme *Of Promise and Peril*. In doing so, I hope to accomplish two purposes. Those purposes are to speak to you about *Promise*

and Peril in ways that are, first of all, practical and of immediate benefit to you; and, second, to speak of *Promise and Peril* in a hortatory form that *may* be useful to you, now or later, but certainly will not harm you. More specifically, the points I have to offer you will, I hope, make you think more deeply about the promise of your endeavors. Perhaps, too, these remarks can give you advance warning about perils of the process and suggest ways of avoiding them.

My first point—and what I see as the great promise that lies before you—is that your doctoral study is likely to be the last time that you will have the luxury of giving concentrated time and energy to the study of an important literature for an extended period. Life-long learners we may all be, but once out of the structured environment of academic institutions and once free of the rigorous demands of post-graduate study, the daily obligations of professional and personal life largely preclude the type of systematic, uninterrupted study that you now have before you. Take full advantage of this last chance; don't squander it.

On reviewing the reading list for your seminar, I found much in it that was new to me and regret that I haven't the opportunity to sit with you throughout the term's discussion of that material. I was, however, pleased to see some familiar names and topics. Two names, in particular, those of Abraham Kaplan and Murray Edelman, are long familiar to me, and I urge you to explore their work more fully. Abraham Kaplan was one of the twentieth century's great philosophers of the social sciences. *The Conduct of Inquiry* (Kaplan, 1964) was a seminal contribution to the study of methodology, and his work with Harold Lasswell *Power and Society* (1950) was the first attempt to formulate a systematic propositional or conceptual inventory that could be used in the analysis of political systems. Interestingly, too, there is a link between Kaplan and the second name, Murray Edelman, for both of them were deeply influenced by early twentieth century pragmatist philosophers such as Charles Sanders Peirce, William James, and John Dewey; and by sociologists such as George Herbert Mead. In fact, Edelman, who was given an endowed chair which he, himself, could name, chose to name it the George Herbert Mead Chair ("Memorial Resolution," 4 February 2002). Most famous for his book *The Symbolic Uses of Politics*, Edelman's career, as his colleagues noted at the time of his death, was dedicated to understanding "symbolic politics and the subjective aspects of politics and power. He was interested, above all, in the meanings of politics, and how the multiple meanings of single events, persons, processes, and institutions could alternatively be powerful sources of good or evil" ("Memorial Resolution," 4 February 2002). Together, Kaplan and Edelman laid down a broad and deep analytical approach to society that is important in many areas of the social sciences today.

This work of Kaplan and Edelman is of such interest to me simply because I have had a life-long love of languages and the ways in which language shapes us individually and as members of groups; the ways in which language affects the web of social interactions that constitute our lives. To speak further, but only briefly, to illustrate the intersection of language, social interaction, and politics, I call your attention to the current (2011) Wall Street protest movement and the ways in which that movement affects our thinking about social and economic conditions in this country. It is political protest, in fact, that calls to mind the intellectual importance of these scholars for my own life. I knew neither Kaplan nor Edelman but during the Viet Nam war I did know Edelman's twin brother, Milton, a distinguished professor of economics at Southern Illinois University at Carbondale.

In that earlier 1970s era of protest – protest that also, and much more dramatically, pointed up the intersection of language, social interaction, and politics – Southern Illinois University at Carbondale

was the location for one of the very large anti-war protests of the Vietnam era, drawing many participants from across the nation. During the days of that protest, Milton Edelman and his family hosted a young Air Force veteran, a long-haired protestor (my hair wasn't white then, it was bleached blond) who was just beginning his career as a junior member of the political science faculty at Drury University. In those days, the activist bonds between senior and junior members of university faculties were very strong. We well understood the symbolism of the language we used and the actions we took; we greatly hoped that practical consequences would flow from those words and actions. The 1970s were interesting times, and I have fond memories of the Edelman family's kindness in providing a bed and wonderful hot meals for that young hippie. I would remind you, too, that in those days Southern Illinois University at Carbondale was so radical a campus that it warranted comparison to the University of California at Berkeley (Laux, 2002).

Your reading list also includes an article with "politics and administration dichotomy" in the title. I don't know the article, but I suggest to you that understanding whatever it is that the "politics and administration dichotomy" is all about requires you to read the book to which Goodnow (1900) gave so unfortunate a title rather than reading articles about the book. A major theme of that book is that the study of political realism should supplant the study of constitutional legalisms. That was, of course, also a major theme in the political and administrative writings of Woodrow Wilson (Cook, 2007; Phillips, 2010a). There is much in Goodnow's book, too, about the important role played by political parties in the American system of government and politics (Beard, 1910; Ranney, 1962). Those two themes are far more important to understanding Goodnow's political and administrative thought than the abstract distinction between politics and administration. If, however, you must rely upon secondary sources, I highly recommend *The Doctrine of Responsible Party Government: Its Origin and Present State* by Austin Ranney (1962) as among the most accurate and penetrating analyses of Goodnow's (and Woodrow Wilson's) view of political parties in American politics. But to return to your doctoral education:

II

If political philosophers wish to preserve democracy from what they regard as the termitic borings of positivism, I suggest that as the first step they acquire a sufficient technical skill in modern logical analysis to attack the positivists on their own ground. Most of the positivists and empiricists of my acquaintance will then be likely to receive them more as allies in the search for truth than as enemies.

—Herbert Simon (Simon, 1952, p. 496)

To quote the Nobel Laureate Herbert Simon out of context is something of an injustice, for his remark was part of a long and very heated exchange between him and Dwight Waldo about the nature of research in public administration. Nevertheless, I take Simon's remark as the ground for my second point, for urging you—whatever your professional background or professional aspirations may be—to master as thoroughly as you can all the quantitative and qualitative methods that constitute part of your doctoral education. Quantitative methods are especially important. When I began doctoral study at UIS, I did not need to be convinced of that. Many years ago I took my first doctoral level methods course (at another

university) with a man who later became one of our most distinguished scholars in public policy. He and I were then young; we are the same age, I think, and I was his research assistant for a brief time. He taught a demanding methods course that pushed us through the production of a rigorous set of papers on survey design, questionnaire construction, data collection, cross-tabulation, analysis of variance, regression, some scaling techniques, and factor analysis. And all of that was done in the “ten easy weeks” of an academic quarter! With that course he won me over as a convert to quantification.

Following that excellent foundation there were, over the years, more graduate courses and seminars in statistics and research methods of various types. Thus, I came here as a committed “numbers cruncher” hoping to find a nice, neat quantitative dissertation topic that could be completed very quickly. I was approaching seventy at the time and the doctorate offered no professional advantages whatsoever. I was already a long-tenured professor with no plans to relocate; indeed, there were no professional plans at all except the not-very-pressing need to make a decision about when to retire. The task I had then set for myself was simply to complete the degree. Numbers I knew. And my long standing prejudice was that dissertation students entered a field of philosophy, theory, or history at their very great peril. Students entering those swamps, I thought, were unlikely ever to emerge. They would sink into the muck and never be heard from again. I was wrong. Coming to the doctoral program with a firm commitment to quantification, I left it as an historian of administrative theory and, perhaps, something of a theorist myself. The point upon which I must insist, however, is that you risk great peril to your education and your career if you neglect quantitative analysis. There are two reasons for this. The first reason is that I do not think that any of us today can be competent social scientists, no matter the specific field, unless we are thoroughly grounded in statistics and research methods. My students have often heard me say, “If you intend to pursue graduate studies in any of the social sciences and you can find a graduate program that does not require statistics and research methods, *do not go there* because that program will not properly prepare you for a career as a social scientist.” Even more important than the first reason, however, is the second: Quantitative analysis is not mere numbers crunching. It is a method of training the mind, a way of thinking, a process of thought and reflection that will serve you well, no matter what your future career paths may be.

III

Explain briefly but clearly the views of the following authors as they bear upon the relation between politics and administration and the nature of the administrative process: Aristotle, Hobbes, Alexander Hamilton, James Bryce.

—Ph.D. Examination question prepared by
Leonard White and Marshall Dimock,
University of Chicago, Summer, 1938
(Van Riper, 1984, p. 211).

The third point is this: Be prepared. Upon completion of your course work and just prior to beginning your dissertation you will come upon a rite of passage known as the preliminary examinations or general doctoral examinations. You should be forewarned that those

examinations are a challenge. They are a very *big* challenge. Yet they provide the opportunity for you and your teachers to discover both what you already know (i.e., what you have learned to that point in your studies) and what you can find out, and find out very quickly, under the intense pressure of limited time.

The examination question that White and Dimock prepared for students at the University of Chicago is not typical of doctoral examinations today. Most of us would not want to attempt it. While Aristotle, Hobbes, and Hamilton are familiar names, James Bryce—a very important historical figure—is no longer well known. Even the authors of the question are not likely to be known to beginning doctoral students. Leonard White was, however, a scholar of phenomenally wide accomplishments (White, 1933, 1939, 1953, 1942, 1956; White, et al., 1945) and a foundational figure in writing the history of public administration (White, 1948, 1951, 1954, 1958). Marshall Dimock was nearly equal to White in the range of his accomplishments (Dimock, 1937, 1958, 1959, 1962, 1963, 1980). Both had distinguished careers that greatly influenced both the academic world and the practical world of government, politics, and administration. The question that they propounded for their students was a difficult one, a question that reflected the intellectual preoccupation with history and political philosophy that characterized early twentieth-century doctoral study in public administration. One wonders what the other questions were.

But to be specific to our own time: Assume that your examination will be divided into two broad categories, the core curriculum and the areas of specialization. Assume further that you will have some, but very limited, choice within each category. Assume, finally, that the questions will, at the very least, surprise you and may well stun you. I recently took a look at the questions that were given to me. None were as formidable as the 1938 question that White and Dimock posed to Chicago students, although what became known in this department as the “Big Questions Question” was certainly very daunting. Nevertheless, there was only one question that I could answer based almost entirely on the knowledge gained in the doctoral course work. There was a second question that I could answer as a result of having lived long, having built a good library, and having taught public administration for much of my career. Those two questions gave me a chance to demonstrate what I already knew. For the remaining questions, I was much adrift and clearly had to demonstrate what I could find out. It was, as I have already indicated, a challenge, a very *big* challenge.

In confronting whatever questions are given to you, my advice is quite simple: Answer the questions *as they are!* Don’t attempt to re-write them to your own purposes. It won’t work. Answer each question, part by part, section by section. Make sure you don’t miss anything. *If ever in your lives there is a time to be systematic and methodical*, your preliminary or general doctoral examination is the time! “BS” has a meaning well known to you. To my students BS means “Be Specific.” That is my advice to you. *Be Specific*, be detailed, be thorough, be accurate. And for God’s sake, be organized and *watch the clock*. You cannot afford to run out of time with a question left dangling, half answered, confused, inchoatethe peril is incalculable, for no one wants to face those examinations more than once.

IV

Taking a couple of words from what I have just said, my fourth point is: *Be organized* in *all* that you do. If you have not already done so, design a way to organize your reading, your papers, your research notes, and—especially—those thoughts that come unbidden into your mind at strange hours of the night. Here are some examples:

- In the early 1970s a graduate school friend carried with him at all times a small note book which bore the title *TOAD – Thoughts on a Dissertation*. We had no laptops, computer notebooks, iPads, or the like. His spiral bound notebook was filled with handwritten notes on ideas about his dissertation project as the ideas occurred to him.
- Many of my best ideas come to me in the night, so I have long had my office number set for speed dial on the bedside phone. I roll over, dictate my thoughts into voice mail, and go right back to sleep. The next morning the idea can be filed, refined or, if it is especially inchoate, discarded.
- My research notes are filed in a 2 X N table. The cells of the first column contain a word, name, concept, idea. The cells of the second column contain all the research notes for that topic—including, of course, a citation for each note. The great advantage of such a table is that it is a simple matter to update it, no matter how long it gets. One must only highlight the first column and hit the re-alphabetize button.
- Use a commercial software package to manage your references. There are few things as frustrating to productive scholarship as not remembering the source of a note, quotation, or summary. *Case-in-point*: In preparing this lecture I had to delete a passage because I could no longer remember where I read it.
- Dissertations usually require a literature review. The great peril, here, is that literature reviews have the potential of attaining eternal life. The impulse is always to add to the review just a few more books or the most recently published article. Don't fall into that trap. A literature review *will* be unending unless you are well disciplined or one of your supervising professors says, "Enough, already!" and calls a halt to it.

To follow up that last point just a bit more, you might consider organizing your literature review in the form of a conceptual inventory (Phillips, 2009). In the cited example, the essentials of an extraordinarily long literature review are set out in compact tabular form. That same information in narrative form would be a dissertation in itself. And it would be incomplete. Literature reviews are ALWAYS incomplete. The conceptual inventory suggested here has been modified from a similar scheme found in Weimer and Vining (1998). I took that scheme and converted it into a conceptual inventory so that all the reference materials I found in which contemporary scholars made connections between the work of Mary Parker Follett and research in our own day could be conveniently arranged in one place (Phillips, 2009, 2010b).

If you do choose to develop a conceptual inventory for your dissertation, it will serve you well as a reference manual and guide to all of your research materials. Should the members of your supervising committee ask you to elaborate or expound upon an idea or concept, the references and citations that you need are easily at hand in your inventory. Even if this method is not

appropriate for your work, you must nevertheless find some other way to organize your materials. Disorganization can be far worse than a mere peril; it can be disastrous.

V

You are now about to embark on a course of studies which will occupy you for two years. Together, they form a noble adventure. But I would like to remind you of an important point. Nothing that you will learn in the course of your studies will be of the slightest possible use to you in after life, save only this, that if you work hard and intelligently you should be able to detect when a man is talking rot, and that, in my view, is the main, if not the sole, purpose of education.

—John Alexander Smith
Professor of Moral Philosophy
Oxford University, 1914

Perhaps you will have noticed that a subtext of what I have had to say has emphasized this “last chance” period of your *education*. My point in choosing the word *education* in preference to the word *training* surely results, in part, from the life-long convictions of a happy product of the great liberal arts tradition. In the very practical terms of our own day, however, I am confident in asserting that we cannot be *trained* for a profession at a static moment in time; *we must be educated for what that profession will become*. And we must be educated in such a way that we will be able to contribute to that profession across the full span of our careers.

Technological, cultural, scientific, and intellectual change are so continuously transforming us and the world in which we live that we would be well advised to remember Arthur Lee Burns’ (1968) description of such change as “perspective dissolving” and, mind you, he coined that phrase decades before we began travelling down the “information highway.” I offer you just three examples to support my assertion that Burns got it right when he argued that our historical perspective could be “dissolved” in just a flashing moment of technological change: First, remember that Zbigniew Brzezinski (1989) argued long ago that the implosion of the former USSR was in part due to information technology. It was also due to the burning desire of young Soviet citizens to hear Western-style music, to emulate Western styles of dress, and to enjoy freedom of thought and speech. He noted, too, that the circulation of ideas through crude methods of handwritten or mimeographed *Samizdat* production that a totalitarian state might well succeed in suppressing were supplanted by technological advances—fax machines, tape recorders, efficient and well-functioning long-distance telephone services—all of which were increasingly difficult to control. State controlled jamming of international systems of telecommunications such as television and radio that once had been a defining characteristic of totalitarian states became well-nigh impossible in the last two decades of the twentieth century.

Second, you surely do not need me to point out that the “Arab spring” of 2011 could not have happened so swiftly or so efficiently without the technologies of *Facebook*, email, and *Twitter*. For today’s younger generations, it must be noted, even email is thought to be *passé*! Third, the

fertile and creative mind of Steve Jobs—a mind much influenced, apparently, by a course in calligraphy—produced iPhones, iPods, and iPads that are praised as much for their artistry as for their technological sophistication. His work and that of other creative minds transformed our understanding of what was once thought of as “telecommunications.” Their work has also transformed personal interactions, real and virtual communities, and even the dynamics of whole societies. These, indeed, have been “perspective dissolving surprises.”

Your professions will evolve and change and will do so, I think, with great rapidity. So, to repeat myself, *you must be educated for what those professions will become*. To do so, it is post-graduate *education* at the highest level that you need. Rigorous doctoral study such as you now have before you is precisely the type of post-graduate education needed not only to thrive in a discipline and a profession but to build and shape its future.

VI

*This above all: To thine own self be true,
And it must follow, as the night the day,
Thou canst not then be false to any man.*
—Polonius to his son Laertes
Hamlet, Act 1, Scene 3

As my last point, I suggest to you that you be yourself in choosing your dissertation topic. There especially, it seems to me, you should heed Polonius’s advice—“to thine own self be true.” No doubt Polonius was an old windbag. No doubt we in our day misconstrue the true sense of the words Shakespeare put into his mouth. Nevertheless, the words now belong to history, the words are wise, and we today may interpret the words to our own purpose. Know what you can do best and do it. If you are unsure, *by all means give much weight to the advice that you get from your supervising committee*. Much as I have emphasized the importance of quantitative methods, I should also point out that the faculty of this university realized more quickly than I did, myself, that I could make a better contribution by working within my true *métier* rather than writing what I insisted that I would write, which was a quantitative dissertation on violence in the workplace, a topic notable above all for its lack of originality. An early draft of a dissertation proposal on that topic had some support from the faculty. *Some support*, please notice. It was not *enthusiastic* support! A more general opinion among my committee members was not very specific except to point out that I didn’t have to prove my quantitative skills and that my interests in history and theory might lead to a fruitful reexamination of public administration in the Progressive Era. As is often the case, others sometimes see more clearly than we ourselves can see what paths are likely to be the most fulfilling. A quantitative dissertation might well have been a quicker route to completing the degree but, once completed and filed away, it might well have been an intellectual dead end. By contrast, my work on Mary Parker Follett will keep me occupied as long as my mind works and my energies do not fail. So *be yourself, whoever you may be*. Nevertheless, do not fail to master those quantitative skills.

VII

*The fox knows many things, but the
hedgehog knows one big thing.
—Archilochus*

Having made my “last” point, there is nevertheless a long-established scholarly convention to observe. Tradition now makes it almost obligatory to conclude by offering suggestions for future research. If you really do choose history or theory or philosophy or administrative biography or some combination thereof for your dissertation research, I propose to you a short list of names important to public administration about whom I would be happy to be enlightened. Perhaps some work has been already done but, if so, I’ve not come across it. With the exception of Sir Asa Briggs’s wonderfully written biography of Seebohm Rowntree (Briggs, 1961), only biographical entries in dictionaries and encyclopedias have come to my attention, and those only incidentally. Here is my list: Henry C. Metcalf; Lyndall F. Urwick; Edward Cadbury; and Seebohm Rowntree.

Let me add just a few words about what I do know about these men, all of whom had some direct interest in scientific management. They all also have both personal and professional connections to Mary Parker Follett and her writings on administration and management. Metcalf was the early twentieth century’s great organizer of conferences for the development of a new science of management. He edited several important books in the 1920s and 1930s (Metcalf, 1925, 1926, 1927a, 1927b, 1931) and, along with Urwick, edited the first edition of Mary Follett’s collected papers (Metcalf & Urwick, 1941). Later still, with Fox, he edited the second edition of those papers (Fox & Urwick, 1973).

Urwick has been described as “the single most important figure in the development of modern management practice and thought” (Witzel, 2003, p. 299). And, as noted, he also has a direct connection to my work on Follett. Over a long and productive lifetime he wrote and published extensively in the field of management (Urwick, 1943, 1956a, 1957, 1956b; Urwick & Brech, 1949, 1951, 1957). In addition to co-editing Mary Follett’s collected papers with Fox and Metcalf, he edited a little known volume of Follett’s lectures at the London School of Economics (Urwick, 1949).

Cadbury is a fascinating figure. A Quaker chocolatier (as was Rowntree), he had a Quaker’s sincere concern for all society, but especially for women and the working poor (Cadbury, Matheson, & Shann, 1906; Cadbury & Shann, 1908). He understood and admired much in the scientific management movement but was resistant to the dehumanizing aspects of Taylorism. A forward thinking practical manager, one of his books (Cadbury, 1912) has been described as reading like a modern text on personnel management (Child, 1969, p. 36).

Rowntree’s Quaker principles led him, too, to resist the abuses he saw in Taylorism. More than that, his study of poverty in York is an early masterpiece of quantitative social research (Rowntree, 1901). Today we think sophisticated quantitative and statistical research methods are defining characteristics of our era. Yet Rowntree knew Karl Pearson well, understood his

statistical methods (this is 1901, mind you), but distrusted the principle of sampling. For that reason he had his research assistants survey *every working-class household in York* to gather the data needed for his study of poverty (Briggs, 1961). He then examined the returned survey instruments with great care and, for those that were shoddily done, he replaced the guilty research assistant with a more competent one and had those households resurveyed (Briggs, 1961). Now that is careful and thorough research! Cadbury and Rowntree were men of great wealth and power, their two firms dominating the world-wide chocolate market throughout much of the nineteenth century and late into the twentieth. Together, these men had great influence throughout the British industrial world; and Rowntree, who held high government office during the 1914-1918 World War, was also very influential in the United States. Studies of their managerial and administrative principles and practices would be important additions to the literature.

I recommend topics such as these to you for specific reasons. They are, first of all, quite out of the mainstream of scholarship. Getting out of the mainstream can be healthy and refreshing, although I must admit that it takes courage and determination. Second, these topics bring to mind an interesting thought about being true to yourself in scholarly approach. What are your interests? Are they broad or narrow? Do you want to dig deep into a narrow specialization or range more widely over a topic in public administration? Are you, in essence, a scholarly hedgehog or a scholarly fox and might your answer to that question affect your research agenda? The hedgehog and fox fable is, of course, from Archilochus, but it has attained wide scholarly currency in the work of Sir Isaiah Berlin (1970). The essential point is that the hedgehog knows one thing; the fox knows many. The dissertation topics I have suggested to you should appeal to the intellectual interests of researchers in both of those categories, the scholarly hedgehogs and the scholarly foxes.

I noted that all of these topics are related in one way or another to my own work on Mary Parker Follett and she is the perfect choice with which to illustrate my point. In coming to grips with Follett's work, scholarly hedgehogs can delight in exploring the complexities of late nineteenth and early twentieth century political pluralism (Follett, 1918), the minute details of the lives and reigns (the word is advisedly chosen) of Speakers of the House of Representatives (Follett, 1896), the world of Gestalt psychology (Follett, 1924); or the development of management as a profession (Follett, 1927a, 1927b, 1927c, 1927d, 1927e). Scholarly foxes can revel in all of those topics while at the same time exploring Follett's connection to the quite different attitudes toward management in Britain and the United States, the powerfully humanizing influence of Quaker industrialists in Britain, the intersection of religious beliefs and a willingness to adopt the techniques of scientific management or time and motion studies (Briggs, 1961; Farnham, 1921; Guillén, 1994; Tonn, 2003), or Follett's fascinating personal relationships with political, intellectual, and cultural élites on both sides of the Atlantic (Phillips, 2010b; Tonn, 2003). The list could go on, but I hope I have pointed out to you some interesting research directions. Pursuing these topics (or others that you discover for yourselves) with diligence and determination will result in important contributions to the discipline. I hope that I will sometime have the pleasure of reading the results of your research.

In closing, I must tell how grateful I am to the Dean for honoring me with the invitation to deliver this lecture and to you for your warm reception. I hope that some of these comments will help you along the path of your doctoral studies. I wish you well in those studies and in the contributions you will make to the discipline and practice of public administration in the future.

Acknowledgements

The author is greatly indebted to Matthew Holden, Jr., for setting in motion the events leading to this article and to Pinky Wassenberg, William Miller, and the first-year doctoral students for a warm reception and thoughtful questioning. He is similarly indebted to Barbara Ferrara, Michael McKenna and Brent Never for wise advice, to Meredith Newman and Shawn Nokes for reasons too numerous to list, and to *Public Voices*' anonymous referees for their helpful suggestions.

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Brutally Revealing: Voices Rising Out of San Quentin State Prison

Diane Ketelle

A thin grey shroud of soot envelopes our shoreline where once lingered only the smell of salt spray and the cleansing breath of morning fog. I am a tiny morsel lodged in the mouth of the monster sprung up from within our land. If I can bide my time, an occasional yawn might allow me to step through its lips. Should I linger too long I will slide down its throat the way countless others have before me. A ravenous feeding frenzy visited upon our countryside has allowed a once tiny canker worm to morph into a hideous Gollum – like an eating machine. Bigger and bigger piles of humanity must continually be offered up to appease the growing form within its bowels. The ever present fear, here in its mouth, is knowing once we slop down its throat, there will be no coming back. Every time we feel the further packing of fodder into its cavernous hole, we know it is just a matter of time before we are excreted into pauper's graves to make room for more. Men have died and worms have eaten them, but not for love. Please, don't let me slide into the belly of the beast (Tannenbaum, 2009).

In this untitled short story by Tommy Tannenbaum, one of the students in my Write Your Life class at the infamous San Quentin Prison in Marin County, California, the fear of falling into the belly of the beast is an apt metaphor for both his drug addiction and time in prison. At age 11, Tommy began experimenting with marijuana and prescription pills he got from his mother's purse. By 13 he was an established pot head, and at 18 he was hooked on heroin. When I met him, he was 22. Paroled in 2010, I now worry that he has fallen even more deeply into the belly of the beast, for programs to support drug addicted parolees have been eviscerated by the knives of deep budget cuts. The economic downturn in California has only compounded the absence of services for parolees and threatens the likelihood that they will return to prison shortly after their release. Data on attrition rates are startling. A 2010 study by the California Department of Corrections and Rehabilitation (Egelko, 2010) reinforces my fears by finding that most California parolees are back in prison in three years, that 70% of imprisonments over the past three years were for parole violations rather than convictions and that the highest recidivism rate, 75% over three years, was for parolees ages 24 and younger.

Reading and Writing in Prison

Scholarship about U.S. prisoner's reading and writing practices is somewhat rare. Cummins

(1994) analyzed the roles that reading and writing played in men's prisons in California from the 1950s to 1970s. Leder (2000) studied men in a Maryland prison reading such texts as Nietzsche, Foucault and Heidegger and analyzed the insights that emerged as prisoners read. Trounstein and Waxler (2005) discuss the aims and methods of a program that provides nonviolent offenders the chance to participate in a literature seminar rather than spending time in jail. Holloway (2006) considers the reading practices of four prominent prisoners: Eldridge Cleaver, Malcolm X, Claude Brown and Angela Davis. More recently, Sweeney (2010) examined how incarcerated women use reading materials to come to terms with their pasts while negotiating their present.

The writing workshop project described in this paper derives more specifically from projects such as Wally Lamb's work with the women at the York Correctional Institution (Lamb & the Women of the York Correctional Institution, 2003), Mark Salzman's (2003) documentation of his work in Los Angeles Central Juvenile Hall, Eve Ensler's (1998) work with women at the Bedford Hills Correctional Facility in New York and the work of Aarons, Smith and Wagner (2009) in juvenile halls.

Writing in prison can have therapeutic value as it encourages inmates' to focus their energy in light of their intense need for diversion and escape. The writing workshop I teach does not require inmates to know, admit or discuss anything outside of what they might wish to share. The process of writing bypasses rigid defenses developed in the prison environment and inmates are able to write and share without being left vulnerable. Writing, in this way, helps inmates who participate to escape the monotony and boredom of prison life while offering the opportunity to reflect on their lived experience.

Teaching the Class

At 5:30AM, I bump around my small apartment feeling for the black baggy pants, black top, boots and jacket that I put out the night before. I leave Pleasant Hill, a community only 30 miles from San Quentin and in sharp contrast to that ominous piece of "prime" real estate that houses convicted criminals as well as innocent men whose lives will be forever shaped by the ugly, cold and uncompromising conditions. When I leave, darkness looms in a rather unsettled morning sky. On the way, I pick up my colleague Anita Sufi. A former prison educator, Anita is a Punjabi Sikh immigrant from Canada. She now lives in a West Oakland neighborhood rife with the conditions that send men to prison, and many of the San Quentin parolees live there with relatives as well. In the past year, she has seen four parolees from our class walking in her neighborhood; another lives in an apartment close by.

Invariably, the discussion during our thirty minute drive to San Quentin focuses on the students, our concerns and sometimes the absolute awe that comes with reading their works. Often times, the students' writings reflect their immediate state of mind and not so well being. Our discussion focuses on John Williams. He has been distancing himself in class. It is not unusual for the students to seek and dwell in another zone, for their writing can be so brutally revealing. Our attempts to secure psychiatric referrals are sometimes rejected by the inmates themselves. They generally do not want to see the psychiatrist because the main treatment is the prescribing of psychotropic drugs like Prozac or Zoloft. While Anita and I want to see the inmates get

counseling, we realize that this really is not valued by the inmates. Often finding ourselves frustrated by this, we adjust our thinking based on the fact that the outside values are not parallel to the thinking of the staff, the administration or the prisoners themselves.

We take the San Quentin turn off and navigate toward the Q, as it is sometimes known. This luxurious piece of real estate with its own zip code sits on the San Francisco Bay with a commanding view of the Bay Area. As part of digging California out of its economic hardship, former Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger wanted to sell this property to developers who would be eager to build expensive condominiums (LA NOW, 2010). Built in 1852, San Quentin is the oldest, largest and only death row prison for men in California. It merits noting that in America there is a distinction between *prison* and *jail*. Jails mainly hold those awaiting trial and are administered at the county level, while prisons hold convicted offenders as a punishment and are administered by the state and federal governments.

Part of teaching at the prison is navigating all of the absurdities placed in the way, for both the prisoners and us as teachers. Anita and I have had to become very strategic in our approaches not only in how we teach but also how we engage with the administration. From being “hit on” by guards to going through exhaustive searches of our belongings, we endure a lot to get to the classroom.

In a compelling piece of reflective writing, Ernie Fischer, a 50 year-old incarcerated for drug dealing, writes about the daunting will and incredible energy it takes to survive in prison:

Things only get worse when you get off the bus. The guard says, “What’s up Fischer? Been a while since I’ve seen your flavor around here. You know the routine.” I do know the routine, which means getting unchained, uncuffed, and stripped down—hands, ears, lift your ball sack, turn around, bend, spread, and cough. They look in places only God should see. You then see the doctor, the shrink, get finger printed, your name gets changed to a number, you put on an orange jump suit, and you’re corralled into housing with all the others.

This place sucks the life out of me. All the color drains away. All the flavors are gone. It’s a struggle everyday when you’re 50 years-old and have your third number to not think of yourself as a three time loser. Things get better as your release date gets closer. I know then I will start smelling freedom. The struggle of freedom and all it represents will bring life back to my bones, color into my face, and fragrance into my lungs. I’m three months away from release, and I smile a little more every day. I can already feel the flow, the music and the magic that freedom represents (Fischer, 2008).

Ernie grew up in the Midwest amidst the complexities of a family where his father told him and his siblings his mother was dead. His distraught mother was committed to an asylum after he and his siblings were taken by his father. All of this happened for Ernie when he was only seven and still making his way in the formative stages of childhood. Pain has pieced his life together. When Ernie was paroled, he just vanished and the secret lifeline maintained by inmates about their fellow inmates has yet to turn up a trace of him. Thoughts of him still haunt me for his pain, sadness, and struggle to survive came through in his writing so clearly. In the beginning, his

writing was reflective and then he wrote a dialog focusing on a conversation with his mother. He continued to write, sharing stories about being sexually abused as a young boy. It was brave to write those stories in a “correctional” setting and demonstrated something at the core of his inner strength. He was the only student in our class who boldly revealed the reality of being sexually abused.

The 1971 Stanford Prison Experiment (Zimbardo, Haney, Banks & Jaffe, 1973) illustrated the downward spiral both staff and inmates can find themselves in when individuality and dignity are stripped away in the midst of loosening social and moral values. Nobel Prize winner Alexandr Solzhenitsyn (1976) offers a literary view of this phenomenon by exploring the Russian prison system as a gulag, while sociologist Erik Olin Wright (1997) argues prisons can be viewed as a modern form of genocide removing the most unwanted and least privileged from society. Yet another point of view comes from Angela Davis (2003), a political and social activist who in 1971 was charged as an accomplice to conspiracy, kidnapping and murder. Davis was acquitted in June of 1972 and remains a major voice in the prison reform movement. She vigorously continues to argue that modern prisons are a new age form of slavery. She speaks “of passionately attending to the needs of prisoners” (p. 103), including improved physical and mental health care, greater access to drug programs, better educational and work opportunities, and more connections to family and communities while “call[ing] for alternatives to sentencing altogether, no more prison construction, and abolitionist strategies that question the place of the prison in our future” (p. 103).

David’s writings provide a lens into the knuckle bearing hurdles inmates face as well as a way of examining what Solzhenitsyn, Wright and Davis are saying in their literary and scholarly works. David Marsh, a 50 year-old armed robber who grew up in Idaho recalls the absurdity:

The TVs are all gone. The 30 or so personal TVs, once scattered through the dorm of 200 people, have disappeared, vanished without a trace. The TVs fell victim to a new rule – the no more personal TVs rule. It’s always a new rule. No walking on the dirt rule, carry your I.D. to chow rule, tuck your shirt in rule, two in the bathroom at a time rule, the phone rules, shower rules, bed visiting rules, mail rules, your curtain rules, the shirt in the day room rule, the domino slam rule, the fence rule, the clothesline rule, the lavatory bucket rule, the supply issue rule, the soap and razor rule, the excess property rule, the container rule, the engraved property rule, the altered property rule, the sagging rule, the no kissing your visitor more than ten seconds rule, the sit up during count rule, the 10 CDs rule, the 6 cubic feet rule, the noise rule, the obeying a direct order rule, the glove rule, the out of bounds rule, the weight bag rule, the red tennis shoe rule, the blue tennis shoe rule, the canteen rule, the quarterly package rule, the ducket pass rule, tattoo rules, tobacco rules, contraband rules, lights on and off rules, stay out of the doorway rules, over familiarity rules, no horse play rules, fighting rules, - Oh it’s just always one more rule! I’m doing good today. I only broke 44 rules, but I didn’t have a visitor (Marsh, 2010).

As dehumanizing and absurd as all of this is, David is able to extract humor from these most horrifically painful experiences. The humorous twist does not override the cynical tone. Just like David, at this point Anita and I remain clear that we are tap dancing through a culture of

oppressive and endless rules. Staff and inmates can find themselves in a downward spiral when individuality and dignity are stripped away in the midst of loosening social and moral values, and in the stories written by John, David, Ernie and Tommy this is often reflected. Our students' stories are often elegant, full of metaphor and a longing to be free of the psychotic inducing hassles of daily prison life.

We teach the Write Your Life class in the H-Unit, which requires a drive around the main prison complex. When we get to the back of the prison, we park in the gravel parking lot. Then we load Anita's green cargo pants with what we need to teach class for the day. She can get a lot into her pants – index cards, essays, pens, paper, and even journals have all made their way to class in her pockets. As a result of a guard removing teaching materials from me, we have learned to use our clothing to house our materials, making it less likely for them to be taken.

We ask the guards to announce the class over the loud speaker, and it takes only a few minutes for students to start appearing. Lavion comes in with a cup of coffee, Jason and Johnny follow, Mr. Roe and Barry are walking across the yard in sight, and several other students are arriving, so we start class. We begin by talking about what they have control over. It is a free writing exercise and everyone participates. When the writing stops, some begin to share. A couple of students *think* they have control over their bodies, and a few others *think* they control their minds.

Lavion Brown is 30 years old and was involved with a gang in Bakersfield where he sold drugs. When his mother died a decade ago, not a single tear formed in his eyes. Since joining the Write Your Life class, he has evolved as a poet and the transformation feeds his soul:

*My whole world done come to an end
Not like I just lost my best friend, but like my mind, my body, heart, and soul are frozen
deep within
I've never felt so lost
The thoughts I have are like a scrambled word up for toss
It's deeper than deep
The feeling I feel is a frog can't leap
My heart and soul are aching
It's like a mother lost her child
Or a sinful person at the gates whose been forsaken
I said it's deeper than deep
I never thought I could feel so steep
I hope it's a dream
But I realize I'm crying in reality
I really dislike feeling this way
But, hey, everything happens for a reason
So, what can I say?
I constantly pray for a better day
With high hopes and strong faith that the sun will shine my way
Until that day I'll be losing some sleep
Cause I stay thinking about you and this shit is*

*Deeper than deep
Like the depths of the sea or a person who can't see
The way I feel is out of misery
But I know one day my heart will leap with a God given joy and words I can't speak
Until that day I'll be held by my feet
Under a pool of water
Now that's deeper than deep (Brown, 2009).*

When he was done reading, Donnie related to Lavion's poem by envisioning "deeper than deep" as being held underground in a dark, cold, deep place, forgotten and lost. Lavion listened to the comments carefully and talked about how he really liked that everyone hears something different when students read their work. We encourage students to connect their experience to what they hear in a story in order to extract deeper, more personal meaning.

One week we assigned a dialogue, and when we arrived the next week, we were surprised to find that everyone was ready. With the enthusiasm of children, the men pushed back the desks to make a stage and swept the front of the class to prepare. One by one, they presented their work with a partner selected before class. Most of the dialogues focused on talking with a parent. Josh Todd, who is bipolar and incarcerated for domestic abuse, asked me to read the part of his mother.

(Conversation on the telephone)

Mom: Hello Josh.

Josh: Are you there Mom?

Mom: Yes, I am here, but I do not want to talk to you right now because I am very angry at the mess you are currently in.

Josh: I understand that you are very upset with me for violating my felony probation a second straight time. However, this is a 3-way call because I need your help with something.

Mom: I am not going to help you with anything that you need assistance with.

Josh: Can you please come down to the jail and pick up my clothes and property, so this stuff does not get thrown away in the garbage after I am transported to prison?

Mom: I already told you Josh, I am not going to rush to your rescue this time because you need to figure things out yourself.

Josh: The jail or prison is going to throw my belongings in the trash if you do not come and retrieve everything.

Mom: You worry too much about material things in your life instead of focusing on the legal problems that you are currently going through.

Josh: Mom, all you have to do is come to the jail this evening before 10PM to claim my belongings. I need your help. I am very scared.

Mom: Your legal mess is completely not my fault. Stop expecting me to fix all the little loose ends in your messed up life.

Josh: What the heck am I supposed to do? I have no one who will come and pick up my property.

Mom: If your stuff gets thrown away, oh well.

Josh: You said you would always be there for me in my life when I needed you. Why are you all of a sudden changing your mind about helping me in a time of need?

Mom: I have been there for you enough in your life. It is now time for you to take responsibility for the negative choices that you have made.

Josh: Did you receive the two letters I sent you?

Mom: Yes. I did receive the letters, but I chose not to come and visit you because I do not want to contribute to your ongoing legal affairs.

Josh: I haven't seen you since September 2007. I love you and miss you very much.

Mom: You have made your bed, sleep in it (Todd, 2009).

Josh's mother abused him mentally, physically and sexually over years and any exchange, fictional or real time, would be laden with unresolved, deeply embedded angst and lingering scars. Josh was often teetering on the brink of despair, but writing this dialogue seemed to free him momentarily, helping him step back to see his relationship with his mother through another lens. He was happy after he read his dialogue. For Anita and me, his joy was awkward and disjointed, but he learned something that gave him comfort.

Anita and I have become skilled at taking away the fear of writing. Our knowledge has come from years of practice, creative pedagogy and a series of exercises structured to support these men. Although the core of our curriculum reflects constructivist pedagogy, Anita and I keep it fluid based on feedback from our students and the "life" of the writing that comes through in the stories. Pour your words onto the paper and do not hold your thoughts or words in judgment. Let the ink flow instead of blood. We stress the importance of not picking topics to please us. Instead they should write what they know, feel and have experienced. That does not mean we discourage fantasy or the outrageous use of the imagination. Our big thing is to discourage nothing. Listening for words rather than judgment is important. Getting the inmates to formulate the power of their ideas, thoughts and feelings and putting those ideas onto paper is one of our primary objectives. We do all we can to prevent prison politics from obstructing our goals and those of our students, but there are times, and far too many of them, when we face walls we simply cannot climb.

Unlike the resource-rich surroundings in which I teach at Mills College, we have to scout for space almost every time in order to teach our class. Sometimes there are tuberculosis outbreaks, riots, or lockdowns that prevent us from teaching. Despite all the hurdles and hassles, we are barraged with emails from the administration noting that inmates continue to request the class when we have to skip a week of instruction.

Our students are primarily African American and Latino. In the United States, the differential rate of imprisonment of African-Americans to Caucasians, proportional to population is in excess of 7.5 to 1 (US Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2010). The differential rate of imprisonment of Latinos to Caucasians is about 5 to 1 (US Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2010). Stevie's poem, "So Much Depends On," reflects this statistic in the opening line: "First sin, Black skin."

Once class begins, we can have a steady stream of potential students banging on the door wanting to join. For men already in class, each seems to get up to go to the toilet at least three or

four times in a two hour period. Many get up to throw paper in the garbage or to walk to the door and study what is going on outside. All the motion is due to attention issues, and we have learned to ignore it. I used to be surprised when I asked a question and every hand in the room would shoot up, with a room full of grown men pleading, “Me, me, me, please.” For many of our students this is the first positive learning experience they have had.

Lessons Learned

I have learned a great deal about myself as a teacher through my work at San Quentin. I have learned to be generous, which means I work a lot harder to not make assumptions about what students *should know* and instead I listen to *what they do know*. I have also learned to be generous to myself. This means I allow myself to enjoy the teaching, despite the relentless challenges. I also encourage my students to be generous with themselves: I want them to love their work, respect the effort and continue to find their way beyond judgment, something many will have to wear the burden of for the rest of their lives.

Attempting to analyze students’ intentions proved to be burdensome, and an obstruction along the path to communicating effectively as a teacher. A great deal more time is now devoted to engaging students in understanding the process of writing. Identifying the steps in the process has proven to be far more productive than creating “the fix.”

Forgiveness is also part of my teaching at the prison. I try to accept my students and all they offer. This means I also have to accept myself. I try to be empathic and understand that each student is coming to class with his unique story. I cannot know each story in detail, but I know it is in the room and knowing that is very important. Those stories separate the men one from another, but the stories also thread their lives into a sometimes unraveling tapestry.

We are all better than the worst thing we have done. I do not want to be judged based on the worst aspects of myself, and I try to remember that my students do not want that either. Teaching has to transcend the superficial and serve as a kind of connective tissue into the fabric of our shared humanity.

Bill Williams, a student who attended class for more than a year before he considered writing or sharing his stories, let me know how he experienced the struggle of placing his voice on the page and beyond himself:

I originally intended to take this class, as a last step toward my rehabilitation. The idea of writing about my life makes my life inescapable. I live in a permanent state of escape by occupying my time so that I don't have to reflect. This is a trick I play on myself. It's an easy way to do time, but it comes at the cost of being disconnected, which has happened to me. I have only 20 weeks left at San Quentin. In the coming weeks I will begin to write the stories of my life so that I may put the pieces together in an effort to settle my own past in order to build a future on it (Williams, 2009).

Writing gave him a chance to come to grips with some of the trauma driving his attempts to heal deep wounds and not allow the scars to define all of who he is. Through working with Bill, and scores of others, I have come to know that teaching at San Quentin is ultimately about helping others free themselves from the shackles of fear.

My partnership with Anita has taught me about true collaboration. And although I fear that Tommy Tannenbaum may slop down the throat of the monster into the belly of the beast, I continue teaching because hundreds of students like Tommy, John, Ernie, David, Lavion, Josh, Stevie and Bill have helped me rediscover my passion for teaching in the merciless, gut wrenching environment of San Quentin State Prison.

From the outside looking in, we might assume that the administration of a prison would not necessarily allow for the kind of expression generated in this project. Based on what I have learned, the writing produced in this effort has touched upon, elicited, and engaged the part of prisoners' selves that is common to us all. Because autobiographical narratives are always stories about our shared social world, the prisoners' efforts to restore their lives draws attention to the need to create a new narrative around prisons in our society – to imagine and to work to create social justice instead of imprisonment. Writing about my work at San Quentin State Prison has deepened my sense of how important it is to illuminate the stories of prisoners and to foster their participation in conversations that usually take place without them. It is through highlighting prisoners' efforts to develop self-knowing and a sense of agency that a greater challenge to the orthodoxy of imprisonment can be located.

Author's Acknowledgement

I would like to thank Anita Sufi and all the wonderful students who have passed through my class at San Quentin State Prison. I would also like to thank Daphne Muse for her feedback at multiple stages in the development of this manuscript and Greg Tanaka of Mills College for his careful reading of this work and thoughtful suggestions.

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Note

The names used in this paper have been changed to protect the identities of the inmates.

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Fiction

Nobody to Run to Anymore

Jeff Guiler and Darlene Motley

My name is Joe Florence. I have been a city employee for 39 years. I have been a supervisor for 15 years. My Dad was a city employee for 33 years before me, and I followed him into city government thanks to having a connection. When I finished college, I took a position in city government that did not report to my dad. I worked my way up the ladder supporting the folks in power. I worked for an elected official who was allowed to appoint new employees, just as many other elected officials could do. Many of these appointed employees had ties to the elected official and owed their future to the “Boss” who was put in that position by the voters.

(How the “System” worked)

Things worked well under this system when you were an employee. Nobody bothered you, and if some supervisor came along and leaned on you all I did was mention my Dad’s name and his connection and that was the end of it. It got tougher, however, when I became a supervisor myself. Now that I was trying to get the city’s work done, the same stuff would be used against me. I would ask somebody to make a change or work a little faster and the next thing I knew, I would get a call from Jack, my Boss, saying, “Leave Mike alone. You know who his uncle is, don’t you?” I’d have to find some other way of completing my responsibilities. Mostly, I muddled through, often having to tie up loose ends myself. I also had to remember that these folks had been my coworkers for many years and I had used the system the same way.

(The “Family”)

My coworkers and the people I supervised were like a family to me. That family meant a lot to me. We went to ball games together, attended each others’ weddings and christenings and had cook-outs all summer. I also ate lunch with them every day. It was sort of a trade-off. They really didn’t do what I told them to do, but I had a great group of friends. Once in awhile, I would get totally frustrated, especially when I had to stay late to get somebody else’s work done. There would be a deadline to be met, but my “friends/employees” never seemed to really care. They would stroll out the door at 5:00 and be on their way home or out to happy hour, and I’d be stuck finishing their work. The next day I would bring this to their attention and get no particular

response. Once I was told, “That’s what you make the big bucks for, Joe.” I was also told, “Take it up with our Boss, but you know where that will take you.”

(The Backyard Brawls)

The Backyard Brawls were a long time tradition in our city offices. They were started by my Dad in a field behind our family home. It was originally a touch football game when mostly men worked in the offices. It started as a friendly competition between the Clerks of the Courts and Prothonotary’s Office vs. the Wedding, Dog and Hunting/Fishing License folk. Over the years it grew to include families who came out to enjoy the games. Today it involves six or eight full day picnics a year as well as parties on St. Patrick’s Day and during Christmas week. We’ve all worked together for so long that everybody knows what to do for each event. Whether it’s touch football, softball, or parties, it’s always a great time. New hires join in quickly and the welcome mat is always out to retirees and their families. The events long ago got too large for the field behind my father’s house. For the picnics, we get a free grove at the city park since we are city employees. There is also a barn at the park for the parties. It’s always a great time “every time,” and now my wife and I are the keepers of the tradition.

(The Big Change)

Last January 1, the world as we know it changed. Up until that time, we reported to the elected politician in charge, Jack, and that was the end of it. Last January, the elected officials were eliminated and a city manager was appointed to head up the courts and city offices. The seven elected positions were eliminated, and the newly appointed official became responsible for all the functions formerly accomplished by the offices of the elected officials. I had no idea what to expect. We met the new city manager that afternoon and learned our world as supervisors was going to be turned upside down.

(The Union Contract)

In our first meeting, the new city manager explained that all our employees would now be subject to the terms and conditions of the city labor agreement with the local public sector employees’ union. While our employees had always been covered under the contract, the employees hired by the former elected official had always been considered “outside” the agreement and under the purview of the elected official. No one could ever remember a grievance being filed by any of the employees in this category.

As of last January 1, we were told the employees and the city would follow the terms and conditions set out in the negotiated labor agreements, as did other city employees. In addition, employees with complaints were now to file grievances through their union representatives and these grievances were to be heard by a representative of the city on a timely basis. The response from the city was subject to further discussion in the grievance procedure with an appeal to the

city manager. If this appeal failed to resolve the issues, the matter could be taken to arbitration and submitted to an outside party.

This whole procedure was a dramatic change from the former elected official having the final word. It also ended for us as supervisors having to worry about who was related to whom and the possible impact of disciplining one of our employees. There remained, however, a big question for me. While I recognized we needed to embrace these changes in how we operate, and I even saw the value of doing this, what would happen when I had my first issue with an employee under the new system?

("Nobody to run to!!") January 4

It happened sooner than I thought it would. On January 4, I noticed one of the license clerks, Paul, being a little rough on one of the customers who was attempting to purchase a dog license. The customer did not have a decent collar on which to affix the license and Paul was insisting the man go out and buy a collar. The dog owner felt that this was not his problem. He responded to Paul, "If the city wants my dog to have a collar, the city should provide it. Who's your Boss?" That was it. Paul raised his voice yelling, "None of your business!" and I stepped in and excused Paul from the situation. I handled the customer with the help of Sally, another coworker, and the customer was on his way with his new license. I then asked Paul if he would step into my office.

Once Paul was seated, I shut the door and quietly asked him if he was ready to talk about what had just happened.

Paul responded, "I sure am. You made me look like a fool out there!"

Joe: "I'm not sure I follow you."

Paul: "Let me fill in the blanks for you. You went over and pulled Sally in to handle my customer. I knew what I was doing, and you have no right to horn in on my customer. I've been here longer than you."

Joe: "Paul, I stepped in because I heard you raise your voice to the individual who asked about getting a dog license. Do you remember this customer and the situation?"

Paul: "I sure do. What slob. The man and the dog. Didn't even have a decent collar to put the dog's license on and then, when I told him he needed a collar, you butted in. Do you remember when we shared the same counter together all those years before you became a supervisor? I taught you the ropes, and now you butt into my work and then have the nerve to bring over Sally, a little upstart kid who has only been here six years, to take care of my customer."

Joe: "I am aware of what I did. I did so, however, because you were raising your voice to this client."

Paul: "I sure did! Nobody tells me that the city should be responsible for his dog's collar. In addition, where does he get off being disrespectful to a city employee? By calling over Sally, you let him get away with it. Where do you get off making me look like a fool? When you got the job with the city years ago, who taught you the ropes? I did, sitting right at that counter with you. If Jack were still here, I'd be right in his office letting him know what an ingrate you are. I'd also be reminding him of who I know around here and how they can make life difficult for supervisors who are too big for their britches."

Joe: "Paul, you are missing the point of our discussion. You raised your voice in an unprofessional manner to a client who is also a taxpayer. We are here to serve, not lecture our clients. If the dog had a ratty collar, it is not your place to instruct the client to buy a new collar. All we are supposed to do is log in the name and address and issue the license. By raising your voice you forced me to step in and basically separate you from the client to end the argument. That is why I asked Sally to finish up the transaction."

Paul: "Listen, Joe, we've been together here 37 years. You know sometimes these folks, clients you call them, get way out of line. I don't care if they are taxpayers. It is our job to keep control out there. I remember once when you lost it with one of the folks years ago. I don't remember what the problem was, but you raised your voice. I remember it. You've got no right pulling me in on the carpet when you are no angel yourself."

Joe: "I admit I may have had a bad day now and then, but it does not excuse your current behavior. This is not the first time I've seen you lose your patience with a customer. You have lost it before with customers, but I feel, if we are ever going to solve your anger problem, I am going to have to commence a record of these incidents in your file. This type of anger with the clients cannot continue."

Paul: "Joe, we've been friends for a long time. We were at the first backyard brawl in your father's back yard. We won. Do you remember that day?"

We've been lunch buddies for a long time. We've gone deer hunting together every fall and gone trout fishing on the first day of the season, no matter how nasty the weather. Our kids grew up together. Remember the time we all went to the beach together and our daughters fell in love with the same life guard? I don't feel a write-up is the way to go. I'll try to stay in control, but these folks, clients as you call them, need to be kept in line or they will be running the city."

Joe: "I hear what you are saying but you still leave me no choice. I am going to begin keeping a file on your anger with clients and if I do not see this behavior cease, I will be mandating you to the city Employee Assistance Program for anger management."

Paul: "I can't believe you. First you make a fool out of me in public and now you're writing me up. If Jack were still here, this would not be happening. He'd be on top of you real quick reminding you the way things work around here. I'm not sure what I'm supposed to do now that Jack's gone I've got no one to run to. You can be sure I'll figure out something. I tell you one thing. I'm not signing any write-up either!"

Joe: “Paul, you do what you feel you must do.”

This case is an example of the changes that supervisors and union employees are continuing to face in the seemingly ever evolving environment of the public sector. The prior culture of favoritism, nepotism, and political patronage is no longer a relevant or appropriate (if ever) model. This still heavily unionized part of the country has been slower to develop changes seen elsewhere in the country and in government structure. Relationships still mean a lot and carry weight even when affecting performance and the way work gets done.

The State Supreme Court still has not prohibited nepotism, and there seems to be little likelihood that the State Judicial Conduct Board could file formal charges when such events occur. With this loophole, it is still a challenge to address performance and equity issues when personal networks have proven so strong. A recent 2012 case about a judge hiring family members and eliminating another position while retaining the family members exemplifies this situation. While the state will likely incur additional costs related to the laid-off employee, this glaring issue is not being addressed by the legislature.

This paper exemplifies numerous human resource and organizational behavior issues that arise when changes occur. The current issues regarding these sectors as identified recently in Wisconsin and Ohio as well as Pennsylvania dramatically demonstrate the difficulties of change of any kind in the government/public sector. This has been particularly true in areas where the management-labor relationship has sometimes been adversarial. On the other hand, the public voice is getting heard. We have long-standing career politicians being challenged in terms of the work they have their employees do and how this time should be viewed and paid (see recent issues for Pennsylvania legislators).

In this case, the organization has to determine the process that enables people to move from the original structure that was based upon the elected officials and the power residing with them to a more proletariat format where managers and supervisors are expected to develop, monitor and assess employee performance and behavior in an unbiased and supportive manner. The structure is different. Requirements and expectations have changed, at least at the top. Joe and Paul, as well as others like them, will have to make adjustments. Joe, from his management perspective and experience, understands the changes that are taking place and expectations that align with them.

Additionally, in this case, while Joe has had 15 years of experience as a city supervisor, Paul still sees him as just one of the guys; one he trained no less! With the change in structure, Joe is now ready to utilize more of the authority and power vested in him in the new work hierarchy and he has “jumped in feet first.”

While this incident affords him the opportunity to establish new boundaries and requirements for his subordinates, he has to consider the history of the public organization and how challenges were previously handled. Who you know and who your relatives are made a definite difference in how issues were handled.

Paul, on the other hand, expects no changes. Despite what is actually occurring, he anticipates no need for a change nor disruption in his workplace. Paul is going to test these new constraints and what the new rules and structure really mean to him and his fellow employees. He is angry about the way he was treated and views Joe as stepping on his toes, and not being a good supervisor.

In this scenario, perhaps Joe proceeded too rapidly and should have told Paul what he will need to do in the future. Times have changed, and Joe has responded and adjusted to these changes. Paul has not and has no expectations of change. Joe could put a note in Paul's file that he talked to Paul about his behavior toward customers and set up a plan of action. This situation does enable Joe's superiors to determine how they also will follow the new process and what precedent they will set. Certainly, there will need to be a transition period for employees, supervisors, and managers.

This also indicates that training needs to be conducted in how the new organization will operate and what the chains of command are. Additionally, the employees also need to identify with whom they discuss their concerns and problems. This can have impact on the human resources department and the professionals in this part of the organization's offices.

Organizational change is rarely easy, particularly when people lose power in the change. Helping everyone understand how the new format improves the success, productivity and performance of the organization, thus translating into a stronger workplace for them, will be critical.

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Governing Fables: Learning from Public Sector Narratives

By Sandford Borins, University of Toronto
Information Age Publishing, 2011

Reviewed by Charles T. Goodsell

This volume is about narratives in the public sector. In serious usage, “narrative” refers to the implicit ordering structure embedded in depictions of events or actions occurring over time. Successful storytelling in general requires a narrative, an example being the typical nightstand mystery whereby the blonde bombshell presents an insouciant private eye with a problem that turns out more convoluted than expected.

Professor Borins does our field a service by applying this notion to the representations of organizational and personal events occurring in government, politics and public administration. In so doing, he moves far beyond previous attempts to analyze how our field is portrayed in fiction, film and case studies.

Borins goes to considerable lengths to erect a conceptual framework for his undertaking. Drawing from the work of the Dutch scholar Mieke Bal and Russian folk tale student Vladimir Propp, he advances three interrelated concepts. One is a distinction between fable and narrative, adapted with some alteration from Bal. This is akin to the distinction between the building block and the building; the fable is the basic plot idea used, and the narrative is how that idea is unfolded in a particular linear account. Second is the notion of polyphony or multivocality. This refers to the likelihood that multiple strands permeate the narrative structure, whether internally through competing themes or externally by alternate ways of telling the same story. The third major concept is the notion of identifiable recurring types of standard plot, or fable. Although Propp discerned 31 generic plotlines in Russian folk tales, Borins presents four in this book. They are summarized in the table below.

	Personal growth of the protagonist	Personal decline of the protagonist
Organizational renewal	<i>Heroic</i>	<i>Sacrificial, Retributive</i>
Organizational decline	<i>Ironic</i>	<i>Tragic, Satirical</i>

The two variables of status of protagonist and organization suit Borin's purpose in applying narrative analysis to public life by pointing to the interaction of key principals and organizations they affect. The types of creative representation he analyzes for this purpose are films, novels, television programs and memoirs.

The northwest and southeast cells of the matrix are consistent in valence in that the fables are consistently good or bad. In the northwest cell, personally growing leaders are able to transform dire situations, as happened with Winston Churchill in wartime Britain. In the opposing southeast cell the outcome can be tragic, as in *All the King's Men* modeled on Huey Long in Louisiana. This fable can also end up in a contemptuous or satirically amusing situation, as presented in the British television series *Yes Minister*.

The mixed cases are more complicated, and Borins finds fewer examples of them. In the southwest quadrant the protagonist is ironically elevated by being mired in a bad organizational setting, illustrated in the movie *Charlie Wilson's War*. In the northeast cell organization renewal results from a sacrificed hero, such as a doomed whistle blower. A variant is when the organization must redeem itself by overthrowing a misguided leader, such as Captain Queeg in *The Caine Mutiny*.

One of the more provocative aspects of Borins' book is that he sets out not merely to deconstruct the narratives of film and fiction in the manner of literary analysis but to equip administrators and managers themselves on how to be aware of and construct effective narratives on their own as they carry out their duties. He calls this skill "narrative competence."

This aspect of the book is illustrated concretely in an early chapter on films that depict inner-city high school teachers who seek to transform the lives of their students. He contrasts narratives that fall into the Heroic quadrant with those in the Tragic and Ironic cells, concluding that the lessons learned from this comparison are that the teacher-hero should be cool, aim high, be savvy, redefine himself or herself and connect with the students' culture.

Most of the author's analysis is devoted to narratives representing political life and public affairs on a grander scale, and this set of chapters encompasses the heart of Borin's project. Two of them concern politics and history in Britain. The first U.K. chapter analyzes *Yes Minister* and several related items that dwell on what he calls "the ugly business" of Whitehall politics. This business is presented on screen and in print as a polite but vicious war in which information is manipulated, self-interest reigns, and language is the weapon of choice in the struggle for power. The second British chapter is on books, films and diaries that portray the appeasement of Hitler, the elevation to power of Churchill, the postwar economic crisis and loss of empire, and then a lingering fear of appeasement that he says persists to Tony Blair. Borins summarizes what he calls the "British Political Fable" as a tale of political decline, pessimism and cynicism.

Three chapters depict the American Political Fable, which also is characterized by cynicism, but compromise and idealism as well. These contradictions reflect a particularly high presence of narrative polyphony, Borins says. In one chapter he concentrates on film and print literature that deals with electoral campaigning, partisan fundraising, political appointments, and the personal ethics of politicians. Much attention is given here to the television series *The West Wing*, which highlights

spirited dialogue among White House insiders who are confronting, simultaneously, an array of significant decisions.

A second U.S. chapter is on the Cuban missile crisis, which generated many thoughtful books such as those by Robert Kennedy and Graham Allison. These stress the importance of such qualities as empathy in the sense of understanding the mindset of others and the necessity of strong character on the part of leaders. This near-apocalyptic event also inspired films like *Dr. Strangelove*, *Thirteen Days* and *The Fog of War*, which convey counter-fables like accepting false reports as true and believing what you want to believe.

The final core chapter examines narratives found in two depictions of jury deliberation, the film *Twelve Angry Men* and the book *A Trial by Jury*. In this secret process requiring unanimity, narrative competence is needed to assess the record of evidence properly and self-dramatization can be effective as a tool of persuasion.

In his concluding chapter, Borins links the concept of narrative competence to that of responsible public leadership in the areas of agenda setting, decision making, and personal conduct. This is followed by a list of dos and don'ts for narrative competence: (1) recognize fable types, (2) don't oversimplify what you find, (3) consider the story from the beginning onward, (4) be cautious about a narrative related by one protagonist only, (5) acknowledge ambiguity and (6) polyphony, and (7) incorporate visual representations when possible.

The book is groundbreaking with respect to the depth with which Borins identifies and explores the narratives of public governance and then applies them to governing practice. He examines a wide range of materials and ideas and penetrates their implications in an insightful, elaborated manner. I admired particularly his ability to interweave descriptions and analyses of several films and novels throughout a topical discussion; usually scholars in this area mechanistically tell each story, analyze its meaning, and then go on to the next example. The theoretical framework underlying the analysis is inventive and well grounded in previous academic work. Then too, the field can learn from his review of prior publications on the meanings of literature and film for public administration, particularly those of Dwight Waldo and Richard Posner.

Another value of the work is to go beyond the tendency of narratology scholars to depend on specialized conceptual language and dwell on abstruse abstractions. Borins makes a great point of connecting his theoretical conclusions to the complexities of actual cultures and situations. He is bold in elevating narrative analysis from the act of decoding hidden textual meanings alone to holding it out as an ability that practitioners and observers of governance can learn.

My personal reaction is that we should distinguish, however, between narrative competence at the operational level (such as inner-city teaching and jury duty) and that at the grander levels of historical events (wartime Britain and the Cuban crisis) or political culture (behavior at Whitehall and the White House). Whereas the first can present usable lessons, the second's value lies primarily in helping us make sense of the world. A conflation of the two levels could lead to the impression that narrative competence is a handy Machiavellian tool by which to manipulate the citizenry. The last thing we want is to have something like *Dr. Strangelove* or *Yes Minister* serve as models of conduct.

With respect to the author's research methodology, we are given a tour of scores of varied sources. The sweep of his analysis across time and across subject categories and national boundaries is close to dazzling. Of course it is not "representative" in a sampling sense, but that would be impossible; his contribution is to plumb depths, not survey a universe. Indeed the research cannot be "objective" in general because of its topic; narratives are imposed on events in accord with a subjective predisposition and latter day interpreters proceed subjectively.

Along this line, we should keep in mind that fictional representation of actual events contains its own biases. Films and novels are designed to simulate interest and entertain audiences; thus narrative analysis based on fiction runs an inherent danger of exaggeration and oversimplification. Its opposing advantage is the capacity to highlight the larger meanings of aspects hidden by complex detail. This is not the only way of knowing, of course, but a valued supplement to other ways.

In pondering the overall thrust of Borins' work I want to raise one major point. I wonder if he goes too far in stressing the presence of polyphony. Always there are multiple voices, but is not the aim of narrative to isolate the dominant voice? Yet he stresses polyphony as important in the practice of narrative competence, as the essence of American political culture, and as the central theme of democracy. While these arguments are certainly reasonable, if we are not careful, narrative is reduced to mere dialogue. Yet managers still wish to make *their* central point in memos and meetings. American politics, in addition to a pluralistic process, is seen by some as an exceptional historical miracle and others a servant of corporate capitalism. As for the mega-concept democracy, in addition to a public square it can be regarded as the rule of law on the one hand and the division of power on the other. In short, in our attempt to account for multiple voices, we should not give up on the very matter under scrutiny in narrative analysis—the dominant voice or narrative. Or alternatively, perhaps we should admit that, under some circumstances or levels of analysis, there is no narrative.

A few minor quibbles about this otherwise superb book. The first title "Governing Fables" implies at first glance trivial subject matter, not profound. The cover's cartoon-like images add to this impression. The list of the author's ten favorite novels, films and TV series at the end does not seem relevant. What Borins is doing is far from trivial; he is presenting in the book his own narrative, which I hereby analyze as the teacher-hero in the classroom of the public sector that is showing us how to be cool, aim high, be savvy, redefine ourselves, and connect with the culture. Accordingly, every subscriber to *Public Voices* should read it.

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Emotional Labor: Putting the Service in Public Service

By Mary E. Guy, Meredith A. Newman,
and Sharon H. Mastracci
Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 2008

Reviewed by *Victoria Gordon*

Emotional Labor: Putting the Service in Public Service is a slim volume that demands intense concentration. Chapter one is full of definitions, alternative explanations, and contradictions for the reader to consider as the authors describe the complex dimensions of emotional labor and its place in public service. The traditional definition of emotional labor is attributed to Hochschild (1983), but the authors do not undertake a full definition until midway through the book. What is important to note at this point is that: (1) there is a distinction between emotional work and emotional labor. Emotional work is the nature of the action itself at the employee's discretion. Emotional labor is action requested and regulated by the employer (pp. 6-7); and (2) historically, as a discipline, public administration has discounted emotional work and elevated components of work that we can observe and measure (p. 8), thereby eliminating relational work as unimportant (p. 9). It may be unseen and invisible, but, the authors conclude, emotional labor is necessary to a full understanding of public service and is the key to putting the *service* in public service (p. 12).

The authors set out to show the importance of emotional work through surveys, focus group discussions, and personal interviews in their multi-dimensional study of employees of the Cook County (Illinois) Office of the Public Guardian, the Illinois Department of Corrections, and the City of Tallahassee (Florida) Dispatch Unit. The thorough discussion of each of these organizations and the employees interviewed are central to understanding the work performed by each group of employees (p. 14). The chapter concludes with a description of the "emotional extremes" that these employees deal with on a daily basis. This helps the reader understand both the positive aspects of emotional labor—the job satisfaction and motivation that keep employees engaged in difficult work; and the negative aspects—the burnout, exhaustion, and disengagement that may result (pp. 33-36).

Chapter two begins with a description of caring as the missing component in standard lists of public administration values and provides a historical description of how the traditional public administration focus on economy, technical efficiency, objective rationality, and neutral competency gets in the way of caring, compassion, empathy, responsiveness, and—most importantly—relationships. The chapter is strengthened by a short recounting of Stivers' work on bureau men and

settlement women, for it is helpful for readers to know the historical connection between scientific, businesslike administration and municipal housekeeping. The discussion of the choice of businesslike efficiency, perceived as masculine, over nurturing and caring, perceived as feminine, helps readers to understand the absence of caring as a concept in public administration literature (p. 42-48). In contrast to this traditional view, the authors conclude that the inclusion of caring will not detract from, but will, instead, serve to make the relationship between public administration theory and practice more complete (p. 57).

In broad strokes the third chapter discusses the degrees of emotional work performed by public employees that impact citizen satisfaction with services received: (1) producing superficial expression of emotion; (2) feeling empathy—understanding and appreciating the citizen’s situation; and (3) producing or repressing deeply felt emotion in an effort to manage the emotion of the citizen (p. 66). Sometimes the employee is required to pretend to have emotions—in essence put on a false face in the exchange with a citizen (p. 69). With only two exceptions, the findings indicate that there are no significant differences between genders with regard to the type of emotional work performed, as reported in a list of twelve survey items that get at the degree to which one performs emotional labor. Women reported a higher degree of emotional labor on the survey item “My work requires me to guide people through sensitive and/or emotional issues.” Men reported a higher degree of emotional labor on the survey item “My job requires that I pretend to have emotions that I do not really feel” (p. 67-69).

Chapter four reviews the concept of emotional labor as used in the disciplines of social work, nursing, sociology, criminology, applied psychology and public administration. The chapter also sets out the model used for testing the relationships. The dependent variable—emotional labor—is an index of six emotional/relational-based statements (p. 86); and the independent variables are occupation, years of experience, gender, and the views of work and the work environment. The rationale for the inclusion of each hypothesis tested is presented in detail.

Based on the study results, the definition of emotional labor is refined to “capture artful affect” (p. 97). The authors conclude that there is a negative connotation or stigma associated with the use of the word “emotional” in emotional labor, and acknowledge problems in finding a universal term that would not have such a negative connotation. They believe “artful affect” captures essential processes and outcomes and gets at what public servants do—without the negative connotation of the word emotional. Artful affect is “managing one’s own affect as well as that of the other person...Practicing artful affect is both proactive and reactive.” It involves sensing the other person’s emotions and then responding in a way that may or may not accurately reflect what the employee is really feeling (p. 97-98).

Review of the “burnout” literature is outlined in chapter five, as told from the perspective of researchers who studied causes and prevention of burnout through the experiences of social workers, law enforcement officers, attorneys, and daycare workers (p. 103). The concern here, and rightly so, is that, as the public sector loses some of its employees to burnout, high costs are imposed on organizations economically in terms of absenteeism, turnover, and replacing those who leave public service. The opposite of burnout factors are also presented and discussed—engagement, pride in work, personal rewards, job satisfaction, and motivation. For human resource management, we must

recognize, acknowledge, and compensate emotional labor (p. 116). The authors suggest some practical solutions to prevent burnout and optimize the rewards (p. 117). This chapter is a compelling statement of the reasons why public sector managers need to have an understanding of emotional labor.

The sixth chapter is a content analysis of annual appraisal forms for State of Illinois employees. The content analysis was undertaken to determine the presence of emotional labor in appraisal documents through measures of human relations, communication skills, emotional efforts and responsibility for client well-being. The appraisal documents of supervisors seem to reflect emotional labor dimensions more clearly and explicitly than appraisal documents of non-supervisory personnel. In general, however, the argument that emotional labor is invisible and unrecognized is supported by the absence of the emotional labor and relational work components from the lists of important knowledge, skills, and abilities (p. 9). While I can appreciate the importance of chapter six, it does constitute something of a detour for readers and might have been more appropriately relegated to an appendix.

In chapter seven, perhaps the most important question of the book is presented for consideration. The authors suggest that if women are overrepresented in relational type work—due in part to self-selection into these types of jobs—we can intuitively understand how their findings are correct that gender is not a significant variable in the performance of emotional work (p. 137). However, the unanswered question remains: *What is it that still leads to a pay gap between men and women in “caring” positions?* Is it being female? Is it a glass ceiling, a glass wall? Is it being in a caring position? Is there a double penalty? To answer this question, the authors turn to another arena to compare pay and job descriptions in Illinois, New Jersey and Oregon. They look at three specific positions—food inspector, social service counselor, and drivers’ license examiner (p. 138). In general, they conclude that for these specific positions emotional labor is only recognized and compensated when it is done by men, even in jobs traditionally performed by women and, further, it is undervalued when performed by women (p. 146). While the authors call for human resource professionals to design a new approach to pay systems, to re-evaluate job descriptions, and to use performance evaluations that encompass emotional labor, they recognize that emotional labor must first become visible and must be seen as valuable when performed—whether by a man or woman (p. 160-162). From a public administration standpoint, this chapter has the greatest possibility of encouraging meaningful change.

Chapter eight reviews labor trends in the public sector and in the occupations included in the study. Occupations with relational demands are increasing (p. 164) and are critical to a third of all occupations, thereby supporting the point that emotional work needs to be recognized and appropriately compensated (p. 172). However, in times of economic downturn we see reductions in force, and then the quality of service to citizens suffers. This is especially problematic when the greatest amount of emotional work is performed at the local level—for example, in jobs such as emergency preparedness, law enforcement, education, public health, and family services (p. 167). The authors correctly conclude that work is personal and individual, and the way individuals react to their work is also personal (p. 176). Further, the performance of emotional work is specific to individuals and to their skills (p. 186).

The theoretical arguments of the book are given empirical support through the analysis of survey data that examine the relationships between emotional labor and affective outcomes. The variable “making a difference” is positively related to job satisfaction and inversely related to burnout. A sense of work being a “waste of time” is directly related to burnout and inversely related to job satisfaction. Emotional labor is positively related to burnout, job satisfaction, and to making a difference (p. 180). Emotional labor may renew the person’s sense of commitment and dedication to the job, but having to present false emotions may eventually lead to burnout. This is problematic. Do we want to better compensate those who “present a false face” or do we want to expend resources to find ways to sensitize individuals to care about their positions and the people they serve?

The main premise of this book is that emotional labor is an invisible and uncompensated skill—a skill that can be learned, improved, and overused with serious consequences, but one that is essential to nearly one-third of all jobs. A primary strength of the book is that the authors let the interviewees tell their own stories through their own words by way of extensive quotations. In addition, this research articulates the need to make improvements in the recognition and understanding of emotional labor. As a minor point of disagreement, I am not quite convinced that a new name to describe emotional labor is necessary. I disagree that nurturing, empathy, and caring are necessarily feminine emotions, and so I discount to some degree the importance the authors place on this nomenclature as an obstacle to the inclusion of caring in public administration (p. 188). As a public service practitioner turned academic, I have always approached teaching public administration with the tenets outlined in this book. To be a successful public sector manager you must understand people and you must understand yourself. You must recognize that whether you are face-to-face with a client, citizen, employee or elected official, you must treat people with respect and caring. To quote Frederickson, “To be fully in the spirit of public administration, we must genuinely care for and work with the citizens....with benevolence, our field has meaning and purpose” (1997, p. 234).

Might an academic with no practitioner experience view this book differently? Perhaps, but both will appreciate it as providing a comprehensive, readable, and useful overview of emotional labor. It is essential reading for anyone who believes caring is an important value—just as efficiency, effectiveness, economy, accountability, fairness, justice, and social equity are important values in public administration. Clearly this book will find a home in graduate level classrooms across the disciplines of public administration, sociology, management, nursing, and in any human resource management course—anywhere that nurturance, empathy and care are valued.

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Emotional Labor and Crisis Response: Working on the Razor's Edge

By Sharon H. Mastracci, Mary E. Guy,
and Meredith A. Newman
Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 2008

Reviewed by *Victoria Gordon*

Emotional Labor and Crisis Response: Working on the Razor's Edge is a continuation and extension of the research previously conducted by these three authors on the topic of emotional labor. The opening pages draw the reader in through the words of a paramedic recounting an emergency response experience that is probably all too routine. The vignette brings to life the dry definition of emotional labor and lets the reader sense why this study is important and addresses the questions this book serves to answer. Emotional labor is a necessary skill in one-third of all occupations, but it is undervalued, invisible and uncompensated. In this book the focus is on how emotional labor is conducted. The authors want to understand emotional labor through the experiences of public servants who work in extreme circumstances—"on the razor's edge"—those who respond first in times of crisis (p. 7 and p. 77). It is based on personal interviews of 43 crisis responders in Chicago, Denver and Miami conducted during 2009 and 2010 (p. 147).

Chapter one reviews studies from other disciplines that help to explain the connection between the regulation of emotion—the suppression or exaggeration of it—and cognitive performances. The chapter concludes with a discussion of public goods and services and the connection to the benefits of crisis response, which are provided to those citizens in need at their most vulnerable time by a government provider (p. 10-11). In times of crisis, the "government is the sole provider and/or provider of last resort" (p. 11).

Chapter two first recounts what emotional labor is not—it is not physical, cognitive, public service motivation (attitudinal, the drive, nor the inspiration), leadership (a personal attribute), nor emotional intelligence (a broader term) (p. 22-25). Yet, in the field of public administration, the only place emotion is recognized in the literature is within "...studies of motivation, leadership, and emotional intelligence" (p. 21). The chapter also defines emotional labor.¹

“Emotional labor is the effort within oneself to conjure appropriate feelings or subdue inappropriate ones, and the effort to induce particular feelings in another....” (p. 28). Finally, this chapter presents examples of the components of emotional labor—the sensing, analyzing, judging and behaving—through the words of the interviewees as they describe in great detail extreme emotional incidents and exchanges they encounter. These vignettes describe the rewards of emotional labor, such as job satisfaction, and the pitfalls, such as exhaustion and burnout.

Chapter three begins with the nuts and bolts of how to deal with emotional labor from the human resource manager's perspective. The chapter presents what to do, what not to do, and false-face approaches to emotional labor. Examples of ways to help the employees to deal with the extremes of emotional labor include 1) critical incident stress management techniques, which the authors point out are only as helpful as participants are honest and upfront about their feelings (p. 43); 2) self-care plans, which are personal and self-directed goals, but are used to address the high stress arena within which some employees work (p. 44); 3) hobbies, including exercise; 4) and religion, spiritual awareness, or the ability to find a greater meaning in the stressful work (p. 45-46). The chapter is helpful in managing the human resource functions of an organization—hiring, training, supervising and developing.

Chapter four addresses competence and trust via the experiences of government spokespersons—those who are the face and voice of agencies in a crisis or emergency situation. They must speak with authority to the public (p. 54-56). This is a different focus on emotional labor than that applied by the authors up to this point in their study. Here they address crisis situations—not from the perspective of the individual but rather from the institutional representative experience (p. 56). The authors call attention to the competing loyalties faced by the public information officer—loyalty to the agency, the leaders of the agency, the elected officials, the public, the media, and the truth (p. 58-59, p. 69). The authors utilize vignettes to illustrate the competing interests of compassion, credibility and trust. While chapter four provides a wealth of information on effective communication in on-going or slow moving crisis situations, to some degree it distracts the reader from the general focus of the broader study.

Chapter five focuses on responsiveness and accountability as they apply to crisis management (p. 74). The authors succinctly cover the literature related to both terms and follow with vignettes to illustrate their points. Through the recounting of horrific situations and stories, the reader begins to understand the complexities faced by these individuals as they strive to help a person in an extreme situation and to serve the public. This chapter addresses how discretion plays into responsiveness and accountability (p. 76), especially in lose-lose situations (p. 89). In short, this chapter helps the reader understand how first responders decide “to help the greatest number of people with the least risk to others” (p. 90). The approaches to balancing the inherent conflicts faced are varied. Interviewees described ways of suppressing emotions, such as going into auto-pilot mode, depersonalizing, and divorcing oneself from emotions felt (p. 92-93). All of their actions and reactions are undertaken in an environment fraught with a sense of urgency, limited information, and great uncertainty.

Chapter six covers legitimacy, representativeness and the difference that gender makes in emotional labor. Legitimacy is the trust between the government representative and the citizen,

and it is essential in public service (p. 102). The authors point out that for trust to be established the citizen must view the government worker as one of their own—which is why demographic representation is important, and, conversely, the worker may “care” more for those with whom he or she can personally identify (p. 103). The remainder of chapter six addresses gender as it relates to public sector job segregation, emotional culture of the organization and gendered expectations for emotional expressivity (p. 105). In short, women are not more emotional than men but are more expressive. Where this causes a problem for women is when the job requires “false-face” emotions or the masking of emotions. The result is often more exhaustion and less job satisfaction for women as they may not be able to endure putting forward a “false-face” for extended lengths of time—thus leading to employee turnover within the organization. As I read the chapter, I was struck by how important, relevant, and revealing this chapter was to the study of public administration. It brings to the forefront how important it is that the public believe both in the competency of the government provider, male or female, and that he or she has the citizen’s best interests at heart (p. 103). This is a chapter that all students of public administration should read, regardless of the anticipated level of emotional labor that they will engage in or their ultimate career goals.

Chapter seven continues the discussion begun in chapter five of administrative discretion and professional codes of conduct. The Friedrich-Finer debate of the 1940s (Finer, 1941; Friedrich, 1940) is reviewed and modern day examples are presented—Abu Ghraib prisoner abuse, use of torture to elicit information from terrorists, and welfare policy—all to help the reader understand the argument of rules versus professional standards (p. 121-123). The authors conclude based on their interviews of emergency responders that the interviewees relied on duty and professional standards rather than rules as they made decisions, implemented policy and took action (p. 124 and p. 132). The context within which administrative discretion is experienced is fraught with issues of personal safety, risk to others, the need to help, what is best for the patient or perpetrator, and how one’s peers may react to the decision made by the emergency responder.

In the concluding chapter the authors remind the reader that they set out to understand how public servants perform emotional labor, make difficult decisions in extenuating circumstances, and yet still want to return the next day to do the same work (p. 138). The authors were successful in achieving their intended goals through the presentation of detailed vignettes that describe the experiences of emergency responders in their own words. They conclude that emotional labor needs to be recognized and considered in the theoretical understanding of public administration.

In the opening pages the authors made a good case for why emergency responders were an appropriate group to study. However, this is a book that has relevance for all public sector practitioners. From a practical standpoint, the authors reiterate the need for employers to recognize the importance of self-care plans and critical incident debriefings for employees who work in extreme conditions. There are ways to help guard against burnout and turnover (p. 141-142). To prevent these problems on a broader organizational level, the authors suggest similar coping options might be essential for all public servants who conduct emotional labor (p. 143). Emotional labor can take a toll on anyone—public sector employers need to recognize the demands of emotional labor, then hire, train, pay, and evaluate performance of employees based

on this recognition (p. 145). This body of research and this book are relevant to public administration because their premise serves to improve public administration and better equip our public sector employees in public service delivery. This trio of authors raises questions suitable for further research in the areas of motivation, leadership, ethics and emotional intelligence as well. In sum, this book is one that should be required reading in many public administration graduate level courses.

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Notes

¹ I was pleasantly surprised to see less importance placed on the term “artful affect” in the definition of emotional labor as presented in this volume as compared to their earlier study (Guy, Newman, & Mastracci, 2008).

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A large, light gray silhouette of a person in a dynamic pose, pointing their right hand towards the top right corner of the page. The silhouette is positioned behind the main text, creating a layered effect.

Public Voices Symposium

**Deconstructing the
Government/Hip-Hop Nexus**

Valerie L. Patterson, Ph.D., Guest Editor

Clinical Associate Professor, Public Administration
School of International and Public Affairs
Florida International University

*Call for Manuscripts, Poems, Fiction, and Book
Reviews*

The government/hip-hop nexus can be located in the following examples - the strategies used by the earliest deejays in the 70s that violated city codes and became the catalyst for subsequent national and international clashes with property laws; the unsolved murders of Tupak Shakur and the Notorious B-I-G and revelations concerning the existence of a RAP COINTELPRO; the 2009 lawsuit against the United States government for the use of music from the genre to torture prisoners detained at Guantanamo Bay; and the recently reported 6 million dollar tax lien faced by artist Nas. Hip-Hop as a cultural phenomenon and a multi-billion dollar industry continues to confront, consternate, and challenge the policies, rules, regulations and structure of government (for example the creation of local government ordinances that "ban" the wearing of sagging pants).

In the spirit of the mission of *Public Voices* to publish unorthodox and controversial perspectives on bureaucracy in particular and the public sector in general, this is a call for papers that interrogate and examine the government/hip-hop nexus. Clearly, the relationship between "government" and hip-hop culture is nuanced and complex (collection of tax revenues on one end of the spectrum to the increased criminalization of the behavior of minority youth at the other end). This symposium aims to locate and situate the multiple connections (should government organizations and those who lead them develop an awareness of the culture?), linkages (will the next generation of leaders of government organizations possess hip-hop sensibilities?), constraints, and sources of conflict (hip-hop artists have been heavily involved in articulating the sentiments of the Occupy Wall Street movement) that have developed and evolved from the early days of the culture to its current 21st century impact. The symposium also aims to identify lessons-learned and to theorize and predict future trends.

To be considered for the symposium, submit an electronic copy of your work, with the author's name and affiliation provided separately, to Iryna Illiash, Managing Editor of **Public Voices**, to the following email address: illiash@pegasus.rutgers.edu.

Public Voices Symposium

WOMEN IN PUBLIC SERVICE

Guest Editors

Victoria Gordon
Western Kentucky University

John Phillips
Benedictine University
at Springfield

CALL FOR MANUSCRIPTS

Manuscripts are sought from academics and practitioners that inform the journal's readers on the roles and contributions of women in public service. Topics include, but are not limited to, contemporary and historical studies of the dynamic role of women in public service, women as leaders, overcoming obstacles and barriers faced by women in public service, women as catalysts for organizational and institutional change, priorities and perspectives of women in the workplace, the contribution and challenge of diversity and difference in the public workplace, new and evolving scholarship on emotional labor and the care perspective in public organizations, and the future of women in public service. The editors wish to emphasize that they are casting a wide net; that no list could capture the range of exciting developments in this field; and that contributors are encouraged to submit manuscripts consistent with the broad mandate of *Public Voices* to advance unorthodox and controversial perspectives and eclectic research methods in the discipline.

Submission: To be considered for the symposium, manuscripts should be submitted electronically, with the author's name and affiliation provided separately, to Iryna Illiash, Managing Editor of *Public Voices*, at illiash@pegasus.rutgers.edu.

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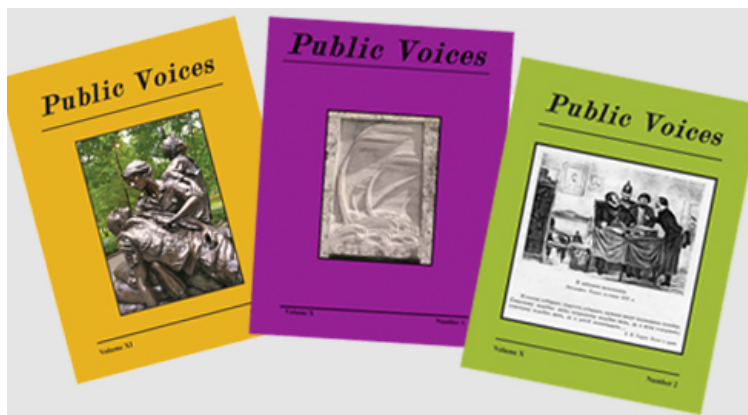
Public Voices

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All submissions will be evaluated on a blind, peer-reviewed basis.

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Proposals for symposia, as well as movie reviews, photographs and artwork should be sent to:

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