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New Opportunities with Technology: A Hybrid + Online Course Sequence for HSS

Ana María Schwartz & Adriana Val

This paper describes a hybrid plus online two-course sequence for heritage Spanish speakers at a university with low enrollments of Latino students. The online course was designed as a writing-intensive follow-up to an existing face-to-face Spanish for Heritage Speakers (SHH) three hundred level course. It was programmed on Blackboard 6 (Bb6), the university's course management system (CMS). The goals, activities, and methodologies of each course are described, and the results of the pilot of the first module of the online course are explained. These findings are being used to develop two other modules for the online course and to revise SPAN 304 as a hybrid, a face-to-face course with a Bb6 component for the writing assignments.

Introduction

In these days of tight budgets, universities with low Latino enrollments are unable, or perhaps unwilling, to fund the two or three course sequence necessary to meet the needs of its heritage Spanish speakers (HSS). Although small in numbers, these groups are often quite heterogeneous by nationality, social and racial background, and university standing, and have different motivations for studying Spanish. Linguistically, they commonly have widely different levels of oral and written competence. At our university, UMBC —undergraduate enrollment of approximately 10,000 students, with 3% self-identifying as Latino or Hispanic—we have offered a Spanish for Heritage Speakers (SHS) course for several years. SPAN 304 is adequate for those students who want to fulfill the university requirement in a language class that focuses on being Latino, and take no more Spanish classes. But we have found that increasingly SPAN 304 acts as a gateway to further study in Spanish, and for those students one course is not enough.

The HSS students who continue studying Spanish in the 'regular' program often encounter problems. If they enroll in 300-level conversation and composition courses they feel out of place due to their higher oral proficiency. If they enroll in the higher 300 and 400-level content courses their singular problems as HSS writers get them in trouble. And, regardless of context, the students are taken to task for using dialects that are considered inappropriate and incorrect. They are asked to replace their dialectical features with the standard, following a

subtractive versus an additive model. After many conversations with our students it became obvious that a follow-up course to SPAN 304, an intensive writing course that maintained the focus on the Latino experience, was necessary to prepare them for further study and ultimately for their future careers.

This paper describes how we addressed the issues facing us by integrating technology in our SHS curriculum. We first created SPAN 304-B, a writing-intensive online course on *Blackboard 6 (Bb6)*, the university's computer mediated communication (CMC) system. The first module of the online course has been developed and piloted, and we are now using the results to redesign SPAN 304 as a hybrid course: a face-to-face course with an online writing component. The original course, SPAN 304 will be briefly described first, followed by a full discussion of the design and components of SPAN 304-B. The conclusions include a description of the hybrid features of SPAN 304.

SPAN 304: Spanish for Heritage Speakers

SPAN 304, Spanish for Heritage Speakers, is a 3-credit course offered once a year in the spring semester. SPAN 304 may substitute for SPAN 301, or SPAN 301 and 302 (Advanced Conversation and Composition I and II) on the recommendation of the instructor. SPAN 301 and 302 are the first courses for the major. In the ten years the course has been taught, enrollment has never been higher than 25 and it is usually in the teens. Given the low enrollment, it is difficult to turn students away, thus the character of the class changes from year to year to reflect its composition. Suffice it to say, there were some years when the instruction was highly individualized.

The students who enroll in SPAN 304 consider the course important, motivating, and influential to their undergraduate experience. They tell us that SPAN 304 creates a 'Latino space' where they feel relaxed and where they can meet other Latinos and form community. Often the officers of the Hispanic Latino Student Union are taking or have taken the class. Furthermore, as explained above, an increasing number of Latinos want to continue taking courses, many to minor and some to major in Spanish, and this is the first Spanish course they take.

SPAN 304 is organized as a language and content course with a writing component. The table shows the three components of the course.

Table 1. Key components of SPAN 304

Contenido – Temas <i>Content - Topics</i>	Lenguaje <i>Language</i>	Escritura <i>Writings</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Identidad / <i>Identity</i> ◆ Países de origen / <i>Countries of Origen</i> ◆ Derechos humanos: las luchas de los 70 y 80 / <i>Human Rights: the 70's and 80's fights</i> ◆ Su comunidad y su familia: entrevistas / <i>Community, family: interviews</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Oraciones diagnóstico / <i>Diagnostic sentences</i> ◆ Ejercicios de ortografía y Gramática / <i>Excercises: ortography and grammar</i> ◆ Ampliación de vocabulario / <i>Vocabulary Application</i> ◆ Uso del diccionario / <i>How to use the dictionary</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Resúmenes de artículos Periodísticos / <i>Synthesis of Newspaper articles.</i> ◆ Reacciones breves a lecturas o discusiones / <i>Short reaction papers from readings and class topics</i> ◆ Apuntes para reportes Orales / <i>Notes for Oral reports</i> ◆ Resumen de la entrevista / <i>Synthesis from the interview</i>

Temas (Topics/themes):

The 'temas' are approached through readings, class discussions, and movies when possible. The opening 'tema' is 'identidad'. We talk about ethnicity, nationality, race, and what it is to be a US Latino (or Hispanic?). This 'tema' lays the groundwork for exploring the other three topics.

Lenguaje (Language)

Nuevos mundos: Cuaderno para estudiantes bilingües, a book for bilingual students, provides simple explanations and language exercises that can be used with students at various levels. The 'oraciones diagnóstico', simple English-Spanish translations, enable us to advise students as to how in depth they should study the grammar points, if at all. For 'ampliación de vocabulario' (vocabulary development) students look up certain words underlined in the readings, and rewrite the sentence in which the word is found using a synonym. Dictionary skills are practiced with a monolingual dictionary and a synonym-antonym dictionary.

Escritura (Writing)

The writing assignments are informal and formal. The short reaction papers and notes for oral presentations are informal, and the summaries of newspaper articles and of the interview are formal writing assignments. To this point, process writing has been used minimally.

Although the university has assigned a space in *Blackboard* for each of its courses, up to now we have not availed ourselves of this resource for SPAN 304. We hope that by putting some of the SPAN 304 course activities online we will create a smoother transition between this course and the new SPAN 304-B. The hybrid features of SPAN 304 will be explained at the end of this paper.

SPAN 304-B: The online writing course

As designed, SPAN 304-B consists of three one-credit modules, each with a different theme: I-*Ethnographic Introspection*, II-*Intercultural Connections*, III-*Individual Projects*. Channels of communication include chat, email, and discussion board (DB); and activities include reading logs, journaling, and process writing assignments (with rubrics for peer and instructor revision). The goals of the course are to improve writing fluency and revising strategies, and to increase vocabulary range and awareness of formal and informal registers. The course activities and the peer and instructor personalized feedback features built into the program support these goals. Module I will be described in detail later in this paper.

Background of the online course design: theoretical approach

Online courses are labor intensive for students and teachers. Yet, the online environment provides opportunities for written interactions not easily duplicated in face-to-face courses: the CMC requires that all communication and dialogue among course participants and with the instructor be in writing. Additionally, through its features and components the CMC environment can foster collaboration and the creation of community—a space in which learning becomes a social event rather than a purely individual activity.

SPAN 304-B was developed following an inclusive pedagogical orientation that seeks to:

- encourage dialogical teacher-student interaction;
- situate the student at the center of the learning process;
- promote collaborative learning;
- activate student voice;
- utilize personal narratives;
- be flexible, fluid and reflective, and
- transform and empower the participants (Tuitt, 2003)

The course design was also guided by principles of sociocultural theory, especially work on social interaction, construction of knowledge and the zone of proximal development (ZPD). This sociocultural framework will be briefly described below.

Although elaborated in a first language context, Vygotskian sociocultural theory has been increasingly applied as an explanatory framework for second language acquisition and literacy development (see Lantolf & Appel, 1994; Lantolf, 2000; Lee & Smagorinsky, 2000), and for computer mediated communication (e.g., Alevin, V., Stahl E., Schworm, S., Fischer, F., & Wallace, R 2003). According to Sherba de Valenzuela (2004), Vygotsky postulates that social interaction develops thinking skills, resulting in the appropriation and construction of new knowledge. She explains that for Vygotsky much of this activity takes place in the zone of proximal development, an area of cognition in which, given proper stimuli by a mentor—a more qualified person—the learner is able to process new information. In his work on second language acquisition, Lantolf (2000) has extended the novice/expert requirement in a ZPD interaction, suggesting that "collaborative construction of opportunities" (p. 17) can occur with peers as well as with mentors. Donato (1994) supports this notion, asserting that "in the process of peer scaffolding, learners can expand their own L2 knowledge and extend the linguistic development of their peers" (p. 52). Lantolf and Appel (1994) explain that Vygotsky himself has gone beyond novice/expert, hypothesizing that "technical tools", directed to the object of activity may be used by individuals to manipulate their environment and result in new knowledge (p. 8). To summarize, learning is conceptualized as a process; and the interaction with another person, tool, or problem, mediated by language, produces a change in understanding (Vygotsky, 1978).

In line with the sociocultural principles discussed above, SPAN 304-B was designed so that all the online course of activities require collaboration and provide multiple opportunities for written communication and dialogue among course participants and with the instructor. In this program, students seek and use help to accomplish a variety of writing tasks. They can take advantage of expert/novice interactions through on-demand help from the instructor and of instructor revision of their formal writing assignments. They have opportunities for negotiating meaning with peers and the instructor and for "collaborative construction" through the many opportunities provided. Finally they have use of "technical tools" such as rubrics, to use as scaffolding during peer and instructor review.

Background of the online course design: pedagogical considerations

For the development of the online course, several aspects/areas were taken into consideration/reviewed, for instance, best practices in technology design and distance education, as well as the literature on writing instruction, writing processes and strategies, bilingualism, and SHS instructional approaches. In the technology area, the design was

informed by the work of Alevan et al. (2003) who strongly advocate incorporating built-in and on-demand help features. They maintain that inclusion of these features ensures easy access to commonly requested help (through built-in features) and opportunities for seeking on-demand help with individual concerns. Also consulted were Richards (2004) for ideas on student-centered activities, and Campbell (2004) on self-directed learning in online environments.

Instructionally, the primary goal of the online course is to broaden students' bilingual range (Valdés, 1997) and develop awareness of the standard variety through writing activities. Opportunities are provided to develop formal writing tasks with a professional or educational purpose, as well as to write in informal contexts such as in email messages. Consonant with the earlier discussion, writing is used as a learning tool, to exchange ideas and recommendations, and for the students to provide help among themselves. From the standpoint of pedagogy, Fulwiler (1987) supports the notion of collaborative knowledge building, as the writer must interpret others' writing in order to respond to a message or, in the case of peer revision, help improve the writing. Fulwiler also emphasizes that in and of itself writing supports the learning process because the writer must interact with her or his own text. This is especially true in process writing.

The rubrics developed for peer and instruction revision in the process writing tasks evolved from research on HSS' writing strategies by Schwartz (2003, 2005), based on Zamel's (1982) and Raimes' (1985) research with ESL students. These rubrics were used in the face-to-face class and adapted to the CMC environment.

The online course includes free writing as well as process writing activities. Following a Freirean approach to adult literacy that regards learners as creators of culture and considers the instructor a mere instrument to improve literacy (Macedo & Araújo Freire, 1998; Freire, 1971), a major objective of all activities, but especially the free writing activities, is to promote the cultural backgrounds and knowledge that students bring to class.

Module I: *Ethnographic Introspection*

The content of the first module is ethnographic introspection. Ethnographic introspection is the students' exploration of their experiences as heritage speakers, that is, a search of their bilingual identities as expressed in their own voices. The activities in this module are based on an ethnographic approach to seeking information. The students start by writing their own personal stories and end the module by writing a biography of a partner. The principal goal of this module is the transition from informal journals, to a personal story, to a formal

biography of a partner. At the end, the students' writings are published in an online writing portfolio.

Module I was piloted in the summer 2004 with five HSS students who had previously taken SPAN 304. The students registered for one credit were the students enrolled for the pilot. As expected, the group varied in their backgrounds and linguistic abilities: three of the students were born in the US and two in Latin America. They were all bilingual, but English dominant, and even the two who had had schooling in their home countries were not fluent writers. Table 2 below lists the specifics of the organization of the course.

Table 2. Online course organization

<p>◆ <i>Four weeks of scheduled activities, with a fifth for recovery (catch-up) to finish all tasks</i></p> <p>◆ <i>The virtual week was Tuesday-Saturday; Sunday was the recovery day for the week and Monday was free</i></p> <p>◆ <i>The weekly class load was 2.5 hours online contact time and 2.5 hours study time and homework</i></p> <p>◆ <i>A face-to-face orientation at the International Media Center on the first week; Bb6 introduced with a web quest activity and a learning contract with the goals of the course presented</i></p>
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While the course was originally planned for a total of five weeks, the amount of work, especially the intensity of the writing, required that an extra week for recovery be added. The recovery week was added so participants will be able to finish their assignments. Even then the pilot participants could not finish the online portfolio on time.

Aside from the face-to-face orientation during the first week, the writing course is conducted totally online. All the class activities are explained on Bb6 and students can request further explanations through the discussion board, email, the listserv and the weekly chat. Table 3 describes the channels of communication used in the course and the purposes for which each is used.

Table 3. Channels of communication and their uses

Channel of communication	Use/Purpose
Discussion board (DB)/AYUDA	AYUDA (Q&A) is an asynchronous (not 'real time') mode of communication used as a weekly forum where students are encouraged to ask questions to the instructor or peers regarding the course. All questions have to be in Spanish and replies are posted within 24 hours. Each week a

Email	<p>different AYUDA forum is open by the instructor. The DB can be read by all the members of the class. The DB is also used to post the journals and reading logs and the responses to those.</p> <p>Another form of asynchronous communication used to interact personally with each participant is email. The instructor uses it to encourage students, inform them about their weekly progress, or explain misunderstood directions. In the pilot, students used email mostly to request extra time for assignments.</p>
List serv	<p>The list serv (asynchronous) includes all the emails in one address and replies go to all the members of the list. It is used extensively by the instructor to send all general information about the course. The list serv has the same uses as email, but instructional designers recommend it be created as an additional source of communication in case the CMS fails.</p>
Virtual chat	<p>The only synchronous ('real time') and public space for communication used in the course is virtual chat. The weekly sessions are virtual 'office hours' to give students feedback and get their input. Unfortunately, the software required (Java plug-in) and broadband connection makes student participation more difficult. The chats are conducted entirely in Spanish. In the pilot, students became more comfortable using the language and the chat feature as time went on, turn taking increased and students introduced topics of interest. The chats were originally planned to last one hour, but most lasted longer.</p>

Course activities

The course assignments for SPAN 304-B include both free writing and process writing activities. The exchanges on DB concerning the journals and reading logs are free writing and so is the personal homepage. These interactive dialogs are designed to be shared within the online community and prompt students to express themselves on whatever topics interest them. On the other hand, assignments such as the personal story and the partner's biography are formal process writing activities that involve peer and instructor review and feedback. These pieces are not shared with the whole group until the final draft is complete.

The next table lists the course activities and the grade percentages assigned to each. A description of each activity follows the table.

Table 4. Course activities and grade percentages

Percentages:	Assignments
10 %	Personal Homepage on <i>Bb6</i>
10 %	Weekly Journals , on DB (5)
10 %	Weekly Reading Logs (4)
25 %	Personal Story -Process writing
25 %	Partner's Bio -Process writing
10 %	Responses to Journals and Reading Logs , on DB, and Virtual Chat (Tuesdays 6-7 pm)-weekly participation
10 %	Help: Q&A , on DB
0 %	Online grammar exercises (optional)
Extra Credit	Recommendations for the course: weekly surveys and personal reaction to class, on DB

Personal Homepage (Página personal)

The personal homepage is a feature provided by *Bb6* for students in online courses. It gives participants a space to share personal information and the capability of uploading a personal photo. This is the first writing assignment of the course. It is started during the face-to-face orientation to help students learn to navigate through the system and to evaluate how much writing they are able to produce in a short period of time.

Journals (Diario personal)

Journaling takes place in the DB and is intended to provide participants with a safe space to express themselves in their own voices. Although the journals are free writing assignments and don't require revisions, the students must follow certain guidelines (see Appendix A). Every week each student is expected to post his or her experiences during that week while the rest (including the instructor) read and react to the journals. All of the topics discussed in the pilot related in one way or another to the writer's personal experience and generated lots of discussion. Topics discussed included: injustice among and toward Hispanics; lack of political representation of Latinos; having parents with poor English skills; bilingualism and loss of language skills; and access to education and health care for Latinos.

Reading logs (Informe de lectura)

The reading logs are also free writing weekly assignments posted on the DB. The students are free to choose any topic and source within certain

guidelines (see Appendix at the end of this chapter). They must summarize the reading, use three words not familiar to them in original sentences, and find a synonym and an antonym for each word. The logs are intensive reading, as the students are reading to summarize and paraphrase and they are focusing on vocabulary expansion. Most of the readings chosen in the pilot were from newspapers online with one exception, a student who chose an online site for Latin American short stories. Mostly the students read about Hispanics in the US or about Latin America.

Personal story (Historias personales) and Partner's biography (Biografía de su pareja)

Both of these are process writing assignments and follow a pre-determined succession of steps. They involve peer (partner) and instructor reviews using detailed explanatory rubrics for content and organization, and a correction rubric for grammar. The rubrics are available on line and are to be used as guides for writing and as a tool for editing. The content and organization rubrics change to reflect the style of each assignment, while the correction rubric provides symbols to indicate mistakes. The original design of the course called for a total of two drafts for each assignment, one peer review and one instructor review, but the pilot showed that a minimum of four drafts were necessary to obtain a good final version. This may be more than the students and the instructor can handle and we are reevaluating the structure of this assignment. The guidelines for Personal story and Partner's biography and the rubrics are in Appendix at the end of this chapter.

Lessons learned from the Module I pilot¹

We approached the data collected from the pilot with several questions. Overall, we wanted to know if it was feasible to deliver SPAN 304-B as we envisioned it with the technology available to us at the university. The answer to that question was a definite yes. Nevertheless, as we implemented the module and looked at the data we have seen that adjustments must be made, especially in what we can expect to accomplish in a five week period. Our other questions concerned 1) how the students managed the process writing procedures and used the tools as editors and as authors; 2) the effect of journaling on the students' writing; and 3) the reactions of the students to the online course. The answers to these questions have informed the redesign of Module I (in progress) and the design of the other two modules (to come soon). As important, the results of the pilot have 'washed back' on SPAN 304, parts of which are being redesigned to incorporate some of the technology

tools of the online course. A brief summary of the findings of the pilot follow.

- ◆ Although the students were advised to first look at their partner's writing holistically with the content and organization rubric, they invariably started with the correction rubric, concentrating on surface errors. As may be expected, by the time the instructor received the second draft the grammar had improved, but the content and organization still required lengthy feedback. It must be said that those students who revised frequently and sought help from their partners and the instructor, advanced in their writing proficiency. Nevertheless, five weeks is not enough time to make four or five revisions on two formal writing assignments.

We are now looking at the content and organization rubrics to make them more direct and easier to use, keeping in mind the extra load that reading and processing extensive suggestions, and then making the necessary changes, entails for the students. We are also introducing pre-writing discussions of the characteristics of the genres together with examples of text and diagrams that illustrate organization. These procedures will be followed in SPAN 304, transferring the (smaller scale) course writing assignments to *Bb6* and thus providing practice with peer editing and the rubrics.

- ◆ All students agreed that journaling was the most enjoyable part of the online course. It was surprising to find that the entries had a much more formal structure than anticipated. The expectation had been to receive the 'stream of consciousness'-type of postings so often seen in young people's email writing. Yet, the students structured their entries with introductions, development of ideas, and conclusions; they wrote paragraphs organized around main ideas and details, and followed chronological sequence of events, using connecting words and complex sentences with subordinate clauses. In fact, for the style of discourse, the journal postings were of higher quality than the formal essays. This suggests to us that these heritage speakers may be drawing from their strong oral skills for informal writing and if so, we should explore using journaling to scaffold to more formal writing.

Beyond its linguistic merits, journaling worked because the students enjoyed having opportunities to talk about things that had happened to them and were important in their lives. Regardless of topic, their experience as Latinos permeated the journals. Journaling was the students' life stories in weekly episodes, and reading and exchanging experiences created a sense of cohesion among all participants. It will be interesting to see if this experience will be replicated with future classes and whether that sense of trust and community could be maintained with a larger number of students.

♦ The students in the pilot were asked to complete a short survey at the end of each week and to address their experiences in the course in the last journal entry. Overall, students' responses to the course activities were very positive. The most common complaint was one of load and time, that is, their inability to get the assignments done by the deadlines. This was also an issue for the instructor and, as mentioned earlier, is being addressed in the redesign of the course. The students' comments suggest that they learned many new skills: *Para mi eso [las historias personales] fue algo nuevo porque jamás había escrito una historia en forma narrativa. (For me the personal stories were something new because I have never had written a story as a narrative)* Some indicated that the constant writing was helping unlock the language within: *Ahora noto que mas de mis pensamientos son en español (Now I noticed that more of my thoughts are in Spanish);* and *El tiempo que me toma para escribir algo se ha disminuido (The time it takes me to write something has diminished).* Others said that sharing their experiences made a difference in their language learning: *Trabajando en grupos me ayudado para corregir errores y me da mas ideas y otro punto de vista de lo que estoy escribiendo (Working in groups had helped me to correct errors and gives me more ideas and a different point of view about what I am writing).* But the student who struggled the most paid the ultimate compliment: *Me falta mejorar mucho mas mi español, pero estoy en camino a triunfar este lenguaje lleno de acentos (I still have to improve more my Spanish, but I am in the right path to succeed in this language with plenty of orthographic accents).*

We learned much more from the Module I pilot, and two more findings should be highlighted. Of particular significance to the online course is how important the virtual chat became, pointing to the need to increase opportunities for synchronous communication and to consider the addition of telephone contact as a channel of communication. The reading logs weren't as successful as expected from the standpoint of the students' writing as it was found that they did not have good paraphrasing skills. Also, there did not seem to be much vocabulary acquisition, or at least a transfer of learned vocabulary to other contexts. These skills are already introduced in SPAN 304. In light of these findings, the mode of presentation of these skills and the amount of practice with paraphrasing and vocabulary expansion activities in the face-to-face class will be evaluated.

Conclusions: A hybrid + online SHS course sequence

As many of the revisions proposed for SPAN 304 have already been mentioned in the preceding discussions, an overview of the changes is presented in the table below. The content of the course, the 'temas',

remains the same with the greatest changes in the writing component (the addition of process writing) and some in the language activities. The new or changed items are in italics and bold.

Table 5. SPAN 304: Changes in the curriculum and hybrid features

Lenguaje	Escritura
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ♦ <i>Ampliación de vocabulario</i>: the number of words (synonyms) per reading will be reduced. Instead, to encourage transfer of vocabulary, the students will spend more time developing a personal glossary and in activities where they use 'their' words. ♦ <i>Uso del diccionario</i>: links to online dictionaries and other language resource sites will be included in the new Bb6 site. Dictionary skills will be demonstrated with online dictionaries as well as with paper copies. ♦ <i>Paráfrasis</i>: Short paraphrasing practices will be included throughout the course. Some of the practices will be linked with reading assignments and will be a highlighted feature of the newspaper article assignment. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ♦ <i>Resúmenes de artículos periodísticos</i>: The number of summaries will be reduced from four to two. Online peer revision with rubrics adapted to the assignment will be added. There will be a first draft revised by a peer, and a final for the instructor. The grading rubric will reflect the items in the peer correction rubrics. The procedure will be modeled in class, followed by guided and independent practice. ♦ <i>Reacciones</i>: Online journaling will probably not be feasible for this course, but it will be attempted with one or two 'reacciones' to compare with the results obtained in 304-B.

Our Spanish for heritage speakers curriculum is a work in progress, but we are convinced that the online course is an important continuation of the face-to-face, now hybrid course. We believe that each course can focus on developing the abilities best suited to the course delivery method and that each can support the other to help our students develop their bilingual abilities.

The importance of the SHS curriculum resides not only in increasing the literacy skills of our Latino students but also in fostering a positive cultural identity. Latino students are a small minority at our university. They need to connect with the academic Latino community, peers and professors, to validate their background, values, and career choices. One of the positive aspects of the face-to-face course is the immediacy of personal contact, but through the online class new horizons can also be explored. Our students often tell us that they feel ashamed of their bilingual ability. Being in contact with many different

types of Latinos in the school community, in the local community, and in the virtual community, can help reverse this negative self-image and lead them to the revelation that bilingual ability is a continuum, not a static point. Any course that strives to achieve these goals is a winner.

Appendix A

Journals / DIARIO PERSONAL:

El diario personal es una escritura para reflexionar sobre sus experiencias personales como hispanohablante, como parte de esta clase, o sobre anécdotas que quiera compartir con la clase y la profesora.

Objetivos:

Con esta actividad los participantes van a:

- Capturar expresiones coloquiales de su comunidad.
- Transformar experiencias orales en narraciones informales.
- Usar experiencias personales orales para narrar historias.
- Leer las experiencias de los miembros de la clase y comentar sobre ellas.

Los estudiantes en su DIARIO PERSONAL deben:

- Escribir sobre experiencias personales como hispanohablantes.
- Usar vocabulario y expresiones informales ejemplo de su vida cotidiana y de contacto con otros hispanohablantes o nativos de la comunidad hispana.
- Escribir por lo menos 500 palabras para cada diario por semana.
- Usar estilo narrativo – descriptivo y pueden incluir otros elementos como poesías, o letras de canciones.
- Capturar la atención de sus lectores con humor y temas interesantes.
- Usar expresiones idiomáticas propias de la comunidad hispánica a la que pertenecen.
- Reflexionar sobre las experiencias y la influencia que esas experiencias tienen en su vida.
- Leer el DIARIO de otro estudiante y hacer un comentario reflexivo sobre lo que ha aprendido leyendo sobre la experiencia de esa persona.

El diario es una escritura libre, lo más importante es comunicar las ideas a la audiencia.

Reading Logs / INFORME DE LECTURA:

El informe de lectura es para que lea cualquier tema de su interés, en español, y escriba un comentario sobre lo leído. Esta debe ser una lectura por placer, por lo tanto elija un tema que le interese. Puede leer periódicos, cuentos, biografías, literatura, etc. Si necesita encontrar autores en español, encontrará una lista de autores latinos en materiales.

Objetivos:

El estudiante en esta actividad va a:

- Leer por placer para incorporar nuevo vocabulario en español.
- Reflexionar y resumir sobre el tema leído usando paráfrasis.
- Encontrar sinónimos.

Informe de lectura:

Los estudiantes deben:

- Leer 3 páginas (900 palabras) en español por semana.
- Hacer una reseña de lo leído de 100 palabras.
- Todos los informes deben incluir la cita bibliográfica en el estilo que prefiera (MLA, APA), y el número de páginas leídas. Si es un artículo en la red, debe incluir el enlace activo del artículo.
- Encontrar 3 palabras nuevas (o palabras que no usan a menudo) en el texto y copiar la oración textual en la que son usadas en el texto leído.
- Buscar 1 sinónimo apropiado para cada nueva palabra. El sinónimo debe poder reemplazar la palabra escogida sin cambiar el sentido de la oración.
- Los estudiantes deben entregar sus informes de lectura una vez por semana.

Appendix B: Personal Story / Técnica: La narración corta o “Cuento”

En sus “*Historias Personales*” van a usar la técnica conocida como *cuento*, que es una *narración corta*. Su origen es muy antiguo y comenzó siendo solamente oral y transmitido de esa forma de persona a persona. Es la forma más adecuada para su historia personal, pues es flexible. Puede incorporar elementos relacionados con sus lenguajes coloquiales, expresiones idiomáticas propias de sus orígenes como hispanohablantes y anécdotas personales que los incluyen como personajes. Los estilos son variados y hay cuentos reales, imaginarios, dramáticos y de terror.

A pesar de ser flexible en su forma, tiene características que son muy importantes:

- Un cuento necesita distintos elementos para quedar conformado como tal:
 - a) Una situación inicial: esa situación debe tenerlo a usted, como protagonista principal o secundario. Debe lograr interesar al lector de tal manera, que no pueda dejar de leer su historia.
 - b) Una segunda situación que "rompa" con la anterior: aquí es donde aparecen otros personajes o elementos que ayudan a constituir la escena del cuento.
 - c) Un conflicto, producto del choque mencionado: el conflicto puede ser real, irreal, psicológico, existencial, pero debe existir para crear la tensión necesaria en el tema.
 - d) Un desenlace o resolución: en este desenlace, los protagonistas deben haber encontrado en la experiencia narrada, algo que los ha cambiado profundamente.
- Tras el conflicto (C), la resolución (D) debe mostrarnos al o los personajes protagonistas, la situación o el lector, modificados con respecto a la situación inicial (A). De otro modo (si no hay evolución de personajes) el cuento no trascenderá de ser solamente una anécdota.
- El personaje debe sufrir una transformación (externa o interna), y lo mismo debe ocurrir con el lector.
- Los cuentos modernos hacen uso del lector activo, pues el cuento está dirigido directamente a la audiencia (lector) que participa directamente decidiendo el camino a seguir al leer.
- El cuento debe envolver de tal manera a los personajes en la trama, que es imposible imaginarlos en otras situaciones. Puede ser contado en primera o tercera persona, según quién o quienes son los personajes principales. Pero recuerde que en este primer escrito, usted debe ser uno de los personajes.

Como nuestras escrituras son trabajos que necesitamos revisar y mejorar antes de entregar la copia final, por eso necesitamos **rúbricas** con las especificaciones necesarias que cada actividad requiere. Use esta rúbrica como guía para escribir su historia personal, y para corregir el cuento que ha escrito su pareja. Recuerde que debe escribir como mínimo 600 palabras.

Appendix C: Content and Organization Rubric-Personal Story

<p>Criterios para evaluar CUENTO: HISTORIA PERSONAL: tema: <i>Mi experiencia personal como bilingüe</i> <i>mínimo 600 palabras</i></p>	<p>Escribir la forma simplifi-cada</p>	<p>Comentarios: explique como mejorarlo</p>
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<p>Contenido <u>Excelente / Muy bien</u>: demuestra amplio conocimiento del tema; trata el tema a fondo; expone el tema cuidadosamente Contiene más de 600 palabras <u>Bien / Regular</u>: demuestra conocimiento, pero le faltan detalles. Contiene 600 palabras. <u>Suficiente / Malo</u>: poco conocimiento e información y insuficiente desarrollo del tema Contiene menos de 600 palabras <u>Muy Malo</u>: no demuestra conocimiento, no desarrolla el tema o no ha escrito lo suficiente</p>		
<p>Organización <u>Excelente / Muy bien</u>: se lee con facilidad, las ideas son claras <u>Bien / Regular</u>: se puede leer y entender, pero las ideas no están claras. <u>Suficiente / Malo</u>: no se lee con facilidad, poca coherencia. <u>Muy malo</u>: imposible de entender, incoherente, o no ha escrito lo suficiente para el estilo.</p>		
Criterios del Trabajo:		
Concordancia entre sustantivos, artículos y adjetivos		
Concordancia entre verbos y sujetos		
Criterios para evaluar CUENTO: HISTORIA PERSONAL	Escribir la forma simplificada	Comentarios: explique como mejorarlo
Ortografía		
Título: es interesante y resume el tema		
Introducción: las primeras líneas dan al lector interés para seguir leyendo.		
Personajes: están bien definidos y tienen interacción durante la trama. Al final se ve el cambio sufrido en ellos. El autor es uno de los personajes		
Situaciones: Primera situación Segunda situación Conflicto		
Desenlace: toca a los personajes y al lector por igual, produciendo un sentimiento de cambio.		

Tipo de narración: interactiva, real, dramática, humorística, de terror.		
Otros comentarios: opinión personal sobre el escrito		

Appendix D: Correction Symbols

	Símbolo: Seguido al símbolo en el texto, está la explicación adicional, si es necesario, en otro color al texto original y entre corchetes [...]	Explicación de los símbolos
1	[fns]	Forma no-estándar. No necesariamente incorrecta para el lenguaje coloquial, pero que no es apropiada para el español formal: Ejemplo: La <u>llamé para atrás</u> . [fns]
2	[cf]	Cognado falso Ejemplo: Juan <u>realizó</u> [cf] que no tenía dinero.
3	[S]	Cambie la palabra por un SINONIMO. Ejemplo: María trabajaba mucho; ella <u>trabajaba</u> [S] todos los días.
4	(palabra)	No se necesita, palabra extra
5	Palabra [Rep]	La palabra remarcada en color ha sido repetida varias veces en el texto escrito, es necesario cambiarla.
6	[.....??]	La palabra o palabras marcadas en color no se entienden, el sentido no es claro para el lector.
7	[fp]	Falta una palabra Ejemplo: Tengo que [fp: verbo] a hacer compras.
8	{}	El texto entre semi-corchetes debe ser expresado de otra manera.
9	Palabra [op]	La palabra marcada con resaltador debe ser cambiada por otra palabra .
10	/...../ [comentario]	El comentario entre corchetes, se refiere al texto entre los símbolos /...../
11	..... [A]	Falta acento
12	..... [SA]	Sin acento
13	..... [D]	Deletreo Ejemplo: baca [D] / vaca
14	..... [TV]	Tiempo verbal no es el usado en ese contexto Ejemplo: Creo que fueran [TV] amigos en esos días.

15	..... [M]	Mayúscula
16	..... [m]	Minúscula
17	..... [<C>]	Concordancia de género o número entre sustantivo y adjetivo o sujeto y verbo. Ejemplo: La [<C>] mapa de la clase es de Europa.
18	.....[Angl]	Anglicismo
19	/	Puntuación: el texto necesita coma (,), punto y coma (;), punto (.), dos puntos (:)
20	[aclaraciones especiales]	Toda aclaración que el editor considere necesaria, para mejorar el significado del texto.

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Conversational Code-Switching among Two Thai-English Bilingual Adolescents

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Using the sequential analysis developed by Auer (1984, 1995), this paper attempts to show ways in which two Thai brothers, aged 9 and 13, living temporarily in the United States, employ code-switching to organize their conversation. Auer's distinction between participant-related and discourse-related code-switching proved to be useful in revealing that the two youths employ code-switching to negotiate the language for the interaction and accommodate each other's language competences and preferences, as well as to organize conversational tasks such as turn-taking, preference, repair, and bracketing of side-sequences. Contrary to the assumption that code-switching is evidence of linguistic deficit in bilingual speakers, the sequential analysis suggests that code-switching is used as an additional resource to achieve particular conversational goals in interactions with other bilingual speakers.

Introduction

This paper reports on the bilingual conversation of two Thai brothers, aged 9 and 13, observed at their home in the U.S. over an eleven-month period. Specifically, this paper explores pragmatic dimensions of bilingual code-switching among the two Thai adolescents, who, at the time of the initial observation, had been in the United States for 15 months. The two Thai brothers are the sons of the first author and came to the U.S. with their mother, who was pursuing a doctoral degree at an American university. The boys were enrolled in American public schools during their stay and have returned to Thailand with their mother upon completion of her doctoral studies. The boys' father stayed behind in Thailand during this time and provided financial support for his wife and sons in the U.S. The two Thai brothers were acquiring English as a second language and were in the process of becoming bilingual in Thai and English. Because there are currently very few studies that investigate Thai-English bilingual code-switching, this study is particularly significant in its attempt to contribute to a growing body of literature on the bilingual development of sojourner populations (those who stay in a host country on a temporary basis).

This introductory section briefly reviews some concepts and frameworks which proved helpful in highlighting the systematic

character of the two boys' code-switching behavior. Section 2 sets out social and demographic features of Thais in the U.S., and Section 3 describes the two Thai subjects of this study. Next, Sections 4 and 5 provide the data collection methodology and analyze the mixed language data recorded in the boys' conversations at home. Finally, Section 6 summarizes the major conclusions from this study.

Bilingual code-switching as a communicative resource

Although a large body of research reveals code-switching as a normal and widespread phenomenon of bilingual discourse (see Gumperz, 1982; Li, 2000; Milroy & Muysken, 1995; Romaine, 1995), laypersons and even some researchers often assume that those who mix languages do not know either language adequately. For example, Martin-Jones and Romaine (1986) demonstrate that the notion of "semilingualism" is based on the assumption that language alternation is evidence of some sort of deficit, an assumption which is at odds with sociolinguistic evidence.

Milroy and Muysken (1995) emphasized that code-switching is not a sign of communicative deficit: "Code-switching does not usually indicate lack of competence on the part of the speaker in any of the languages concerned, but results from complex bilingual skills" (front flap). Extending the concept of code-switching as a resource rather than a deficit, Shin (2005) pointed out that bilingual speakers use code-switching as an *additional* means to communicate discursal meanings to other participants in the conversation, in addition to using contextualization cues such as change in tempo and loudness as well as gestures, which monolinguals have at their disposal to convey meaning. Thus, code-switching is a helpful strategy, not a sign of linguistic deficit.

Gumperz's (1982) pioneering work on bilingual discourse strategies showed that language alternation, far from constituting a language or communicative deficit, provided an additional resource which bilinguals systematically explored to express a range of social and rhetorical meanings. From this perspective, code-switching is "an element in a socially agreed matrix of contextualization cues and conventions used by speakers to alert addressees, in the course of ongoing interaction, to the social and situational context of the conversation" (Gumperz, 1982, p. 132). Gumperz stressed that other behaviors such as gestures or prosodic patterns were also exploitable as contextualization cues, and were thus functionally parallel to code-switching.

Theoretical framework of Auer's Sequential Conversation Analysis

Developing Gumperz's idea of code-switching as a contextualization

cue, Auer (1984, 1995, 1998) suggested that code-switching can function as a contextual cue like other pragmatics devices—such as intonation and pause. More specifically, “code-switching has and creates communicative and social meaning, and is in need of an interpretation by co-participants as well as analysts” (Auer, 1998, p. 1). Based upon Auer’s perspective, while a particular utterance may be contextualized as an irony, mockery, or as a side-sequence outside the current topic, using pragmatic tools in a language, the same job could be done by code-switching. His work has proved to be particularly relevant when analyzing the data presented in Section 5.

Auer drew a useful distinction between participant-related switching (motivated by the language preferences or competences of participants) and discourse-related switching (setting up a contrast which structures some part of the discourse — for example, reiteration of an utterance for emphasis in a different language). Auer points out that the discourse functions of code-switching have received a great deal of attention in the existing literature, while processes of language negotiation and preference-influenced or competence-influenced language choices are usually not subsumed under conversational code-switching, but are considered to be either determined by societal macro-structures or by psycholinguistic factors. The distinction which he draws between discourse and participant-related code-switching allows language alternation of all kinds to be discussed within a single framework.

To study code-switching as a contextualization cue requires the analyst to focus on the sequential development of interaction, because the meanings of contextualization cues unfold as interaction proceeds, and cannot be discussed without referring to the conversational context. The framework provided by Conversation Analysis (CA) is appropriate for this kind of analysis (see Atkinson & Heritage, 1984; Levinson, 1983, Ch. 6). In Auer’s view, the CA approach has at least two advantages. First, it gives priority to “the sequential implicativeness of language choice in conversation, i.e. the fact that whatever language a participant chooses for the organization of his or her turn, or for an utterance which is part of the turn, the choice exerts an influence on subsequent language choices by the same or other speakers” (Auer, 1984, p. 5). Second, it “limits the external analysts’ interpretational leeway because it relates his or her interpretations back to the members’ mutual understanding of their utterances as manifest in their behavior” (Auer, 1984, p. 6).

This kind of sequential analysis was the basis for many subsequent studies of bilingual interaction (e.g., Cromdal, 2004; Gafaranga, 2000; Gafaranga & Torras, 2002; Hansen, 2003; Li & Milroy, 1995; Moyer, 2000; Shin & Milroy, 2000; see also Auer, 1998 for an excellent collection of studies that are based on this framework).

Auer's framework is also what will be applied in the analysis in Section 5.

The Social Context of Thai-English Code-switching

The U.S. Census (2004) reported 146,577 persons of Thai ancestry living in the U.S., which is less than 0.1% of the total U.S. population. Out of the Asian and Pacific Islander population in the U.S., Thais ranked 11th in number, or 1.3% of the total Asian and Pacific Islander population in the U.S. The first group of Thais settled in the U.S. in 1952-1953 via "a grant from a local hospital," but most settlers followed in 1960 (Codman-Wilson, 1992, p. 40). Because these early pioneers had worked with American missionaries or in missionary hospitals in Thailand, their English was already on a communicative level when they arrived in the U.S. Most of the children of these early immigrants were encouraged to speak English and eventually "lost their fluidity in the Thai language" (p. 40). There were very few Thai restaurants, grocery stores, or ethnic associations in the early days of Thai immigration to the U.S. (Codman-Wilson, 1992). In 1969, Thai immigrants began forming ethnic Thai associations that were primarily for consultations to assist each other psychologically and for business purposes. Thai businesses mainly involved Thai food markets, Thai restaurants, beauty shops, ice cream shops, and gas stations (Sakdisubha, 1987). In the late 1970s and early 1980s, Thai immigrants consisted mostly of businessmen and students (Codman-Wilson, 1992, p. 43).

A significant portion of recent Thai immigrants to the U.S. is composed of students who are staying in the U.S. temporarily. The first author belongs to this group. The total number of Thai students in the United States increased from 34 in 1921 to 1,630 in 1964 (Barry, 1967), and to 8,937 in 2003, ranking Thailand 9th among the top 15 countries that sent students to the U.S. (U.S. Embassy in Thailand, 2005). Many of these students bring their families with them, creating opportunities for their children to be educated in English in American schools. Given the perceived importance of English as a global means of communication, this option is increasingly favored by Thai students who are studying in English-speaking countries.

The two subjects in the current study will have attended American public schools for one year and three months at the time when the study took place and three years before returning to Thailand with their mother. Their English proficiencies will be discussed in the following section.

Subjects

Two Thai boys, aged 9 and 13 upon their arrival in the U.S., participated in this study. The two subjects, Winner and Willy, came to the U.S. in spring, 2004 to live with their mother, the first author, who was pursuing a doctoral degree at a U.S. university. Of mixed Chinese-Thai ancestry, the two boys are native speakers of Thai and are acquiring English as a second language in the United States. Winner and Willy are the two boys' nick names used since their birth. Detailed information about each subject is followed.

Winner - the older brother

Winner, the older brother in this study, was 13 years old when he arrived in the United States and was 15 during the data collection period. Prior to his arrival in the U.S., he had had some exposure to English. He was introduced to the English alphabet and children's songs in English when he was in kindergarten. Winner attended a private elementary school where he was exposed to minimal English and finished grade seven in a public middle school in Thailand before coming to the U.S. Academically gifted, Winner finished grade seven in Thailand with straight A's and was first in his class. While attending middle school in Thailand, Winner was enrolled in a Mini English Program (MEP) on Saturdays. As an MEP student, Winner learned all school subjects in Thai on weekdays but studied mathematics, science, English, and conversational English in English on Saturdays. In the MEP, American-educated Thai teachers taught science, mathematics, and conversational English while foreign teachers (an American in the first semester and a Filipino in the second semester) taught English. Winner later stated that the English he learned in the MEP provided a strong foundation for his studies in the U.S.

However, upon his enrollment as a seventh grader in a public middle school in the U.S., he was assessed as a non-English speaker on the IDEA Proficiency Test (IPT) and was placed in a high-beginning ESOL (English for Speakers of Other Languages) class. When he got into the eighth grade, he was initially placed in an intermediate ESOL class, but was quickly reassigned to an advanced ESOL class. As in Thailand, Winner was academically successful in the U.S. He was selected "Student of the Month" in October, 2004 and was on the Honor Roll for four consecutive marking periods in eighth grade. Among his many accomplishments, he represented his school in a mathematics tournament and won third-place in the integers section. In May, 2005, Winner passed the IDEA Proficiency Test (IPT) and exited the ESOL program. Thus, it took Winner one year and three months to be fully mainstreamed into English-only instruction. In high school, Winner

continued to excel in all subject areas and finished the ninth grade with straight A's.

Willy - the younger brother

Willy, the younger brother, celebrated his 9th birthday one day before he left Thailand and was 11 years old during data collection. Like his older brother, Willy was exposed to some English from kindergarten through third grade at the same private elementary school his brother attended in Thailand. Although not as academically gifted as his older brother, Willy generally had positive views about schooling and being educated in the U.S. Upon his arrival in the U.S., Willy knew some basic English vocabulary — such as “cat” and “dog” — as well as some formulaic expressions such as “How are you?” and “Thank you.”

Willy also took the IPT and was assessed as a non-English speaker. He was pulled out for ESOL instruction for approximately 30 minutes a day, twice a week. A student's ESOL progress is characterized into three levels: emergent (beginning acquisition and occasional application of skills), progressing (frequent application and extension of skills), and independent (consistent application and meaningful use of skills). At the end of fourth grade (June, 2005), his English was assessed as “progressing” and “independent” except in punctuation, grammar, and information organization which are emergent. Then in the middle of fifth grade (January, 2006), his abilities in listening and reading were assessed as “independent.” Willy exited the ESOL program in June, 2006. It took Willy two years and three months to be fully mainstreamed into English-only instruction, one year more than the amount of time his older brother took to be mainstreamed. Even though Willy remained in the ESOL program longer, his confidence in English grew steadily throughout his stay in the U.S., resulting in higher skills in subject areas such as mathematics, science, and social studies. Like Winner, Willy achieved the Honor Roll for all marking periods. In fifth grade, Willy was placed in a gifted and talented (GT) mathematics class and in GT science class, but still struggled with reading and writing in English. Willy finished the fifth grade with A's in all subjects except for English reading and social studies. His homeroom teacher recommended that he ‘enlarge and extend his language arts abilities’ during summer. He was recommended for placement in GT mathematics and GT science courses in middle school.

Data Collection

Elicitation procedures for spontaneous speech

The audio-recordings were made over eleven months (from the 15th to 25th month after arrival). All 24 audiotape recordings, lasting 30 minutes

each (12 hours total), were made in the living room at the boys' home, where the three family members — Winner, Willy, and their mother— had meals together on the floor around a big tea table in front of the television. The audiotape recorder was placed on a cupboard in the corner of the living room next to the television. There were four different conversational grouping categories. Out of the 24 recordings, 18 were dyadic conversations (1) between Winner and mother, (2) between Willy and Mother, and (3) between Winner and Willy. The 6 remaining recordings were triadic conversations among (4) Winner, Willy, and Mother. All conversations took place during dinnertime.

The data

The entire speech corpus consisted of a total of 12,254 utterances produced by the two boys, unevenly distributed across the four conversational grouping categories. Table 1 shows the total number of code-switches produced by the two boys across the conversational categories. The percentages were calculated by dividing the total number of code-switches produced by the boys in a given conversational category by the total number of all utterances produced by the boys in that category.

Table 1: Total number of code-switches produced by the two boys

Conversation categories	(1) Winner + Mother	(2) Willy + Mother	(3) Winner + Willy	(4) Winner + Willy + Mother	Total
Total Number of					
Code-switches*	457 (22.8%)	678 (29.5%)	733 (14.2%)	746 (26.9%)	2,614 (21.3%)
Utterances	2,008	2,295	5,179	2,772	12,254

* Total number of code-switches includes both extra-sentential code-switching (i.e., code-switching across utterance boundaries) and intra-sentential code-switching (i.e., code-switching within utterance boundaries).

The total number of code-switches produced by the two brothers in all four conversational categories was 2,614 (21.3%) out of a total of 12,254 utterances, which is significantly more than the rates (below 5%) reported in previous studies involving bilingual children (Köppe & Meisel, 1995; Shin & Milroy, 2000). One possible explanation for this difference may be the setting where data was collected. While the current study was conducted in the home setting, these other studies were done

in schools. Many language minority children feel pressured to speak only English at school because their native languages are often devalued by their teachers and peers (Shin, 2005; Wong Fillmore, 1991). The home, then, was a linguistic refuge where the two boys need not worry about being looked down upon for speaking their native language.

In addition, the greater number of code-switches in the current study may be explained by the fact that the data collection started in June 2005, which was the 15th month of the boy's residence in the U.S. By this time, the boys had learned a great deal of English and were becoming more and more comfortable in it. Their rapidly increasing proficiency in English resulting from sustained and systematic exposure to the language in school made it possible for English to be incorporated into sibling interaction which previously was entirely in Thai. Since their school experiences were mostly in English, they were likely to use English to talk about matters related to school (e.g., schoolwork, teachers, and peers) even at home. In addition, it was natural for them to choose English to talk about living in the U.S. (e.g., apartment, weather, food) since these experiences occurred in a largely English-speaking medium. The influence of topic and context on the language choice of bilingual speakers has also been found in many previous studies (Auer, 1998; Cefola, 1981; De Jong, 1986; Gumperz, 1982; Halmari, 2004; Hansen, 2003; Jørgensen, 1998; Montes-Alcalá, 2001; Moyer, 1998).

Analysis of Code-switching

Participant-related code-switching

Participant-related code-switching in the Thai brothers' bilingual data may be seen as either preference-related or competence-related. Preference-related code-switching allows speakers to ascribe to other participants' individualistic preferences for one language or the other. However, individual preference may not bear on a participant's code-switching behavior if the competence ascribed to the co-participant prevents it from doing so. Auer (1984) remarks that bilingual conversationalists carefully monitor their partner's speech production, adapting their own language choice to the assessed bilingual abilities of the other. Such accommodation to co-participant's language abilities can be interpreted as competence-related.

Preference-related code-switching

In Excerpt 1, the boys are playing *Yu-Gi-Oh* cards in the living room while their mother is preparing lunch in the kitchen.¹ In lines 2 through 4, Willy struggles to tie the curtains. Then, the boys sit down at the tea table and shuffle the cards. The conversation in lines 1 through 23 is

(Willy comes to sit at the tea table and starts singing a Thai song similar to Winner's.)

6 Willy: *phīi nāə ʔaw loŋ paj wáj khāaŋ láaŋ*
 brother [Win]ner take down DV place side below

7 *hə́ /*

MP

(Winner, take this down there.)

(Willy unpacks and shuffles his card.)

8 Willy: *maa /*

come

(Come on.)

9 Winner: [*wēed*] /

magic

(Magic card!)

10 Willy: [*wēed*] / ʔyyj / kàbdàg / talòg wà /
 magic EXCL trap funny IPP

11 *rāəm maa kǝǝ dāaj tua dii kǝǝŋ ləaj ná nīa /*
 start DV then get CLASS good before at all MP MP

(Magic card! Oh! Trap card! This is fun! I got a good card since the start.)

12 Winner: POT OF GREED /

(Pot of Greed is a magic card.)

13 Willy: *háj phīi nāə phīi nāə ʔaw*
 EXCL brother [Win]ner brother [Win]ner take

14 ʔājnīi loŋ paj wáj khāaŋ láaŋ hə́ /
 this down DV place side below MP

(Hey, take this down there.)

(This kind of behavior happens very often in their play when Willy wants to distract Winner. This utterance may mean, “Hey, look over there!”)

15 Winner: *jūŋ / cháj káad wēed* POT OF GREED /
 meddlesome use card magic

(Don't mess with me. I'll use my magic “Pot of Greed” card.)

16 Willy: ʔyym /

EXCL

(OK)

17 Winner: *phàan /*

pass

(I pass.)

18 Willy: COME ON *taalàaláa* COME ON BABY /

(Thai rhythm)

(Come on. Come on, baby.)

19 Winner: ʔǝǝ *káad dāaj khêe sǝǝŋ baj ná*
 release card MODAL just two CLASS MP

- 20 *tua nyη cháj káad dâaj khêε sǝǝη baj ná /*
 CLASS one use card MODAL just two CLASS MP /
 (You can use two cards for one turn.)
- 21 Willy: *mǎajkhwaam wâa jajηaj /*
 mean that how
 (What do you mean?)
- 22 Winner: *tua nyη ʔǝǝg káad dâaj khêε sǝǝη baj ná /*
 card one release card MODAL just two CLASS MP
 (With a magic card, you can use only two cards for one turn.)
- 23 Willy: *rúu /*
 know
 (I know.)
- 24 Winner: I SUMMON / DARK BLADE ATTACK /
- 25 Willy: *háj phanhâa rǎǎ (unintelligible) /*
 EXCL 1,500 QP
 (Wow, is it worth 1,500?)
- 26 Winner: AND ONE CARD FACE DOWN ON THE FIELD *phàan*
 / pass
 (Here's one card facing down on the field, I pass.)
 (When they play the Yu-Gi-Oh card game, they imagine that they are in a battle and the table, on which they put the cards, is the battle field.)
- 27 Willy: *háj bǝǝg phaasǎaʔaηkrid dē THE END /*
 EXCL say English MP
 (Hey, speak English, "The end.")
- 28 (Selecting his cards) I SUMMON AMAZON PALADIN / IN
- 29 THE / OH I SUMMON MONSTER IN / FACE MODE
- 30 FACE DOWN MODE AND FISSURE /
- 31 Winner: *léεw ηaj tǝǝ ʔâ /*
 then how further MP
 (What's next?)
- 32 Willy: AND THE END UH END MY TURN /
- 33 *phûud phaasǎa ʔaηkrid nǝj sîi tǝǝη choo*
 speak language English a little MP must show
- 34 *kháw nǝj wâa khraj pen khraj /*
 they a little that who be who
 (Speak English; we must show them a little bit of who is who.)

Competence-related code-switching

In Excerpt 2, Winner and his mother are talking about an event called "Celebrity Day" at his high school. In line 1, Winner inserts the English phrase "Celebrity Day" in an otherwise Thai sentence to introduce his mother to the event. In line 2, his mother repeats the word "celebrity."

Winner interprets her repetition as not knowing the word and repeats it in line 3. Despite her acknowledgment that she knows what the word means as shown by her use of the Thai exclamation showing agreement (^ʔəə) in line 4, Winner is not convinced that she understands what the event entails and switches to Thai in lines 5-7 to describe it. In doing so, Winner seems to have interpreted that while his mother probably understands what the words “celebrity” and “day” mean, she is not likely to be familiar with the concept of dressing up as a celebrity as part of a school activity, which most Thais would find strange.

Thus, Winner’s code-switch in line 5 displays his sensitivity towards his mother’s perceived lack of cultural and linguistic background to understand the uniquely American event. Such accommodation to the bilingual as well as bicultural abilities of the other participant in the conversation has also been reported by Auer (1984, p. 47) who observed that the Italian/German bilingual children he studied monitored their partner’s speech production very carefully for “mistakes” or insecurities in grammar and pronunciation and adapted their own language choice accordingly. Similarly, Shin and Milroy (2000, p. 367) showed that a Korean/English bilingual child adapted to her classmate’s difficulties with English by using Korean when addressing him but switched to English to address her teacher, who required her to use English in the classroom.

Excerpt 2: Winner and his mother are talking about an event called “Celebrity Day” at his school (Session 1, Month 19).

- 1 Winner: *léew wan níi pen CELEBRITY DAY ηaj m̄ɛ /*
 then day this be MP mother
 (Mom, today is Celebrity Day [at my school].)
- 2 Mother: CELEBRITY /
- 3 Winner: CELEBRITY /
- 4 Mother: ^ʔəə
 EXCL
 (Yes.)
- 5 Winner: *k̄ɔ̄ khyy hāj t̄ɛ̄ntua ʔarajk̄ɔ̄d̄āaj*
 then be DV dress up whatever
- 6 *th̄i tua-eng ch̄ɔ̄b th̄i t̄ɛ̄ntua taam daaraa*
 which oneself like which dress up like superstar
- 7 *th̄i tuaeng ch̄ɔ̄b /*
 which oneself like
 ([Celebrity Day] refers to the day on which everybody can wear anything they like or dress up like their favorite superstar.)
- 8 Mother: ^ʔəə /
 EXCL
 (Yes.)

- 9 Winner: *phǒm hěn baaykhon mēε sàj sǐ lǎy préεd*
 I see someone mother wear color yellow intense
 10 *ləj mēε /*
 at all mother
 (Mom, I even saw someone wearing bright yellow.)
- 11 Mother: ^ʔ*āaw léεw winnə̌ə māj ríu rǎə /*
 EXCL then Winner not know QP
 (But didn't you even know about this?)
- 12 Winner: *phǒm ríu tēε phǒm māj chǎəb /*
 I know but I not like
 (I did, but I don't like it.)

Winner's code-switch in line 5 in this excerpt (2) can also be interpreted as discourse-related code-switching. His mother's repetition of the word "celebrity" can be analyzed as a "next turn repair initiator" which offers Winner an opportunity to reformulate his original utterance. As Winner simply repeats his mother's utterance in line 3, foregoing his opportunity to do a repair, his mother code-switches and produces the Thai agreement marker (^ʔ*əə*) in line 4. The purpose of her use of this agreement marker may be ambiguous to an outsider. However, Winner seems to have interpreted it as another repair initiator, to which he responds positively this time by switching to Thai to explain the event in lines 5-7, completing the repair. His mother's use of the agreement marker (^ʔ*əə*) in line 8 again invites Winner to further elaborate on the topic, which he takes up in line 9 when he describes a specific person he saw that was wearing a bright yellow costume.

Discourse-related code-switching

Bilingual speakers can make use of code-switching as a contextualization strategy to organize conversational tasks (e.g. turn-taking, preference, repair, and bracketing of side-sequences) in addition to whatever other organizational strategies are available to monolingual speakers (such as gestures and a wide range of prosodic phenomena – see Couper-Kuhlen & Selting, 1996). The following sequential analysis will in turn focus on the two Thai brothers' use of code-switching to coordinate preference organization. According to Levinson (1983) and Yule (1996), participants in a conversation can interpret co-participants' utterances as either a) preferred (acceptance, granting of a request, or agreement) or, b) dispreferred (refusal, rejection, or disagreement). While monolingual speakers may communicate their dispreference toward their interlocutors with pauses and the use of preface markers such as 'well' (Levinson, 1983, pp. 307-308), bilingual speakers have the additional option of using code-switching to do this task (Al-Khatib, 2003; Auer, 1984 &

1995; Bain & Yu, 2000; Cromdal, 2004; Halmari, 2004; Hansen, 2003; Jørgensen, 1998; Sebba & Wootten, 1998; Shin, 2005). The mere contrast in language choice with that of the previous turn works as a communicative strategy (Alfonzetti, 1998).

In Excerpt 3, Willy is trying to do his math lesson while his mother helps to time him. Winner sings and keeps distracting his brother with questions about why people pass gas (lines 1, 5, and 7), to which Willy replies unsympathetically, “Because you are crazy” (lines 2, 4, 6, and 8). It is apparent that Willy is trying to stop Winner from bothering him with his terse responses, but in line 9, it is Willy who is reprimanded by his mother for calling his brother a crazy person. Emboldened by their mother’s backing, Winner laughs and sings happily again in line 10. At this point, Willy has had enough of this and yells at his brother to shut up (line 11).

Notice that Willy’s directive is accompanied by a switch into English, which helps convey his dissatisfaction and gives it an extra punch. However, Winner ignores his younger brother again and keeps singing in line 12. Willy then uses English to ask his brother whether he understood what he was asking him to do (line 13), but decides that he probably could not stop his older brother from annoying him and switches to Thai to ask his mother to time his math practice (line 14). What is interesting here is that Willy’s responses in lines 2, 4, 6, and 8 are in Thai, until, at a certain point, he feels that this strategy does not work and switches to English, the language that contrasts with that of the preceding turn, together with other contextualization cues such as higher pitch and volume.

Excerpt 3: Willy is doing his math lesson. Winner is singing an English song, while their mother is helping to time Willy’s math practice (Session 1, Month 15).

- 1 Winner: (Using the rhythm of the song of the TV series, *Smallville*)
thammaj tòd kandûaj /
 why fart altogether
 (Why do people fart?)
- 2 Willy: *kâw phrô phû nâə pen ʔâjbâa ηaj /*
 then because brother [Win]ner be crazy guy MP
 (Because you are crazy.)
- 3 Winner: (Singing the song of the TV series, *Smallville*) SAVE ME...
- 4 Willy: *kâw phrô phû nâə pen PSYCHO ηaj /*
 then because brother [Win]ner be MP
 (Because you are a psycho.)
- 5 Winner: (Singing the song of the TV series, *Smallville*) OH MY NEED
tɛɛ raw câ tòd kan thammaj t̚ŋ tòd /
 but we FUT fart together why must fart

- (But why do we need to fart?)
 6 Willy: *kʰɔ̌ phrɔ́ phîi nâə pen ʔâjbâa ɲaj /*
 then because brother [Win]ner be crazy guy MP
 (Because you are crazy.)
- 7 Winner: *tòd thammaj /*
 fart why
 (Why do we fart?)
- 8 Willy: *kʰɔ̌ phrɔ́ phîi nâə pen ʔâjbâa ɲaj /*
 then because brother [Win]ner be crazy guy MP
 (Because you are crazy.)
- 9 Mother: *lîi dàa jùu dâaj /*
 [Wil]ly scold still MV
 (Willy, don't scold your brother.)
- 10 Winner: (laughing and singing in English, *Incomplete* by Backstreet Boys)
- 11 Willy: (yelling) SHUT UP. SHUT YOUR MOUTH DOWN: /
- 12 Winner: (singing in English, *Incomplete* by Backstreet Boys)
- 13 Willy: DID YOU UNDER...UNDERSTAND THE PROBLEM?
 NO? /
- 14 (2.0) *mêe khráb càb weelaa háj nɔ̌j khráb /*
 mother PP measure time DV MP PP
 (Mom, please time my math practice.)
- 15 Mother: *ʔaw khêənǎj lâ /*
 take at point MP
 (At what point do you want me to start timing?)
- 16 Willy: *pébnyɲ khráb mêe yym /*
 just a moment PP mother umm
 (Mom, just a moment.)
- 17 Winner: (still singing in English, *Incomplete* by Backstreet Boys)
- 18 Mother: *náb jaɲ /*
 count yet
 (Should I count, or not yet?)
- 19 Willy: *ʔookhee khráb nỳɲ sɔ̌ɔ̌ɲ sǎam /*
 OK PP one two three
 (OK, one, two, three.)

Conclusion

By comparing the language choice in one utterance against the language choice in the previous turn, the sequential analysis developed by Auer (1984, 1995) showed ways in which the two Thai-English bilingual brothers used code-switching to structure their conversation. Auer's distinction between participant-related and discourse-related code-switching was found to be useful in revealing ways in which code-

switching is used as an *additional* tool for conveying meaning, leading to more effective communication.

The overall rates of code-switching in the spontaneous speech data of the two boys was significantly greater than those found in other studies of bilingual children (Köppe & Meisel, 1995; Shin & Milroy, 2000). The setting of the study seems to have had a clear effect on the overall rates of code-switching. Since this study took place at the boys' home, there were more occasions to use both Thai and English. Had the recordings been made at the boys' schools, where the expected norm is to speak English, there would have been much lower rates of code-switching. In addition, it was noted that the boys' rates of code-switching in dyadic conversations with each other were somewhat lower than those in dyadic and triadic conversations with their mother. Given that the mother spoke mostly in Thai to the boys and code-switched very rarely, her speech could not have influenced the boys to code-switch more. Rather, the boys code-switched more when talking to their mother because they were discussing school-related events, which occurred mostly in English. Furthermore, the boys may have tried to speak more English to satisfy their perceived expectations of their mother who was an English teacher in Thailand and likely wanted them to speak more English.

There were some clear differences in the language preference of the two boys. While Winner preferred Thai and used it mostly to interact with his mother and brother, Willy clearly preferred English and was observed to take any chance he could to speak it. This finding is in agreement with previous research on bilingual children, which shows that younger siblings tend to be more dominant in the language of the host society than older siblings because they are exposed to the second language at an earlier age and have fewer opportunities to interact alone with their native language-speaking parents and/or caretakers (Halmari, 2004; Montes-Alcalá, 2001; Shin, 2002; Vihman, 1998; Wong Fillmore, 1991).

In addition, Willy, as the younger brother, used English to assert himself and to stand up against his older brother. The analysis of Willy's discourse-related code-switching suggests that his mere contrast in language choice to that of the previous turn had the effect of helping him better communicate his dissatisfaction toward his brother. While monolingual speakers may make use of contextualization cues such as change in tempo and loudness to organize the interaction, bilingual children and adults have the option of switching to another language in addition to using those other contextualization cues. Thus, the bilingualism of the two boys emerged as an additional linguistic and interactive resource.

Notes

1. This excerpt comes from videotaped data collected for the pilot study during Month 8.

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Gender and the Digital Divide: Causes and Some Possible Solutions

Danika Rockett

For more than a decade, research has indicated that women are at a disadvantage compared to men in terms of computer usage, both in the workplace and in educational settings. Some researchers believe that this gender gap aspect of the digital divide is primarily a result of computer anxiety, which in turn is a result of socialization patterns. In one recent study, elementary students (both males and females from various socio-economic backgrounds) indicated through drawings and recorded conversations that white males almost always came to mind when asked to depict their perception of a competent computer user. Females, particularly those from lower socio-economic backgrounds and from families with low levels of parental education, continue to demonstrate lower levels of computer competency throughout all levels of education, but physical access to computers for these women is only part of the problem. With information and communications technology (ICT) becoming an integral part of higher education, this can present a serious problem for women in the university setting. This gender gap is especially interesting when we consider the significant strides American women have made in the workforce over the past few decades. More women are earning university degrees, and more women are working professionals; these facts should lead to more empowerment for women overall. Why, then, are women still behind their male counterparts when it comes to ICT? A number of solutions have been proposed, including early childhood educational software that is gender-neutral and same-sex computer classes. These solutions will be discussed further in this paper.

Introduction

Since the early 1980s, computers have been present in schools, and the number of computers in classrooms has grown exponentially since their introduction into the educational realm. Fewer than twenty percent of U.S. classrooms had computers in 1981; however, more than ninety-five percent of schools owned computers by the end of the 1980s, and by the year 2000, nearly all schools were equipped with computers, with ninety-

eight percent having connection to the Internet (Cooper and Weaver, 2003, p. 1).

Most experts agree that information and communications technology (ICT) skills are essential for ongoing success in today's workforce. In fact, Neil Selwyn (2005) refers to "learning to use new information technologies (ITs) such as computers [as] a fundamental aspect—even an obligation—of citizenship and employment in contemporary society" (p. 122). According to Irving (1998), 60 percent of jobs require some technology skills, and "people who use computers on the job earn 43 percent more than other workers" (in Solomon, et al, 2003, p. xvii). This information is nearly a decade old, but the situation has not changed much. In fact, Cooper (2006) tells us that technology's role "in the workplace will continue to grow, with current estimates suggesting that by 2010, 25% of all new jobs in the public and private sectors will be technologically oriented" (p. 320).

Furthermore, other research (Losh, 2004) suggests that ICT is a "[potential facilitator of] social equality" (p. 152). With all of the supposed benefits, and the necessity, of ICT skills, it is no wonder that so many schools have purchased computers for their classrooms. But an important question that has been asked and that still warrants further research is whether or not all students benefit equally from the technology that is provided by schools. In this paper, the focus will be primarily on gender, as much evidence implies that there is still a clear gender gap when it comes to computer usage.

The Gender Gap in Computer Usage

Although surveys indicate "that low-income and high-risk students are the least likely to receive the benefits of exemplary uses of educational technology and telecommunications" (Solomon, et al, 2003, p. xiii), a gender gap also exists in terms of ICT usage and skills acquisition. This fact is interesting, almost surprising, when we consider the social and economic gains women have made over the past two decades. By the end of the twentieth century, American women were "earning most baccalaureate and master's degrees and more than 40% of M.D., doctorate, or law degrees" (Losh, 2004, p. 153), which is important because research also shows that the more education a person has, the more likely that person is to purchase and use ICT. These educational gains carry over into the occupational realm, with most adult women in the U.S. holding professional jobs. In fact, "the overall distribution of professional and managerial jobs by gender is increasingly similar" (p. 153). With these figures in mind, one might be inclined to assume that women must, as a natural consequence, use ICT at least as often as their male counterparts. But consider the following statistics from the 2001 U.S. Census:

In 2000, 10% of engineers and 20% of engineering technicians were female, fractions only slightly higher than those in 1983 when this data series begins. One third of all employed women held clerical or retail sales jobs, a rate of 4 times that of employed men. (in Losh, 2004, p. 153)

Therefore, while women are making gains in the employment sector, the types of jobs they are getting may not be ones that require high levels of ICT usage. Many of the women who fall into the gender gap do so not because of lack of physical access to ICT, but because of lack of use, which is what this paper's primary focus will be. I do not propose that women have restricted access to ICT (although in some areas, access itself is an issue), but that many women nonetheless use ICT less often than do men.

Reasons for the Gap

Socialization is one reason for this discrepancy. In fact, some researchers (McNair, et al, 2001; Cooper and Weaver, 2003; Schrum and Geisler, 2003; Stanley, 2003; Losh, 2004; van Dijk, 2005; Todman and Day, 2006) attribute computer anxiety, often viewed as a "general type of *technophobia*" (van Dijk, 2003, p. 41), to socialization patterns—patterns that create "psychological gender" (Todman and Day, 2006, p. 856)—which begin to take form at a very early age. To paraphrase a key idea in Simone de Beauvoir's (1952) most famous book, women are made; they are not born (249). And as Cooper and Weaver (2003) show throughout their study, in the construction of the female identity, computers are often seen from a very early age as tools for boys, not girls.

With ICT becoming such an integral part of higher education, the gender divide can present a serious problem for women in the university setting. Moreover, the dilemma affects not only students but faculty as well. Research shows that female faculty members are less likely than are their male counterparts to embrace instructional technologies (Todman and Day, 2006). Because computer anxieties start quite early, even at the elementary school level, we must begin acclimating female students to ICT at a very early age as well. One way to do this is by having computer activities that are more gender neutral, rather than ones designed around the male-dominated activities. Another proposed solution is having same-sex computer classes.

While physical access is not the focus of this paper, it is important to note that the mere presence of computers or technology does not guarantee proper use of these tools. Warschauer (2003) discusses problems that occurred when the government of New Delhi "established a project, known as the 'Hole-in -the-Wall' experiment, to

provide computer access to the city's street children" (p. 2). But because of certain missing elements, such as those in line with the practice of "minimally invasive education" (MIE), the project was an ultimate failure as an educational tool. To clarify, MIE describes how young students learn in unsupervised environments, and apparently children are very capable of learning in this kind of environment, but only when elements such as the safety of the location are considered (p. 2). Although the children did learn how to perform some basic functions on the computers, other factors are important and should be considered. First, there were language barriers, as "no special content was provided in Hindi, the only language the children knew." Furthermore, community organizations were not involved in the training in any way (Warschauer, 2003, p. 3).

According to Warschauer, social scientists would blame a lack of social capital for the failure of the Hole-in-the-Wall project (p. 6). A main point Warschauer makes is that having access to computers is not enough to guarantee access to the information society. While the Hole-in-the-Wall project does not exemplify the problems for women specifically, it still illustrates that mere access does not guarantee proper implementation. For social inclusion truly to occur, physical access alone is not enough. According to Warschauer, the digital divide must be "reconceptualized"; it is a "matter not only of an adequate share of resources, but also of 'participation in the determination of both individual and collective life chances'" (Steward qtd in Warschauer, 2002).

Socialization Patterns and Stereotypes

Stanley (2002) reveals, through her ethnographic research involving one hundred low-income adults, that at least three problems—psychosocial ones rather than cost-related—pose significant obstacles to the acquisition of computer skills: relevance, fear, and self-concept (p. 407). When the term "digital divide" was first coined in a 1995 report from the National Telecommunications and Information Administration (NTIA), physical access was the primary topic of discussion. The subtitle alone, "A Survey of the 'Have Nots' in Rural and Urban America" attests to the goals of this report on the digital divide (*Falling*, 1995). According to Warschauer (2002), this original definition affixes "overriding importance to the physical availability of computers and connectivity, rather than to issues of content, language, education, literacy, or community and social resources" (p. 4). More recently, however, the digital divide as far as physical access is concerned has narrowed, which leaves us with the question of why there is still a divide when it comes to ICT use and skills.

One plausible answer to this question deals with the nature of socialization patterns in children. McNair et al (2001) remind us that:

Sex-role stereotyping can occur in children as young as age 4, as preschool children are strongly influenced by societal norms for gender behavior. Advertisements on television and in magazines overwhelmingly depict men and boys as computer users. Not only are males pictured more often than females, they are also engaged in professional, active roles and, in contrast, females are looking pretty or provocative posing beside a computer [...] Even in scenes where children are using computers for educational purposes, boys are portrayed as competent users while girls are more often “decoration” (p. 51).

In another study (Cooper and Weaver, 2003), researchers came to a similar conclusion, discovering that elementary school children frequently assume that boys are better computer users than girls are (p. 12), and citing Coomber et al.'s 1997 study, the authors reveal that “As boys grow older, they tend to use the computers they have at home more frequently. As girls grow older, they tend to use their home computers less” (qtd in Cooper and Weaver, 2003, p. 14). This gap was obvious in the classroom, as well, when Cooper and Weaver went to the school to conduct their study. The boys were much more willing to try new educational software than the girls were. In fact, many of the girls asked to be excused from the activity and only relented after the researchers assured them that they were not being tested on the material (p. 12).

When considering why this disparity occurs, one might consider expectations, which often lead to self-fulfilling prophecies. Nearly four decades ago, Rosenthal and Jacobson (1968) conducted a study that measured the effects of teacher expectations on student performance. The study revealed that expectations do affect educational outcomes: students are more likely to perform well if expectations are optimistic. Cooper and Robinson-Stavely conducted a similar study in 1990 that featured students from Princeton University. In this study, the students played a computer game, Zork. The researchers “systematically manipulated males and females’ expectations of how successful they will be at Zork” by having students fill out a questionnaire, which was ‘scored’ in one of two ways: “The test results from your interest and personality inventory tell us that you will do very well at the game of Zork”; or “The test results from your interest and personality inventory tell us that you will probably not do very well at the game [. . .] Regardless of how you have done in the past at computer tasks, you should not expect to do very well at this game” (Cooper and Weaver, 2003, 52 - 58).

The results mirrored those found by Rosenthal and Jacobson, with a vast majority of students, both males and females, believing the

manipulation. Each group performed according to the expectations put forth in the beginning of the study. In other words, the female students did not seem to have less actual ability than the men, so ability is not the reason for the gender gap in ICT skills acquisition and use.

This carries over into the classroom because of the stereotypes that often dictate even a classroom environment: girls read books, while boys play computer games. As Ann, an eleven-year-old girl involved in another of Cooper's experiments said, "May I go back to my classroom instead [of playing on the computer]? I was reading a story and I would really rather finish it. Besides, my brother plays video games, not me. I'm not very good at it" (Cooper and Weaver, 2003, p. 12).

Software Designed with Boys in Mind

Another possible reason for such disparity between males and females when it comes to computer use may relate to the nature of most educational software, which is typically geared towards male interests. For example, much of the educational software on the market involves competition, sound effects, war, sports, or space stories. Apparently, these tactics are not as effective for girls as they are for boys (p. 16). Because young girls from an early age begin to associate computers with activities that are stereotypically male, they often develop anxiety when it comes to computers in general. Perhaps software designers should be made aware of these facts so that more of an effort can be made to create gender-neutral educational software. McNair, et al. give other "strategies for minimizing gender bias in classroom computer use," including using antibias teaching strategies; selecting bias-free, or gender neutral, software; and using nonstereotypic role models (pp. 52-53). With this in mind, it is important to note that girls, as well as other groups, do not typically have the luxury of a representative role model when it comes to computer efficacy:

[A] less tangible computer technology use issue that must be addressed if the digital divide is to be eliminated is the portrayal of stereotypes that adversely affect the views of members of certain social groups regarding the feasibility of their using computer technology. Women, individuals with disabilities, and members of certain ethnic groups may conclude, for a variety of reasons, such as having limited access to role models, that they do not have a viable option to use computer technology (Morse, 2004, pp. 273-74).

If boys and girls are going to learn from computer software, then the software must be created with all children in mind—not just boys.

Problems beyond Childhood

Unfortunately, the problem of computer anxiety among girls does not stop in elementary school, high school, or even college. Todman and Day (2006) reveal that university students suffer from computer anxiety, and it is much more prevalent among women than men. The authors used the Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI) to ascertain whether or not psychological gender plays a role in computer anxiety. They found that more femininity means more computer anxiety. Likewise, males who were the most sex-typed in terms of masculine identity showed little-to-no computer anxiety (864). In addition, Ching et al (2005) conducted a study of 130 university students to ascertain the students' levels of computer use and computer anxiety. While the authors admit that the small sample size necessitates that caution be taken in generalizing these results to the larger population of students, they did find that males were much more likely to use computers than females (p. 404).

Computer anxiety among females, which leads to a gender gap in the use of ICT, is a problem that is not "confined to young children in the lower grades" (Cooper and Weaver, 2003, p. 27). The problem may start there, but it has "far-reaching and long-lasting consequences" (p. 27). Surveys have revealed "negative attitudes and higher computer anxiety among females in college, the workplace and among retirees" (Karavidas qtd in Cooper, 2006, p. 324). Indeed, research (Rajagopal and Bojin 2003) suggests that female faculty members in the university setting also display higher levels of computer anxiety than their male colleagues. Furthermore, akin to the low levels of self efficacy displayed by the children in Cooper and Weaver's extensive research, female faculty members also "have less regard for their IT skills and knowledge [and] give themselves a lower rating than men do, in terms of their own computer knowledge and skills" (Rajagapol and Bojin, 2003, p.83). For some reason, they just don't think they can do it.

Possible Solutions

There is not one single solution that will solve all of these problems and miraculously close the gender gap of the digital divide. Rather, a combination of solutions should be considered. As previously mentioned, educational software should be constructed carefully to avoid stereotypes and to attract female students as well as male students. Educational software should be as gender neutral as possible. Software designers should consider the fact that girls tend to prefer "collaboration over competition" when it comes to educational tools (Weber and Custer, 2005, p. 56). Therefore, games that employ "war, sports, or space stories" (Cooper and Weaver, 2003, p.16), which all cater to boys more than to girls, should not be the only option in the classroom when it

comes to computer games. Educational software should be more gender neutral both inside and outside of the classroom. As Cooper and Weaver report, “in the real world of education and business, programs overwhelmingly favor male interests and male identification” and the authors detail this with examples such as shooting/war games that are designed to teach math (Chappel as cited in Cooper and Weaver, 2003, p. 24). The nature of computer software is a major factor when considering this aspect of the digital divide, and “until software is more readily available that is either gender-neutral or more suited to the preferences expressed by girls, the problem of computer anxiety will continue to be borne by females” (p. 25).

Also, teachers as well as parents should set high expectations for children, both male and female. If girls are taught early on, either consciously or subconsciously, that computers are for boys, then those girls will likely hold onto those erroneous beliefs throughout their academic as well as their professional careers. The results of an academic change such as this can be significant, especially when we consider predictions about the importance of ICT in the job market of the very near future.

Another possible solution is to have same-sex computer classes, at least in elementary classrooms. This suggestion has been debated and strong proponents exist on each side of the argument. But there is compelling evidence that suggests girls learn better and develop less computer anxiety when they are segregated from their male peers in the classroom. Recently, the Department of Education decided:

to amend the Title IX section of the Education Amendment of 1972. Title IX is the section that prohibits federally funded programs from excluding students because of their gender. It ensures, for instance, that girls and boys in public schools have equal access to athletic programs. And to this point, most have viewed it as prohibiting federally funded single-sex schools. The new changes [aim] “to provide more flexibility for educators to establish single-sex classes and schools at the elementary and secondary levels.” (qtd in Cooper and Weaver, 2003, p. 129)

The changes to Title IX come after evidence of success in the few public same-sex schools that exist in the United States. One example is the Young Women’s Leadership School, which is located in East Harlem. Since its charter in 1996, the school has demonstrated high levels of success, especially when we consider that most of its student body comes from “demographic groups that usually underperform academically” (Cooper and Weaver, 2003, p.130). In fact, nearly seventy-five percent of the 2001 graduating class “came from families classified as below the poverty line” and more than “90 % of the students

are Black or Latina” (p.130). Nonetheless, these students have overcome “the socio-structural odds” impressively outperforming “their peers at co-educational public schools” (p.130).

There are other recent examples that mirror this one; moreover, boys reap benefits from same-sex classes, too. One such example can be seen in the Malcolm X Academy in Detroit. This all-boys school, which was made co-ed as the result of a mid-1990s lawsuit, was made up of a group similar in socio-economic status to that of the Young Women’s Leadership School. And like the girls at this East Harlem School, boys at the Malcolm X Academy “had the highest mathematics scores of 77 Detroit schools, and the second highest scores of Michigan’s 780 schools” (p.131).

So what does all of this have to do with ICT and the digital divide in particular? Stereotypes, which, as discussed previously, can be a major factor in creating a gender gap in the first place because psychological gender differences are exacerbated in a co-educational environment. As Cooper and Weaver (2003) note:

Having boys and girls together in the same school keeps the cognitive representation of gender in the forefront. In a co-educational environment, boys’ facility and experience with technology and their skill at math and science encourages positive attitudes and higher performance. For girls, co-education in technology, math, and science brings anxiety, negative attitudes, and inhibited performance. Activating the gender concept makes it more probable that teachers will inadvertently select male-oriented software and examples for their computer classrooms. (p.133)

Another compelling piece of evidence comes from Stowe’s research from the early 1990s. Apparently, girls are much more likely to choose careers in science, math, or technology when they are taught these subjects in an all-girls classroom. Stowe compared two groups of girls in a physics classroom; one group comprised both males and females while the other group included only girls. The girls who participated in the girls-only class “indicated significantly more interest in pursuing a physics-related career than girls who had learned the topic in mixed-sex classes” (in Cooper and Weaver, 2003, p. 148-49). The authors cite similar studies that garnered comparable results, and more recent research from Australia (Wills, et al, 2006) reveals that “Teachers, parents, and children reported positive benefits from the [single-sex] class organisation [including] increased confidence and higher self-esteem among girls, whereas boys developed increased motivation and more commitment to schoolwork” (p. 277).

Although additional research is needed on the topic of single-sex classes, one can conclude that this type of educational environment could possibly alleviate not only the gender gap of the digital divide but also the gender gap in the professional realm—that is, single-sex classes might encourage more women to enter the math, science, and technology careers that are still heavily dominated by men.

Conclusion

It is safe to say that, while research has been conducted on this topic, more research on the digital divide, and on gender in particular, is needed. We have an educational problem that begins very early in the classroom. Girls are often socialized to believe computers are not intended for them and that boys will just naturally be better when it comes to ICT. However, research shows that this is not true. Girls have just as much innate ability to perform well on computer-related tasks as boys do, but unfortunately, girls too often are not given the necessary tools that could help them develop more confidence and less computer anxiety. With so much at stake, this problem cannot be ignored; moreover, it will not simply disappear on its own. We must actively pursue a solution (or solutions) to alleviate this aspect of the digital divide.

Educational software must be designed with both genders in mind. Games such as Demolition Math, which employ tactics geared heavily toward males, should either be eliminated or at the very least supplemented with games that are more gender-neutral. Expectations often lead to self-fulfilling prophecies, and teachers must have higher expectations for their students, no matter what subject is being taught; it should not be assumed that boys will perform better in certain areas than girls or vice versa. Finally, the possibility of single-sex computer classes should be examined further. There is evidence that suggests girls as well as boys might perform better in a single-sex educational environment. This is not to say that all co-ed classrooms should be abolished, [“but”] rather that certain subjects—those in which girls tend to demonstrate more anxiety—might be taught in a single-sex classroom. We know without a doubt that a problem exists, and we know some of the probable causes. The task at hand now is to find a definitive remedy so that we can say with confidence that at least one area of the digital divide has been bridged.

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Social Construction of Virginity in Turkey

Emek Ergun

This article studies the social construct of virginity in the sociocultural, sociolinguistic, and sociopolitical context of Turkey. After questioning what virginity is, which entails the question of what sex is and problematizing the dominant definitions of these constructs, the study analyzes three important aspects of virginity in three sections. First, the concept of virginity is contextualized in the sociopolitical framework of Turkey and examined specifically in the modernization process of the country. In this section, Western conceptualization of the norm of virginity and the practice of virginity examination as “backward traditions of the East” is also criticized for being ethnocentric and reductionist. Second, virginity is explained in relation to the critical concept of honor in the Turkish culture, which reveals how the virginity norm is efficiently utilized to justify femicide in the name of honor. In the third and final section of the paper, the linguistic construction of virginity is analyzed via lexical analysis of the Turkish language.

Defining Virginity and Sex

Whether externally bound or internally managed, no body can escape either the print of culture or its gendered meanings (Bordo, 1990, p. 109).

Virginity is a term that seems to be easily defined. After all, we utter or hear the term often in our daily lives. At some point during our development as sexual beings, some of us start sentences with “I lost my virginity when...” But still many of us hopelessly search for an answer to the confusing question, “Am I still a virgin?” We assume that we are all born virgins, but we are not sure how we keep or lose our virginity. Advice columns in newspapers and magazines are bombarded with letters from women looking for the “correct” definition of virginity, but as Blank (2007) notes, “For as long as we have had a notion of virginity at all, its parameters have been controversial and, as often as not, vague” (p. 4).

Since we are searching for a definition of a word, you might think that taking the shortcut of looking it up in a dictionary will put an end to our confusion. Merriam-Webster’s Collegiate Dictionary (Merriam-Webster Inc., 2003) defines “virgin” (noun) as (1) “an unmarried woman devoted to religion,” (2) “an absolutely chaste young

woman,” (3) “an unmarried girl or woman,” and (4) “a person who has not had sexual intercourse” (p. 1397).

According to the first definition, you are no longer a virgin if you are married and/or not devoted to religion. According to the second, you are not a virgin if you are not *absolutely* chaste and/or not young. According to the third, you stop being a virgin when you get married. According to the last one, you lose your virginity when you have sexual intercourse. These definitions, instead of clarifying the concept, complicate it more by mentioning devotion to religion, absolute chastity, youth, marriage, and sexual intercourse as parameters of virginity. What is problematic here is that these parameters also cannot be easily defined, as they mean different things in different contexts for different communities and individuals.

The definition that I will use in this research, both to reflect the hegemonic definition of virginity in the Turkish context (and in most patriarchal societies in general) and to ensure consistency throughout the paper, is that a virgin is a woman who has never had sex. Here, sex is also an overloaded term because it includes many forms of sexual connection such as vaginal sex, anal sex, and oral sex. Therefore, in order to clarify our definition of virginity, we first need to clarify our definition of sex as a concept. “What is sex?” is a seemingly simple but in fact very complicated question the answer to which also vary depending on one’s culture, gender, sexual orientation, etc. In patriarchal societies, the dominant definition of sex is often determined by the institution of heterosexuality. Due to compulsory heterosexuality, sex is defined in phallogocentric terms, which assumes that a woman needs a penis to become sexually aroused and satisfied. As Long Laws and Schwartz (1977) note, “We use male standards of sexual initiation, in this case, intromission of the penis in the vagina, to define a woman’s sexuality” (p. 223-224). While sex is defined primarily as intercourse in heteronormative societies, everything else, such as oral sex, is perceived as leading up to “sex,” which is clearly illustrated in the term “foreplay.”

The definition of sex as the penetration of the vagina by the penis, which is assumed to turn girls into women (mature adults), dominates patriarchal societies. As Stiritz and Schiller (2005) note, “A girl becomes a woman by the virtue of being penetrated by a man” (p. 1136). This creates what MacKinnon (1982) calls “a male image of their [women’s] sexuality” (p. 531). However, in reality sex has many alternative definitions and discourses challenging the dominant status of the heterosexual definition (Allen, 2003; Carpenter, 2001; Holland, Ramazanoglu, & Thomson, 1996; Jackson & Cram, 2003; McPhillips, Braun, & Gavey, 2001; Sander & Machover Reinisch, 2006). For instance, when the U.S. President Bill Clinton claimed that he did not have sex with Monica Lewinsky during the 1998 independent council investigation, he triggered a heated public debate over what constitutes

“real” sex (Carpenter, 2001, p. 127). Because they allegedly did not engage in vaginal intercourse, but only in oral sex, Clinton could claim that he did not have sex with Lewinsky by drawing upon the heteronormative androcentric model of sexuality. However, such a (hetero)sexist, deterministic, exclusionary, and limiting perspective on sexuality has been challenged by several feminists and LGBTTT (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and transsexual) scholars and communities (Radicalesbians, 1970; Rich, 1980; Richardson, 2006).

In their interview study asking how essential “coital imperative” is in sexual relations, McPhillips et al. (2001) searched for alternative definitions of sex. They found that “it was regularly taken for granted that intercourse is an inherent part of heterosex – its defining feature” (p. 238-239). However, they also found that “discursive spaces for change” existed, although they were not coherent enough to be named “alternative discourses” (p. 239). This study shows that while the definition of sex in terms of intercourse continues to be dominant, alternative definitions do exist and challenge the supremacy of heterosex.

The traditional definition of sex as intercourse is closely related to the dominant definition of virginity. Carpenter (2001) explores the ambiguity over what virginity loss means in the US and how this ambiguity influences people’s conduct and identity. Her findings show that virginity loss was generally defined in physiological terms and “specifically equated with first coitus” (p. 136). However, she also found that definitions varied across sexual orientation and gender. Carpenter concludes her findings by arguing that “definitions of virginity loss and sex are ambiguous; with the exception of coitus, people disagree about which sexual activities can result in virginity loss and thus, by extension, about which activities are ‘really’ sex” (p. 137).

Despite the existence of alternative definitions of sex and virginity, in my analysis, when I use the term “virginity,” I refer specifically to the dominant definition employed in mainstream Turkish society, which is the focus of this study. In Turkey, heterosexuality strictly dominates how female sexuality and virginity are perceived, defined, and experienced, which means that the penile penetration of the vagina is held above all the other parameters in constructing virginity/sex. Therefore, in my analysis, when I say virgin, I refer to a woman whose vagina is believed to have never been penetrated by a penis.

This mechanical definition seems simple, but contains significant implications. First, the definition clearly shows that virginity is assumed to be connected to abstinence from sex (sex as defined in terms of heterosexual intercourse). Second, it tells us that Turkish society sees virginity as something that is possessed or lost by women. Although virginity might be used for males as well, in this study, it exclusively refers to females, because in Turkey, men's sexuality and virginity are

not problematized while women's sexuality and virginity are. Third, this dominant definition of virginity includes a vagina and a penis, or a woman and a man, so it is strictly based on heterosexuality. Fourth, it is assumed that virginity is possessed and lost through the state of the vagina. This has led to the association of virginity with the hymen, which is essentially or physically a *functionless* membrane *partially* covering the entrance of the vagina and is found in most but not all women. This association of virginity with the hymen is achieved primarily by the institution of medicine, which has reproduced the social construct of virginity as a fixed objective tangible reality that can be examined (through virginity examinations¹) and even repaired when “broken” (through virginity reconstruction surgeries²) in medical settings like hospitals or clinics by medical agents such as physicians. Although it is beyond the scope of this paper, I should note that the medicalization of virginity, by drawing upon the power of science and medicine, has made the concept a much more effective control mechanism over female sexuality.

This definition of virginity suggests many aspects of the concept, but does not give a hint about the most important part, that virginity is created by patriarchal societies trying to control women's bodies and sexualities. We usually do not realize this constructed nature of virginity, partly because the concept has such a long history going back centuries that we take it for granted. Virginity was there before us and was introduced to us as a part of our bodies and identities as we grew up. Virginity is so deeply embedded in patriarchal cultures that we perceive it as a fixed natural reality. The reason for this disguise can partly be attributed to the medical institution's association of virginity with the hymen. Since the hymen has a physical existence in our bodies, virginity automatically gains a physical existence, too, which leaves us little space to question its scientific status. Therefore, by labeling the hymen as the physical criterion of virginity, the medical profession has gained great authority over female sexuality.

It is very difficult to find a comprehensive source on the issue of the social construction of virginity, since as a research topic it has been largely neglected by social sciences. However, Hanne Blank's (2007) new book, *Virgin: The Untouched History*, provides an invaluable source of data on the topic. Examining the historical and cultural development of virginity in Western societies, Blank (2007) demonstrates how virginity became associated with the hymen when the medical profession invented the hymen around the 16th century after engaging in a longstanding debate about the existence and nature of the hymen for centuries. She explains how and why societies constructed virginity and how this seemingly static construct constantly evolves with the changing sociopolitical conditions.

I claim that the hymen as a discrete entity is invented (not discovered) because what we know as the hymen today could have gone unnoticed and unnamed and, in Blank's (2007) terms, seen as "just another of the various ridges and folds of the female genitals" (p. 43). If physicians did not decide to identify the membrane partly covering the entrance of the vagina as the hymen, but thought of it simply as one of the several other folds of the vagina, the hymen would not exist today as a discrete entity in its own right. However, given that the hymen provides the medical profession with a tool to reconstruct virginity as a physical and medical reality, it would be naïve to expect the patriarchal institution of medicine to miss such a chance to control women's bodies and sexualities. Thus, the scientific identification of virginity with the hymen could be seen as a turning point in the history of female sexuality.

Reflecting a social constructionist approach, Blank (2007) describes the process of the fabrication of virginity as a reality that profoundly affects women's lives:

Virginity is as distinctively human a notion as philanthropy. We invented it. We developed it. We disseminated the idea throughout our cultures, religions, legal systems, bodies of art, and works of scientific knowledge. We have fixed it as an integral part of how we experience our own bodies and selves. And we have done all this without actually being able to define it consistently, identify it accurately, or explain how or why it works (p. 3).

Blank (2007) notes that virginity not only is socially constructed, but also has no scientific basis, since the hymen is not a reliable source of data about women's sexual past. This unreliability is due to the fact that hymens vary in shape, structure, and appearance and they also change in time: "the hymen continues to develop after birth, and this means that sexual penetration is absolutely not required for a hymen to be different or look different from one day, one week, or one month to the next" (p. 38). Virginity has simply been made up by sociopolitical institutions as an essential part of women's bodies and identities so that they would have a legitimate excuse to control women's sexualities towards their own needs and aspirations.

Blank (2007) agrees that virginity exists because men want to control women:

Virginity had come to carry the symbolic weight not just of a husband's desire to control the ancestry of children born under his roof but of male desire to control the behavior of women and children. It had become a symbol of successful patriarchy as a whole (p. 31).

Virginity is a reflection of the patriarchal system's need to have power over women's productive and reproductive capabilities. In this context, it is not surprising that the major institutions such as medicine and law support the construct of virginity through practices of virginity examinations and virginity reconstruction surgeries, as a direct and effective way to keep women under control.

The Sociocultural Setting: Turkey

In this study, I analyze the norm of female virginity, which has been obsessively implemented throughout history in many patriarchal societies. Among these many patriarchal societies, this study focuses on the Turkish context. However, before discussing the conceptualization of virginity in Turkish culture, some background information about the historical development and political structure of the country is needed.

The Republic of Turkey, usually regarded as a developing Middle-Eastern country, is located in southwest Asia and southeast Europe. It is predominantly a Muslim society, but defined as a secular state. Turkey was founded on the remnants of the Ottoman Empire in 1923 after the Independence War was won against several European nations such as Britain, France, Greece, and Italy. The founder of the country, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk³ sought to establish Turkey as the integration of "Western modernity" and traditional Turkish values. The legal foundation of Turkey was based upon laws borrowed from various European countries such as Italy, Sweden, and France.

Turkey is defined as a "constitutional republic with a unicameral multiparty Parliament of 550 members, elected directly for five-year terms" (OMCT, 2003, p. 343). The separation of powers is the basis of the Constitution. The military, which sees itself as the guardian of secularism, has had extraordinary power in Turkish political life, which has witnessed several military coups.

In the last national elections in July 2007, the Justice and Development Party (JDP), a pro-Islamist liberal party, repeated its previous victory in the 2002 elections and won the vast majority of the votes and seats in the Parliament by increasing its votes from 34 % to 46.6 % nationwide. One of the most important issues on JDP's agenda has been Turkey's admission to the European Union (EU). In 2002, Turkey enacted the EU Adaptation Law, "a substantial political reform package designed to meet EU criteria in the field of human rights" (OMCT, 2003, p. 343). Although the legislative efforts of the government were welcomed by the EU authorities, poor implementation of the law caused discontent. In December 2002, the EU postponed its decision to secure a start date for membership negotiations until 2004 due to "Turkey's consistently poor human rights record" (p. 362).

Finally, on October 3, 2005, the EU and Turkey officially started the negotiation process, which is expected to take more than a decade.

Virginity in a Traditionalism versus Modernization Paradigm

The reforms that were imposed upon the citizens by the newly established Turkish state were created to facilitate women's equality with men in the social sphere. This led many scholars to refer to the national policy of the new state as "state feminism" (White, 2003, p. 145). However, the guiding principle behind the reforms was not actually feminism or women's liberation, but Westernization and modernization. Turkish women were viewed as the symbol of the new national identity, and, therefore, they were encouraged to adopt the image of the modern Turkish woman. As Parla (2001) states, "women became the 'ground' upon which notions of being modern became articulated" (p. 70).

According to this image, Turkish women were expected to be well-educated modern mothers because they would raise the future generation of patriots. White (2003) agrees that "modernity, as defined by the Turkish state, included marriage and children as a national duty for women" (p. 146). Modernization did not liberate Turkish women; rather it draped a new dress over the existing patriarchal control mechanisms over them. Similarly, Parla (2001) notes that:

motherhood thus took on a connotation beyond that of the instinctively loving, nurturing female: mothers were now patriotically conscious women who bore the graver responsibility of imparting their unconditional love of the nation to their children, but more importantly, it seems, to their sons (p. 73).

In short, although Turkish women were encouraged to attain higher education and professional jobs, marriage and motherhood were still presented as their ultimate sacred duties. Despite a new national identity and policy that came along with the new state (modernization / Westernization), Turkey remained a patriarchal society. It changed its outfits but did not change much under the new appearance.

Because the new Turkish woman was conceptualized as wife and mother, the cultural emphasis on virginity and honor was never challenged, but reinforced by the new state. In the Turkish context, modernization "demanded that women be unveiled without unburdening them from the requirement of chastity" (Parla, 2001, p. 75). This created, in Kandiyoti's words (as cited in Parla, 2001), "compensatory symbolism and a new veil-that of sexual repression" (p. 75). Turkish women were encouraged to be modern and Western-looking, but also were expected to "honorably" represent their authentic culture.

The concept of virginit has been reinforced by both the legal and the medical institutions of the state, which can be seen as the most powerful institutions in the context of modernization. As Ilkcaracan (2004b) argues,

The discourse of modernization sought to bring women's reproductive capacity under state control and surveillance through multiple methods supplied by modern professions. These methods included ... defining sexuality and reproduction as the proper concern of modern professions such as medicine (p. 6).

In Turkey, modern medicine enables the state to control female sexuality by redefining virginit as a biological reality through the medical practices of virginit examinations and virginit reconstruction surgeries. These practices are products of modernization. Contrary to the common belief, modernization does not guarantee women a gender-egalitarian social environment, but in most cases perpetuates oppression and exploitation of women in more insidious ways.

In the literature, the most visible problem associated with virginit, virginit examination, is often analyzed within a traditionalist versus modernist paradigm (Cindoglu, 1997; Kozma, 2004; Parla, 2001). These articles propose that virginit examinations should be seen as "a particularly modern form of institutionalized violence," not simply as backward traditions (Parla, 2001, p. 66). Parla criticizes the reductionist approaches to the practice and writes that virginit examinations "are condemned as proof of our failure in attaining the desirable degree of modernity" (p. 66). Virginit examination is not a reflection of Turkey's failure to become modern and Western, but of modernization whose main course has been shaped primarily by patriarchal institutions such as medicine and law.

In *Discipline & Punish*, Foucault (1977/1995) discusses the control mechanisms created by modernization such as the hospital, the prison, the school, and the army. He argues that modern society regulates people through institutions not only to control them but also to increase their utility. Virginit is a product of the modern *but at the same time* patriarchal regulatory mechanisms of medicine and law; it not only controls women's sexuality but also increases their reproductive and productive utility as mothers and domestic workers by supporting the institutions of marriage and family.

Writing about the practices of virginit examination and virginit reconstruction surgery in the specific context of Turkish culture, some scholars (both Turkish and Western) do not recognize that modernization, not the traditions or the religion of Islam exclusively, provides the patriarchal culture with these tools to control women's

bodies and sexualities (Bekker, Rademakers, Mouthaan, De Neef, Huisman, Van Zandvoort, & Emans, 1996; Cevik, Tapucu, & Aksoy, 2003; Frank, Bauer, Korur Fincanci, & Iacopino, 1999; Gursoy & Vural, 2003; Rademakers, Mouthaan, & De Neef, 2005).

In their article about the prevalence of virginity reconstruction surgery in the Turkish immigrant population in the Netherlands, Bekker et al. (1996) attribute the cause of the problem to the maintenance of the Islamic culture and the failure to adapt to the European culture:

Having to cope with contradictions between traditional Islamic and modern western European norms, values, and practices regarding sexuality, virginity and marriage, exposes these young women to very specific and severe forms of acculturative stress (p. 331).

Such a reductionist and Eurocentric approach disguises the real roots of the problem, which is the cross-cultural patriarchal control of women's sexualities, while establishing a cultural superiority over non-Western societies, especially Muslim and/or Middle Eastern ones. Bekker et al.'s statement reflects "the assumption that 'Third-World women's problems' are fundamentally problems of 'Third-World women being victimized by Traditional Patriarchal Cultural Practices'" (Narayan, 1997, p. 59). They ignore that modernization does not provide any solutions to the problem, but more improved and disguised tools to support the patriarchal control of women.⁵

The concept of virginity, which can take different forms in different cultures, exists as a patriarchal control mechanism irrespective of religion or location. When practices such as virginity examination and virginity reconstruction surgery are examined outside the sociopolitical context in which they occur, "a simplistic, ahistorical, and apolitical picture" is presented (Narayan, 1997, p. 60). Such a reductionist approach does not provide effective solutions to problems such as virginity examinations, but reproduces the binaries of East/West, modern/traditional, us/them with the West depicted as modern and "us," and superior to the East, which is depicted as traditional and otherized as "them."

Virginity and the Concept of Honor in Turkish Culture

In Turkish culture, the concepts of virginity and honor are two sides of the same coin; they define each other. Saadawi's (1980) explanation of the relation between virginity and honor in the Arab world is applicable to Turkey:

There is a distorted concept of honor in our Arab society. A man's honor is safe as long as the female members of his family

keep their hymens intact. It is more closely related to the behavior of the women in the family, than to his own behavior (p. 31).

The virginity status of a woman, publicly represented by her conduct in the social sphere, symbolizes the honor of her family and community. Turkish women are expected not only to refrain from premarital sex, but also to behave “properly” in public, especially in their contacts with males. When a woman is suspected of sexual misconduct, which usually leads to rumors in her community, she is believed to bring shame to her family. Sometimes in order to cleanse this shame, especially in rural areas where communities are more tightly woven, the woman is murdered by her family, which is called “honor killing.” Sever and Yurdakul (2001) define honor killing as:

the premeditated murder of preadolescent, adolescent, or adult women by one or more male members of the immediate or extended family. These killings are often undertaken when a family council decides on the time and form of execution due to allegation, suspicion, or proof of sexual impropriety by the victim (p. 964-965).

Due to the public outcry by the women’s groups and the media, the Turkish government and legal authorities have started to give more attention to honor killings in the last decade. According to the final version of the Turkish Penal Code, which was amended in 2004 as part of the EU Adaptation Package Reforms, honor killings are punishable by life sentencing without the probability of reduction in the sentencing. There are no official statistics on the number of honor killings in Turkey as the police records “do not break down homicides into specific types” (OMCT, 2003, p. 351). According to Kogacioglu (2004), “an incomplete collection of the cases that received coverage in the national media shows that in the three-year period between 1994 and 1996 a total of fifty-three women fell victim to honor killings” (p. 118). However, the actual number of honor killing cases in Turkey is estimated to be higher, not only because the media do not cover every case, but also because many honor killings are disguised as accidents or suicides.

In Turkish culture, there are two kinds of honor, both of which are usually possessed by men: *seref* and *namus*. While a man’s *seref* is determined by his and his male family members’ social accomplishments and can be tainted by their social failures, his *namus* is determined exclusively by the sexual conduct of the female members of his family (i.e. his wife, daughter, sister etc.). The term “honor killing” refers to murders committed to cleanse the tainting of the second type of honor, *namus*. *Namus* is such a powerful concept in Turkish culture that it is

protected by strict male control over female sexuality. Within this honor/shame complex, virginity becomes a vital issue, because in Turkey, women are expected to engage in (hetero)sexual relations only in the context of marriage. Therefore, when a woman is suspected of premarital sexual contact, she might be forced to undergo a virginity examination. If the doctor, who conducts the virginity examination on the woman, reports that she is not a virgin, the woman might be killed to prevent her from shaming her family or to cleanse the shame. Thus, virginity of a woman is directly linked to the honor of her male relatives.

At the root of this virginity/honor complex lies the patriarchal assumption that women are properties of men. Moghadam (2003) notes that "in a patriarchal context, women are considered a form of property. Their honor – and, by extension, the honor of the family – depends in great measure on their virginity and good conduct" (p. 105). In Turkish culture, virginity has been constructed as a symbol of family honor that needs to be protected and in case of failure that needs to be cleansed by blood. When men see their daughters, wives, sisters etc. as their properties, they control them in the name of protection. Male control disguised as protection is a crucial issue because in the end, it leads to women self-controlling. Kandiyoti (1988) calls this process "patriarchal bargain," where women's compliance with the patriarchal norms is rewarded with "security, stability and respect" (p. 275). Instead of resisting the oppressive norm of virginity, women "conform to it, and even impose it on other women, in order to be worthy of the protection from the man's side of the bargain" (Kozma, 2004, p. 56).

When a woman breaks the dominant gender/sexuality norms and challenges the male control over her, she gives society the message that her "owners" are incapable of protecting/controlling her. This message causes the male "owners" to lose their social status defined by honor. Therefore, the males of the family punish the woman to regain their social status, thus proving that they actually do have control over her. Shalhoub-Kevorkian agrees (2005) that "a man's honor is aligned with his power to protect his property (the woman being his most prized possession)" (p. 1190).

The perception of women as property brings on not only the issue of protection and control, but also the problem of commodification of women. Leila Ahmed (1992) notes that "women's sexuality was designed the property of men, first of the woman's father, then of her husband, and the female sexual purity (virginity in particular) became negotiable, economically valuable property" (p. 12). Bride-price, which can be defined as the money or goods given to the father of the bride by the groom as a compensation of her upbringing expenses and labor in the Turkish context, is the utmost illustration of commodification of women. Although bride-price is legally banned in Turkey, it is still practiced especially in the rural areas. According to Ilkcaracan's study (2004a) in

Eastern Turkey, 61.2 % of the 599 women interviewed reported that “their husbands had to pay a bride price for them” (p. 234).

The practice of bride-price means that women can be sold and bought like any other property. When husbands pay for their wives, they assume that they have the ultimate control over their reproductive and productive capabilities. In this context, virginity emerges as the product-quality mark of the woman. It is a label saying that she has not been “used” by other men. The accessory of the red belt worn commonly by brides on their white wedding dress in Turkey can be seen as the ribbon wrapped around a newly bought commodity. This red belt is the public announcement of the virginity of the bride, since it symbolizes the bleeding of the bride’s hymen on the wedding night, which is called *gerdek gecesi* in Turkish.

Virginity in the Turkish Language

The perception of virginity as an important physical reality is perpetuated and reinforced not only by the social institutions of medicine and law, but also by the language of the society. Language, a major component of culture, “constitutes both the most important content and the most important instrument of socialization” (Berger & Luckmann, 1967, p. 133). We can learn about a culture by studying its language, because the language has been constructed within that culture (an ongoing process of creation and recreation) and inevitably mirrors it. Language, a significant instrument of socialization, reflects and maintains the patriarchal formation of society.

Berger and Luckmann (1967) argue that “language objectivates the shared experiences and makes them available to all within the linguistic community, thus becoming both the basis and the instrument of the collective stock of knowledge” (p. 68). When the social norm of virginity is integrated into language, it becomes objectified as a tangible fact, which is disseminated to all people speaking the same language. By using language, it is assured that both women and men will perpetuate the concept by using the language. Andersen (2003) points to this double-function of language:

Language both reflects and reinforces the cultural systems in which it is used. Note that this is a two-way process in that language reflects the values of the dominant culture and therefore can be one means by which stereotypes are communicated and reproduced (p. 58).

In Turkish society, virginity is an important control mechanism, and the Turkish language reflects and reinforces this cultural reality.

While the exact Turkish equivalent of “virgin” is *bakire*⁶, the most commonly used term for virgin is *kiz*, which means “girl.” In Turkish culture, there is a significant differentiation between a woman and a girl based on the status of virginity/hymen. A girl becomes a woman when she loses her virginity, which is expected to happen only when she gets married. Reflecting this differentiation, “hymen,” which is sometimes translated into Turkish as *himen* in medical contexts, is often articulated with the phrase, *kizlik zari* (the membrane of girlhood). As Parla (2001) notes, “even in documented medical reports, the phrase deployed to indicate the rupture of the hymen is ‘not a girl’ (*kiz degil*)” (p. 79). Another reflection of the differentiation between a woman and a girl is the concept of housewife. In Turkish, there are two words for housewife; one is house-woman who is married (*ev kadini*) and the other is house-girl who is waiting to get married (*ev kizi*). These linguistic features demonstrate the cultural assumption that on the first night of the marriage, the bride (girl) is turned into a woman by penile penetration. According to this phallogocentric view, the penis is the only thing that can upgrade a girl to the status of a woman.

In *The Contemporary Turkish Dictionary* (n.d.) prepared by the Turkish Language Institution (TLI), the definition of *kizlik* (girlhood) is similar to the one used in this study for virginity: “the status of a female who has not had sexual intercourse.” *Kiz* (girl) is defined as “a female child; a virgin; and an unmarried female person.” Similar to the definitions given in the English dictionary (“virgin” in Merriam-Webster Inc., 2003, p. 1397), the Turkish definitions also mention sexual intercourse and marriage as the criteria of virginity. In the same Turkish dictionary (TLI, n.d.), *kizlik zari* (the membrane of girlhood or the hymen) is defined as “the membrane that partly closes the vagina⁷ of girls who have not had sexual intercourse.” As these definitions clearly show, in Turkish culture, the status of virginity or girlhood belongs to females who have not had sexual intercourse, which is assumed and expected to come along with marriage.

Turkish has a very rich linguistic collection of terms related to “girlhood” (virginity), some of which Sever and Yurdakul (2001) illustrate in their article. One example of such Turkish phrases associated with virginity is *kiz kacirmak*, which literally translates “to abduct a girl.” Despite the word “abduct,” the typical situation is that a woman and a man run away together. This phrase implies that an unmarried girl (supposedly a virgin) runs away with a man (usually because their families do not permit them to get married) and they have (or pretend to have had) sexual intercourse before getting married. Because the virginity of the girl is “lost” due to the intercourse, the families willingly or unwillingly approve the marriage to protect their honor, or in some extreme cases, one or both are killed to cleanse the shame. These linguistic elements of the Turkish language indicate that virginity in

Turkish culture is the most valuable asset of a woman, and when she loses it outside the socially permitted context (marriage), she is believed to cause the loss of the family honor, which can be either reestablished by marriage or cleansed with her blood.

Berger and Luckmann (1967) note that “society, identity *and* reality are subjectively crystallized in the same process of internalization. This crystallization is concurrent with the internalization of language” (p. 133). Because the Turkish language is inundated with expressions reflecting the cultural importance of virginity, internalization of the language by women is an important tool for patriarchy to sustain itself. When women internalize oppressive products of patriarchy such as virginity, they perpetuate and reinforce the patriarchal system, which is to a great extent based on male control of female sexuality.

Conclusion

The systematic control over women’s bodies and sexualities through major societal institutions such as education, religion, medicine, law, and language has been an essential feature of patriarchal societies. By establishing a web of inherently misogynist institutions under the ultimate patriarch of the state, these societies have created both overt and covert management tactics over women’s productive and reproductive capacities. Turkey’s patriarchal society is one example of such a system that strictly controls women’s bodies and sexualities through those male-dominated institutions. These state institutions are harnessed by a culture obsessed with female virginity and serve to legitimize the state’s control over women in Turkey.

This article has investigated the social construct of female virginity, a major component of sexual control over women in Turkey, which Abu-Odeh (2004) refers to as “the regulatory practice of gender” (p. 370). Virginity has been socially constructed as an objective physical reality by the medical institution and as a legitimate control mechanism by the legal institution. This construction process has been perpetuated and reinforced by the institution of language, which has enabled the patriarchal system to present the virginity norm as a natural aspect of “femaleness.” This article has attempted to dismantle the “naturalness” of this social construct. It will certainly be a long and rough journey until we completely prevent women’s suffering from the virginity norm, but if we want to achieve women’s liberation, we need to gain control of our bodies, sexualities, and lives. Dismantling virginity is a critical part of this journey.

Notes

1. Virginitiy examinations are gynecological examinations where physicians interpret the condition of the hymen to determine whether the woman in question has ever had vaginal penile penetration. Since the 1990s, virginitiy examinations have been debated in the public arena with Turkish women's organizations fighting to have the practice banned and criminalized. The government, trying to ward off the conflict, has responded to women's groups' demand with inadequate policies. Under the growing pressure from the EU and the national women's movement, the Turkish government had to pay attention to the issue of virginitiy examinations in 2004 while amending the Turkish Penal Code (TPC) as a part of the EU Adaptation Package Reforms. The term "virginitiy examination" is not used in the TPC, but the practice is disguised and legitimized under the term "genital examination" (Article 287). The biggest problem with this article is that the consent of the woman is not required; if a judge and prosecutor deem that a genital examination is necessary, a woman can be forced to submit to the examination that is tantamount to a virginitiy examination. In short, although the new TPC is much more progressive for women, it still has loopholes that do not protect women from virginitiy examinations in certain situations.
2. Virginitiy reconstruction surgery, also called hymenoplasty, hymenorrhaphy, hymen or virginitiy repair, is a gynecological operation where the remains of the hymen that has been dissolved due to either vaginal penetration or other reasons are stitched together. When sutured, the hymen heals and bleeds, which is regarded as the physical sign of virginitiy, during the next intercourse (Cindoglu, 1997, p. 260). The purpose of the surgery is to enable the woman to bleed during the next sexual intercourse so that her partner will be convinced that she is a "virgin." The surgery is not legalized or criminalized by any laws in Turkey and is typically conducted in private clinics.
3. Mustafa Kemal was granted the last name, Ataturk (the Father of the Turk), by the Turkish Grand National Assembly in 1934, after a law requiring all Turkish citizens to adopt last names was promulgated.
4. A kind of male hat in Ottoman style.
5. Another problem with Bekker et al.'s (1996) statement is the assumption that there is a single Islamic culture that prevails in all Muslim societies. Islam is a world religion shaped by the institutions (i.e. law, education etc.) of the specific society in which the Muslim faith prevails. Although the Qur'an provides

the basis of Islam, the sociopolitical conditions of a society affect how the text is interpreted and practiced. It would be a mistake to categorize, for instance, Turkey and Iran as maintaining the same Islamic culture, because while the former is a secular country, the latter is ruled under the Islamic law of Sharia. Moreover, it should be noted that Islam is not the only religion that embraces the concept of virginity; Christianity also venerates virginity as exemplified simply by the worship of the Virgin Mary. To learn more about the history of virginity in the West, see Blank, 2007.

6. The Turkish equivalent of the term “virgin” has two versions: *bakire* and *bakir*. While *bakire* refers to females, *bakir* refers to males. The Turkish equivalent of virginity, however, has one equivalent, which is *bekaret*.
7. In this dictionary entry for *kizlik zari*, the Turkish word *dol yolu*, which translates “the semen/sperm track,” is used to refer to the vagina. Instead of the sexist term of *dol yolu*, the more neutral term *vajina* (vagina) could have been preferred. The term *dol yolu* illustrates the patriarchal representation of the female body, since even the vagina is defined in male terms.

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Beyond Objectivity: Perspectives on the Role of the Subjective in Social Science

David Hoffman

Positivists believe that social scientists can and should be objective in studying human beings. Critics hold that such objectivity is neither possible nor desirable. This article explores alternative perspectives on objectivity in the social sciences and argues that social scientists' subjective insights can contribute to a more complete understanding of the human world. The article includes a Discussion section in which the author draws upon personal experiences to illustrate and amplify this argument.

Overview

One of positivism's fundamental assumptions is that it is both possible and useful to be completely objective in studying social life. While acknowledging that every social scientist has his or her unique experiences and beliefs, strict positivists believe that social scientists can and should make observations about the human world that are not tainted by subjectivity. This positivist assumption has been criticized by critical theorists, ethnomethodologists, hermeneutic sociologists, individual philosophers and social scientists on many grounds.

This paper briefly describes the positivist perspective and the assumption of objectivity. It then reviews, compares and comments on various criticisms of this assumption, and alternative approaches to social science, articulated by the Frankfurt Institute for Social Research and the sociologists Alvin Gouldner and Kurt Wolff.

Positivism and Objectivity

In the context of methodological disputes in the social sciences, "positivism" generally refers to the perspective that the scientific method should be applied to the study of humans' social attributes, interactions and group behavior (Bryant, 1985). From this perspective, social conduct constitutes "an 'object' on a par with objects in the natural world," and can be studied as such (Giddens, 1974, p. 4). Positivists believe that despite our psychological complexity and apparent ability to make choices of our own free will, human beings' social lives and systems should be studied with the same detachment that a biologist would exhibit in examining the mucus membranes of a frog or a chemist would practice in analyzing the structure

of a water molecule. The most ardent positivists hold that theory always should emerge from empirical observations, which they view as the only legitimate source of knowledge (Alexander, 1982). This approach to the social sciences has fallen out of favor among some social scientists. The term “positivism” has been widely used as a derogatory label (Kreckel, 1984, p. 257). However, positivism once was and arguably remains the dominant metatheory in sociology.

According to Cohen (1980), strict positivists believe that achieving scientific rigor and detachment requires social scientists to separate their roles as theorists and investigators from their roles as citizens of the world. Their principal concern should be “whether or not a knowledge claim is true,” as opposed to whether it is consistent with the investigator’s past experiences and belief systems or has any practical applications (p. 51). For a claim of scientific knowledge to be valid, it must be subject to collective evaluation through critical reasoning and the development of consistent or contrary evidence. This norm “requires that scientists be on constant alert for sources of bias and that they make every effort to develop procedures for the elimination of bias once it is identified” (p. 60).

The positivist perspective that social scientists can and should be objective in their studies appears to be founded on two premises. The first is that facts exist independently from the people seeking to identify and describe them, so there is an objective reality that can be discovered and observed. Notwithstanding Einstein’s theory of relativity and Heisenberg’s uncertainty principle, both of which cast doubt on whether there are objective truths even in the physical sciences, strict sociological positivists believe that the social world has an objective existence and objective qualities (Bryant, 1985).

The other premise seemingly inherent in positivists’ calls for objectivity is that human beings can simply choose to suspend the aspects of their perceptions shaped by their experiences and belief systems: Bias is optional, not inevitable. However, even in the context of research in the natural sciences, this is a questionable proposition. Arguably there is a “generalized’ subjective element in the very perception of data” (Alexander, 1982, p. 17), and “even the scientific perception of a piece of data as random can be achieved only in relation to a certain kind of subjective explanation” (Polanyi, cited in Alexander, 1982, p. 20). The scientist’s orientation to “the metaphysical and empirical environments” may shape his or her formulations of the results of empirical research (Alexander, 1982, p. 23). The inherent subjectivity of semantics also may play a role in shaping scientists’ conclusions, since they must use language in developing questions and explaining experimental outcomes (Koyre, cited in Alexander, 1982, p. 24). As Cohen (1980) describes, subjective choice is involved, at the very least, in selecting the subject matter for empirical research. Even many positivists and scientists concede that no human being can ever achieve complete objectivity. However, positivists

maintain that “striving for this unrealizable goal forms much of the character of modern science” and should guide sociological research (p. 60) in much the same way it guides the practice of journalism at the most respected newspapers.

The Frankfurt School’s Perspective

In the mid-1950s, The Frankfurt Institute for Social Research (also known as the “Frankfurt School”) published *Aspects of Sociology*, with a preface coauthored by Institute icons Max Horkheimer and Theodor W. Adorno (The Frankfurt Institute for Social Research, 1956). One section of the book addresses sociological methods, focusing on positivism’s assumptions relating to objectivity and the value of empirical research.

For the Frankfurt School, the then-emerging prominence of empirical social research in sociology was an unwelcome development. According to the Frankfurt School (1956), the positivist-supported quest for empirically discoverable facts devalued all forms of speculative thought. The kinds of questions that the Frankfurt School often raised about the meaning, context and application of facts were too often dismissed by the positivists: “To seek the significance of social phenomena is often considered a vain pursuit; the quest for a total societal structure which will provide such a significance for the specific structures is generally postponed to await later synthesis” (p. 120). To the chagrin of the Frankfurt School’s cadre of scholars, in the dominant positivist paradigm any conclusions derived through approaches to research other than that of the natural sciences were “alleged to be unscientific and at best merely suggestions pointing to future empirical fulfillment” (p. 118). According to the Frankfurt School, positivism also was sweeping away social critique to the extent that it was based on values rather than scientific studies.

In the Frankfurt School’s view, one of the consequences of this trend was that social research in the 1950s was increasingly focused on opinion research and epiphenomena: the most superficial (but measurable) manifestations of underlying social issues and conflicts. According to the Frankfurt School, opinion research tended to mask the fact that participants’ perspectives often were socially produced rather than reflecting the independent beliefs, preferences or knowledge of those surveyed. The Frankfurt School argued that notwithstanding positivism’s veneration of objectivity, this masking effect and the scientific approach’s emphasis on specifics at the expense of broader and deeper concerns created a systematic bias in sociology favoring the interests of those with power at the expense of the powerless masses (The Frankfurt Institute for Social Research, 1956).

Beyond asserting that there is bias inherent in applying the scientific method to social research, the Frankfurt School assailed the idea that any individual sociologist could ever divorce his or her perspective from personal history or the social milieus in which he or she lived and

worked. According to the Frankfurt School, social interrelationships “preform all subject matter, and most certainly the consciousness of this subject matter” on the part of the researcher (The Frankfurt Institute for Social Research, 1956, p. 118). If this is the case, pretensions to objectivity in sociology are merely attempts to disguise or deny the sociologist’s inevitable biases.

Notwithstanding its criticisms of positivism and of positivism’s aspiration to objectivity, the Frankfurt School did not reject the scientific method entirely. According to the Frankfurt School (1956), empirical social research and the scientific method had an important role to play in revealing certain dark truths about the human condition in modern societies. In a society in which “contemporary life has been standardized to a great extent by the concentration of economic power pressed to the extreme and the individual is far more powerless than he admits to himself,” a “standardized” and “dehumanized” approach to sociology would be “not only the expression of the situation but also the suitable means for describing and gaining insight” about it (p. 122). While the scientific approach could fairly be criticized as inhumane, the problem with alternative approaches was that they could veil the inhumanity of the society being studied (p. 123).

According to the Frankfurt School, science in social research had the potential to help foment class consciousness among the relatively powerless. However, to achieve this potential social scientists would have to become self-conscious about exposing the social reality behind their data. Participants’ responses to researchers’ questions could not be taken at face value. When interviewing impoverished peasants who claimed that “they are remaining on their farms out of love for their homestead and to keep faith with the customs of their ancestors,” social scientists would have to dig behind this evidence of “powerlessness and listlessness” to discover “what it is that condemns them to [such attitudes], instead of merely registering such manifestations” (The Frankfurt Institute for Social Research, 1956, pp. 124-125). The Frankfurt School implied that such extra probing would not represent a deviation from the positivist standard of “objectivity” so much as a more honest and accurate way to adhere to it (The Frankfurt Institute for Social Research, 1956).

For the Frankfurt School, the gold standard in social science was praxis: sociological theory that could be applied to advance social justice. The Frankfurt School (1956) wrote that a scientific approach to empirical social research was like praxis in that it “includes . . . the potential for excluding self-deception and for intervening in reality with precision, and effectively” (p. 125). Realizing this potential would require that social scientists be self-conscious, engaging in critical reflection about their methods and models. Such reflection would create a middle ground between the “free-floating speculation” rejected by positivists and the “sticking ‘chiefly to business’” approach employed by too many of them (p.

125). As long as the information gathered through scientific investigations was properly placed in the context of a critical approach to social institutions, “[t]he path of true humanism [could wander] through the midst of the specialized and technical problems” (p. 125).

Gouldner’s Perspective

Alvin Gouldner’s *The Coming Crisis of Western Sociology* was published in 1970, at a time of tension and tumult in both academia and society. The “coming crisis” of which Gouldner warned was the erosion of functionalism’s preeminent place in academic sociology by new theories and political shifts. In setting the stage for his description of the crisis, Gouldner provided a psychological and historical account of the rise of positivism and its aspiration to objectivity.

Like the Frankfurt School, Gouldner (1970) attributed the popularity of positivism and the ideal of objectivity in part to a desire on the part of social scientists to disguise or deny their own prejudices. He contended that “knowledge of the world cannot be advanced apart from the sociologist’s knowledge of himself and his position in the social world” (p. 489). Gouldner believed that social scientists who style themselves as objective “are middle class and operate within the boundaries of the social status quo” (p. 103). To the extent that they focus on achieving objectivity in their methods while downplaying the influence of the social world on their own thinking, the positivist “in effect boggles at a gnat but swallows a camel” (p. 497).

According to Gouldner (1970), positivism and the insistence on objectivity arose from the ashes of the feudal system at the end of the Middle Ages. The unity of power and morality central to the feudalist worldview had been sundered. The increasingly powerful bourgeoisie lacked the perceived moral legitimacy of the feudal lords and kings. Middle class values were “unheroic or uninspiring,” and people began to entertain “the suspicion that the world in which they lived was passion-spent and had little in it worth living or dying for” (p. 103). The result was a period of “pervasive anomie” (p. 103).

During this period market economies and a culture of utilitarianism arose across Europe. Gouldner (1970) explained that in a market economy, transactions proceed most efficiently when people evaluate objects only according to their usefulness and marketability. Sentimental attachments to objects interfere with transactions because they may make people reluctant to part with their possessions even when offered reasonable prices (p. 102). But focusing entirely on objects’ usefulness and marketability “cripples our ability to love them, and hence to feel loving” (p. 102). Market values drain meaning from people’s lives.

In Gouldner’s (1970) view, the rise of sociological positivism originated in social scientists’ experience of this combination of anomie and

“alienation from self and society . . . a society experienced as a hurtful and unlovable thing” (p. 103). Calls for objectivity in social research stemmed from some sociologists’ impaired capacity to feel love and sense the wonders of the world rather than merely a desire to eliminate bias. Sociologists’ embrace of objectivity accorded high status to the people experiencing this “nowhere of exile,” transforming “the weakness of the internal ‘refuge’ into the superiority of principled aloofness” (p. 103).

Gouldner’s proposed alternative to the loveless conservatism and hidden biases he perceived in the positivist approach was a more reflexive sociology. Like the Frankfurt School, he proposed that sociologists achieve greater self-consciousness of the tendentiousness in their hearts and methods, and take corrective measures. Gouldner (1970) recognized that doing so would be extremely challenging, because the culture of the profession discouraged such self-awareness and honesty: “Professional courtesy stifles intellectual curiosity; guild interests frown upon the washing of dirty linen in public; the teeth of piety bite the tongue of truth” (p. 489). Yet he advocated that sociologists take a sociological view of their own profession, “viewing our own beliefs as we now view those held by others” (p. 490). Reflexive sociologists would conduct research and develop information about sociology and sociologists encompassing “their occupational roles, their career ‘hangups,’ their establishments, power systems, subcultures, and their place in the larger social world” (p. 491). And they would recognize and try to minimize the distorting influence of the interests and expectations of those supplying the resources to support sociologists in their work (p. 498).

Beyond being guided by self-knowledge, reflexive sociologists would abandon the posture of objectivity. Echoing the Frankfurt School, Gouldner advocated a value-based approach to theory and research: “A Reflexive Sociology would be a moral sociology” (Gouldner, 1970, p. 491). As with praxis, this moral sociology would seek knowledge not for the purpose of enabling people to control each other and the world around them (which in his view was the implicit goal of positivist sociology) but to improve their lives and advance their hopes and values.

As Gouldner (1970) explained, the intrinsic subjectivity of their perceptions would be at the heart of reflexive sociologists’ understanding of what it meant to seek “knowledge.” They would view knowledge not as depersonalized information, but as “awareness” inherently involving the character and passion of the knower (p. 493). They would accept that the products of their work would be shaped by their personal values, preferring to “risk . . . ending in distortion to beginning in it” by denying own subjectivity. They would “recognize the depth of our kinship with those whom we study,” and blend technical rigor with “a touch of mercy” (p. 490). And they would abandon the professional values that discourage excessive rapport with research subjects out of a fear of contaminating the information to be gleaned from them. In Gouldner’s view, no research

could ever be free from “contamination” by the researcher, and the desire to eliminate contamination stemmed from sociologists’ fear of their own feelings and sense of vulnerability (p. 496).

Wolff’s Perspective

Although much of his writing on the subject was published in the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s, the sociologist Kurt Wolff identified his own perspective on objectivity as an outgrowth of the social and intellectual upheavals of the 1960s (Wolff, 1983, p. i). His writings reflect 1960s-style fears about the future as well as idealism about human potential, global unity and the potential role of social scientists as agents of liberation. Like the Frankfurt School and Gouldner, Wolff believed that complete objectivity was neither possible nor desirable in the social sciences. Unlike the Frankfurt School and Gouldner, he devoted the bulk of his attention not to critiquing the dominant methods and perspectives in sociology but to explaining and advocating for an alternative approach, which he called *surrender and catch* (Wolff, 1995).

Like Gouldner, Wolff was motivated by a sense of impending crisis. But while Gouldner’s crisis was primarily intellectual in nature, the crisis Wolff perceived related to the very survival of the human species. According to Wolff (1995), unceasing global population growth and the uneven distribution of the resources needed to sustain life were producing a “shrinkage of the means to satisfy physical human needs for all sorts of raw materials” (p. 68). At the same time, technological developments had put humankind in a position to “annihilate itself almost instantaneously” through a nuclear holocaust (p. 69). As if that were not enough to worry about, people’s foolish choices were creating a risk of global catastrophe through “ozone loss or ultraviolet radiation or other kinds of suicide” (p. 173).

Wolff (1995) believed that in light of this crisis, humanity’s staying on its course was an untenable option. It was necessary to question the thinking that had brought about the crisis, rejecting (or, in his term, ‘surrendering’) received notions in favor of an open-minded search for potential solutions. Surrendering would yield the ‘catch’: the discovery or creation of something unexpected.

Positivism’s insistence on social scientists’ objectivity ranked high among the received notions that Wolff was most interested in surrendering. In his view, ostensibly objective modes of inquiry and presentation were adequate when the subject matter was not uniquely human. But when applied to the study of the social lives and interactions of human beings, they stifled and obscured the creative process (Mackie, 1981). In order to explore uniquely human attributes, attitudes and actions, Wolff favored (and modeled) a mode of inquiry and presentation explicitly entwined in his own experiences as a human being (Wolff, 1995). Wolff (1995) was

confident that surrender would lead not to exercises in free-floating speculation but to “the utmost exercise of one’s reason, of human reason, namely, of the capacity to find out what is for man” (p. 19). The only alternative to surrender, in his view, would be to give up hope for humanity altogether.

Wolff’s ideas about the practical significance of surrender as a sociological technique stemmed in part from his perspective on the nature of reality itself, and of the true essence of human existence. In his view, the everyday world we take for granted is an illusion. To surrender is to lift the veil and become, like Socrates, a philosophical being without preconceptions (Wolff, 1983). Surrender was a “total experience” (Mackie, 1981, p. 392), an utter “state of absorption” in which people not only saw behind the veil of everyday life but also cast aside any fear of being invalidated by what they found (Wolff, 1995, p. 79). Wolff (1995) connected the experience of surrender with the sense of fulfillment and liberation associated with “acts of bodily voiding,” including orgasm (p. 80).

Wolff believed that surrender is the ultimate experience of human interconnectedness, in that it is the one and only experience that is, by definition, not subject to distortion by socialization. Surrender “throws one back upon a shared humanness, behind the veils of an imposed perception” (Mackie, 1981, p. 392). It provides access to “the absolute, that is, to that truth, theoretical and practical, which is universal because all its experiential modes are intersubjectively translatable” (Wolff, 1983, p. 265). He characterized surrender as “cognitive love” (Wolff, 1983, p. 266), and connected it with Zen and shamanism, as well as with the “peak experiences” described by the psychologist Abraham Maslow (Mackie, 1981).

In Wolff’s view, the stark distinction between the quotidian surface world and the reality accessible through surrender gave the act of surrender tremendous political significance. Like Gouldner, Wolff (1995) saw a world drained of passion and urgency in which people’s lives were heavily mediated and administered. In the Western nations people’s appropriate relationship with the world was constantly being defined as a quest for “mastery, efficiency, control, handling [and] manipulation” (p. 19). Wolff believed people sensed that their experiences were incomplete and that “our everydayness is false,” which produced in them a sense of numbness, incompleteness and despair (p. 78). Against this backdrop, surrender was “the most radical rebellion” against the conventional values of modern Western society and the limitations on human beings’ power and potential they encompassed (p. 77).

Wolff (1995) shared the Frankfurt School’s skepticism about contemporary society and its institutions, and “indeed, of all societies that have ever existed or are now in existence” (Wolff, 1995, p. 83). He identified his approach to sociology as “critical” and acknowledged the

influence of the Frankfurt School on his thinking (p. 83). But Wolff found critical theory as espoused by the Frankfurt School to be too pessimistic: too in love with criticism itself, and too suspicious about the possibility of people's reconciliation and communion. In addition, his location of the universal in the intersubjective experience of surrender contrasts with the Frankfurt School's identification of practical economic interests as the glue that bound people together (Wolff, 1995).

Like the Frankfurt School and Gouldner's prescriptions for sociologists' conduct and methods, "surrender and catch" cast the sociologist as a moral agent intent on improving the human condition. Surrender and catch is "a mode of reason that is committed to changing the world and making it 'for man'" (Mackie, 1981, p. 394). Wolff (1995) described surrender and catch as "elements of a sociology whose ideals are the human being who is characterized by exclusively human capacities, and the society which maximally favors the human being" (p. 85). In his view, the purpose of sociology was to resist society's imposition of a master-and-control mindset and break down the social barriers to humans' full consciousness. Its aim was "not increased analysis, so much as increased awareness" (Mackie, 1981, p. 395) that would free people from the constraints of the quotidian world (Wolff, 1995, p. 394).

Discussion

The preceding sections of this paper set forth information in a rational and orderly manner that subtly asserts the author's objectivity. In this respect they embody an aspect of the dominant style in academia. Up until this sentence, I have not been visible as a character in my own narrative. It is a challenge for me to write these words, so well ingrained is the taboo against violating the assumption of objectivity. However, I think it is appropriate at this point to acknowledge my own subjectivity and its impact on this article. My hope is that in doing so I can evoke the alternative approaches to social science promoted by the Frankfurt School, Gouldner and Wolff. In addition, I believe there is merit in addressing the ideas promoted by the Frankfurt School, Gouldner and Wolff in a style that does not reflect assumptions fundamentally in conflict with those ideas.

My perspective on the subject matter of this article has been shaped by my experiences. I grew up in a relatively affluent Los Angeles suburb. I never took a year off from school to work or explore the world from my first day in kindergarten through the last day of my second graduate program. My education focused on the social sciences: I majored in economics as an undergraduate, completed a graduate program in public policy and earned a law degree. The curriculum to which I was exposed emphasized analytical methods. Each degree program implicitly or explicitly endorsed an economic model of human decision-making, in which individuals rationally pursue selfish ends.

When I became a corporate lawyer and found the experience enormously unsatisfying, I reconsidered many of the assumptions that had led me to that career. Among these assumptions were notions about the nature of work and careers, and their place in people's lives, which had been influenced by my social class and education. I quit my job and spent several months reading, interviewing people in a variety of professions, and reflecting on (and reacting to) my own values and choices. Ultimately I found more rewarding work as a community organizer, which opened doors to further discovery and reflection.

In my relationships with community organizing colleagues and community members, I witnessed and experienced occasional, sometimes fleeting moments of extraordinary perception. These moments had common elements, including a rush of inspiration, confidence and clarity, and the sense that the boundaries between self and others had melted away. My colleagues and I connected them with moments in our lives when we had basked in the glow of genesis: a burst of artistic creativity, the start of a friendship, the launch of a new venture. For the community members we encountered in our projects, these moments sometimes marked their transition from weary skeptics to enthusiastic agents of social change.

My interest in this phenomenon has been an important factor in my subsequent career choices and intellectual pursuits. I selected the topic for this article after coming across Fiona Mackie's review (Mackie, 1981) of one of Wolff's books about 'surrender and catch.' Wolff seemed to be describing the same phenomenon I had witnessed and experienced, and to be promoting that phenomenon as the core of an approach to sociology. Naturally I was attracted to his ideas. The article's topic and structure emerged from that initial attraction and from discussions in a sociology course about positivism and its critics.

In my current role as UMBC's Coordinator for Leadership and Engagement Initiatives, I encounter positivism in the context of the university's efforts to assess student learning and evaluate campus programs and services. Much of my own work involves helping students to achieve a shift in perception similar to what I witnessed in many participants in the community projects I helped to organize earlier in my career. I believe that when I succeed, I help students become highly motivated and skilled agents of social change. Such changes in students' attitudes and abilities can be measured quantitatively through pre- and post-tests and the like. I administer a survey to members of the Student Government Association at the beginning and end of each academic year to monitor students' perceptions of themselves and their learning process.

However, I think such measures—the bread and butter of positivist-style social research—generally miss the crucial role of spontaneity in students' learning. My most successful direct interventions (as measured through the lens of my subjective perception) come when, in the course of a relationship that has allowed me to get a good sense of a student's

subjective world, I sense an opening in a moment. Into that opening I introduce an idea or action (with words, intonation, body language and other signals appropriate to that student in that moment) aimed at liberating the student from some constraining assumption or perception. The student then responds with a spontaneous leap of intuition or insight, and experiences a burst of inspiration. I believe that my most successful indirect interventions help to create a culture and environment conducive to such spontaneous growth.

The problem with measuring the outcomes from any of these interventions 'objectively' is that my words and actions, and students' reactions, are highly contextual and idiosyncratic. These are non-reproducible, non-verifiable experiments. Yet their impact appears to me, again through the lens of my subjective perception, to be real and substantial. My twice-yearly surveys can only capture distant echoes from these moments through their impact on students' attitudes.

In part because of these past and ongoing experiences, I believe that the Frankfurt School, Gouldner and Wolff provide a valuable service by shedding light on the value of subjectivity in understanding the social world. In my view, their strongest argument and their essential point of agreement is that knowledge gathered entirely through methods which are sufficiently 'objective' to pass muster in the natural sciences will always be distorted, never complete. Some truths can be ascertained only through the self-conscious application of necessarily subjective experiences, intuitions and moral sensibilities. Only by bringing the social scientist's humanity into the picture, not arbitrarily but thoughtfully and reflexively, can social science hope to describe and serve the human world. Not one of these critics disputed the value of seeking to understand human interactions and institutions. None of them dismissed the scientific method as valueless in the context of the social sciences. They only recognized that a methodology consistent with strict positivism could not achieve positivism's goal of identifying whole, undistorted truths about the social world.

I also appreciate these critics' common recognition of social scientists' roles as moral agents. Any expression or action, including the publication of allegedly objective research findings, has a political dimension, if only in perpetuating or undermining the status quo. This is true not just for social scientists but for everyone, every day. If I were to try to teach leadership to undergraduates in an 'objective' way, cleansed of any 'contamination' from my own humanity, inevitably I also would teach unintended lessons, including the lesson that the students have no moral responsibility for their actions as leaders. Social scientists who wear masks of inhumanity in conducting research and in presenting their conclusions 'objectively' run the risk of doing the same.

Of the three approaches proposed by the critics, Wolff's continues to have the greatest resonance for me, because Wolff most clearly identifies what I believe to be an essential truth about the human condition: that while

socialization makes individuals' survival in society possible, it can also limit our ability to experience our full human potential. The experience of "surrender and catch," much like the experience of 'flow' described by the psychologist Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi (1990), Maslow's 'peak experiences' (1994) and the philosopher Hannah Arendt's 'lost treasure' of the human spirit in times of revolution (1963), is the experience of being most fully alive, most completely who we truly are. I believe that in that state of wholeness and fulfillment, people at least partially transcend their socialized predispositions and can gain powerful insights. Such insights can complement truths ascertained using 'objective' methods.

However, I believe that while the substance of Wolff's claims is powerful, his style of presentation is his Achilles' heel. If his intention was that his books would persuade social scientists to drop their pretense of objectivity and embrace the value of 'surrender and catch,' I believe he misjudged his audience. His stylistic break from the conventional, analytical mode favored in academia was radical, his prose at times reading more like a diary than a work of scholarship. His unconstrained idealism, reflected even in the name of his method, undoubtedly signaled to some scholars that Wolff had lost his way in the 1960s and never found his path back to firm ground.

Gouldner, in contrast, presented his provocative, perhaps equally radical ideas in language better calibrated to an academic audience. He grounded his proposals about sociological methods in the context of a broader presentation of research and analysis relating to the sociological profession and its history. In *The Coming Crisis of Western Sociology* when, after more than 480 pages, he finally brought himself and his experiences to the forefront, he did so by referring to himself in the third person: "[T]here is a deep convergence between what Gouldner has, in this volume, claimed to see in the world of sociology and what the earlier Gouldner had been doing all along in that same world" (Gouldner, 1970, p. 482). This sensitivity to his audience's sensibilities undoubtedly made Gouldner the more credible advocate, at least among social scientists.

Conclusion

Even the most ardent advocates of positivism concede that social scientist's values and subjective perceptions necessarily play a role in their selection of subjects for research (Cohen, 1980). Perhaps they also would acknowledge the subjective nature of the choice among social science metatheories. For social scientists who place a premium on methodological rigor and verifiability, and shun conclusions based on superstition, guesswork, moral assumptions or political interests, positivism is an attractive paradigm. The alternatives offered by the Frankfurt School, Gouldner and Wolff appeal to social scientists who perceive aspects of the human experience and/or moral imperatives that transcend the realities

accessible to science. The choice among such paradigms, whether made consciously or through unquestioning acceptance of the conventional wisdom, introduces values and subjectivity into social science even if the social scientist's decision is to pursue positivism's scientific approach. Complete objectivity is as unattainable in social science as it is in all human affairs.

Fortunately there is ample middle ground between cold, hard social science which ironically insists on squeezing the human element out of the study of human interactions and institutions, and social science as a moral crusade unfettered by reason or a need to represent facts accurately. Social scientists with the mindset described by Gouldner, who are courageous enough to maintain high standards, reflect on their methods, candidly acknowledge their fallibility and subjectivity, and leap beyond the constraints of the scientific model regardless of professional pressures, may overcome some of positivism's limitations without throwing out the proverbial baby with the bathwater. Rationality tempered by humility and open-mindedness may yield insights as close to truth as may be possible for human beings. In the view of the fallible, subjective human being who is typing these words, pursuing such insights is a worthy objective.

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