

The cover features a large, semi-transparent blue globe of the Earth in the background. In the foreground, several hands of various skin tones are raised, with some touching the globe. The text is overlaid on the left side of the globe.

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Applying an Existential Lens When Teaching Today's Students about the Holocaust

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Abstract

This paper explores ever-changing needs of rising generations comprised currently of school-age children and adolescents. As generations evolve, so do their characteristics, desires, and requirements. The inspirational book, *Man's Search for Meaning*, by Viktor Frankl chronicles his own experiences as a Holocaust concentration camp prisoner and proposes that humans can find meaning in their lives, even in the face of adversity. This paper examines how the concept of finding meaning in one's life can be applied towards newer generations exploring their identities. Components of the philosophy, existentialism, applied in academia can foster identity development, which educators can cultivate in the classroom. Specifically, Frankl's idea of *logotherapy* used in educational settings promotes critical thinking and autonomy for students. Educators must use alternate methods of teaching Holocaust curricula, so that Frankl's book can later be introduced and influence students' journeys in finding themselves and meaning in their lives, despite any suffering that might occur.

Keywords: Viktor Frankl, Holocaust, education, Gen Z, existentialism, logotherapy, pedagogical strategies

Hammill (2005) stated that for the first time in American history, schools are employing more than three generations of educators in the workplace (as cited in Seipert & Baghurst, 2014), together with another generation of students. Each of these generations has different learning experiences and values. This article centers on how educators can use *logotherapy*, developed by Viktor Frankl and related methods to reach today's students when teaching about the Holocaust.

Frankl introduces his theory of logotherapy in his book titled *Man's Search for Meaning*. This is a powerful book that details his experiences as a concentration camp survivor and describes factors that led him to the origination of logotherapy. Due to various systems of values, outlooks, and experiences, educators today need to comprehend and adjust their approach to meet the needs of their students. Given that *Man's Search for Meaning* chronicles Frankl's experiences during the Holocaust, this article focuses on why educators must reconsider ways to teach children and adolescents about the Holocaust. Topics of discussion herein include: information about Frankl, his book, and his theory of logotherapy; how logotherapy interventions can be in the classroom; and Holocaust education instruction.

The Psychiatrist: Victor Frankl

Frankl was born March 26, 1905 in Vienna, Austria. He studied psychiatry and neurology, focusing on the study of suicide and depression (Frankl, 2006). Frankl headed the suicide prevention department of the General Hospital in Vienna. In 1942, Frankl, his parents, wife, and brother were arrested and sent to the Theresienstadt concentration camp. Over time, Frankl was interned at four concentration camps, including Auschwitz. During his confinement in the camps, Frankl worked endlessly to prevent suicide attempts of fellow prisoners. He also assisted his fellow prisoners who suffered severe depression by

encouraging them to reflect on positive images, memories, and thoughts. Frankl managed to help those imprisoned as he suffered with them. His last camp was liberated in 1945, and soon he discovered that all his immediate family had died, except for his sister, who immigrated to Australia (Frankl, 2006).

The Book: Man's Search for Meaning

Frankl authored the book, *Man's Search for Meaning*, which detailed his experiences in concentration camps during the Holocaust. Over 12 million copies of his book have been sold (Frankl, 2006). In an editorial review in 1959, Carl Rogers stated that *Man's Search for Meaning* was "one of the most outstanding contributions in psychological thought in the last 50 years." Frankl's memoir describes life in Nazi death camps and his teachings for spiritual survival. Stemming from Frankl's own experiences and those from his patients, he purports that suffering is inevitable. However, Frankl believed that humans have the freedom to choose the manner in which they cope with such suffering; giving it meaning, and then prevailing with enriched purpose (Frankl, 2006). His theory of logotherapy is rooted in enriched and meaningful purposes.

Frankl's Theory: Logotherapy

Frankl coined the term *logotherapy* by using the Greek word *logos*, translated as *meaning* (Stepura, 2017). Contrary to Freud and Adler, Frankl did not believe that human's primary drive in life was pleasure or power, respectively, but the discovery and pursuit of what a person finds meaningful; humans should discover significance in the very act of living (Frankl, 2006). The essence of Frankl's doctrine of logotherapy was to focus on curing oneself by leading one's soul to find meaning in life. Overall, Frankl felt individuals must see life as meaningful despite surrounding circumstances. He believed that the ultimate purpose in life was to help others find meaning in their lives (Frankl, 2006).

Frankl (2006) quoted Friedrich Nietzsche: "He who has a *why* to live for can bear almost any *how*" (p. 104). This quote emphasizes Frankl's belief that even during the most severe situations, humans can survive knowing that there is meaning to life. Frankl contended that prisoners who gave up their lives died less from lack of food or medicine and more from lack of hope. He cited three sources for meaning: work, love, and courage. To better illustrate these sources, Frankl (2006) stated:

Logotherapy teaches that there are three main avenues which one arrives at a meaningful life. The first is by creating a work or by doing a deed. The second is by experiencing something or encountering someone. In other words, meaning can be found not only in work but also in love. Most important, however, is the third avenue to meaning in life: even the helpless victim of a hopeless situation facing a fate he cannot change, may rise above himself, may grow beyond himself and by so doing, change himself. He may turn a personal tragedy into a triumph. (Frankl, 2006, pp. 146-147).

Frankl insisted that individuals possess the freedom to choose how they respond to any situation. He believed that humans cannot control what happens in their lives, but they can always control their feelings and reactions about what happens to them. Frankl was of the opinion that people are never left with suffering as long as they each retain freedom to choose how they will respond.

Why Educators Today Need to Rethink How to Teach about the Holocaust

Post-Millennials are entering school systems and are replacing previous generational identities. Altered teaching approaches can cater to the differing worldviews of students and their learning experiences. One can learn from Frankl's experiences in concentration camps that he described in *Man's Search for Meaning*. During his imprisonment in multiple concentration camps, he developed his theory of *logotherapy*, a derivative of Existentialism. Concepts thereof can be applied by today's educators to various generations involved in today's and tomorrow's educational systems.

Teaching about the Holocaust is challenging because of the breadth of immorality and human rights violations involved (Schneider, 2016). When instructing Holocaust curricula, specific teaching errors can traumatize or even excite students, fail to deliver reality to the historical event, or elicit negative beliefs of Jews or marginalized groups in general (Lindquist, 2006). In order to prepare students for today's world, educators need to promote critical thinking in the classroom. When purely factual information such as names, dates, places, and events related to the Holocaust are taught and simple, mundane questions are posed, merely lower-order cognitive abilities are utilized (Lindquist, 2006). Freire (1980) believed that it

is essential to promote critical thinking in order to objectively perceive reality, which is an appropriate concept to employ with today's sheltered, digital native generation. Additionally, because Gen Z students prefer experiential learning opportunities (Schwieger & Ladwig, 2018), it may be helpful to include guest speakers associated with the Holocaust in the classroom. Most of today's college students' notions about the Holocaust come from and are skewed by the media, films, and novels (Láníček, 2018). As Nazi crimes exemplified extreme human rights violations, educators must challenge students' distorted views; for example, Jews did not resist the Nazi persecution, which inevitably places some of the blame on the victims (Láníček, 2018), thinking that they should have fought for themselves. Because Gen Z is the most diverse generation yet (Bialik & Fry, 2019) with a variety of needs, coupled with students' preconceived notions of the Holocaust (Láníček, 2018), educators must rethink how this subject matter is taught.

Traditional methods of teaching the Holocaust to children and adolescents fail to accomplish the following: change students' perspectives (Schneider, 2016), view the Holocaust and World War II separately from each other, include experiences of others, and show how people were affected on an individual level (Lindquist, 2006). Maps, textbooks, and primary source documents can aid in teaching about the Holocaust, but should be supplemented with materials or methods that will evoke empathy and shift students' viewpoints by relating history to today's world events (Schneider, 2016). Lindquist (2006) indicates that many courses portray the Holocaust as taking place on its own instead of occurring within the context of World War II. However, in order to understand the Holocaust and ultimately what led to it, students need to be informed of prevalent historical themes during World War II, namely the essence of war, racism, anti-Semitism, radical nationalism, totalitarianism, and social Darwinism (Lindquist, 2006). When teaching about the Holocaust, numbers are indeed important for conveying the magnitude of this event. Although, merely focusing on the six million camp deaths that occurred during the Holocaust can result in students seeing the event as a summative experience rather than people being affected on an individual level (Lindquist, 2006). A well-known book that is very typically assigned in Holocaust curricula is *The Diary of Anne Frank*. While an important piece of history, the sole use of this memoir to educate limits the reader to only learning Anne Frank's point of view. If this book is the focal point in Holocaust curricula, other victims' experiences in the ghettos and camps remain compromised, because every victim's story is worthy of hearing and is meaningful and unique (Lindquist, 2006).

Due to the sheer number of atrocities that ensued during the Holocaust, victims often become data and are dehumanized into a statistic. By humanizing victims' experiences while asking students to reflect on themselves, their environment, values, and tribulations, teachers can facilitate a more meaningful education for students (Ekanem, 2012). Lindquist (2006) presumed that if educators take certain precautions and implement various pedagogical strategies, they can evoke humanistic and societal principles in students, enlightening them to the alienation, xenophobia, bigotry and dehumanization experiences faced by Holocaust victims. Understanding such events will help students in studying other genocides and mass atrocities that happened throughout history (Schneider, 2016). Ekanem (2012) believed that education should allow students to develop their own perspectives by affording opportunities for phenomenological experiences, in order to provide pupils with an adequate foundation to face potential challenges typically encountered in today's world.

Several researchers have offered additional pedagogical strategies to avoid the common aforementioned pitfalls when teaching about the Holocaust. To not detract from the reality of the Holocaust, educators need to supplement its magnitude of numbers, remote places, and horrific actions involved with personal accounts of the events (see Suggested Readings: Meed, 1999; Wiesel, 2014; and Zapruder, 2015) (Lindquist, 2006). As previously noted, *The Diary of Anne Frank* fails to establish historical context and can lead to inaccurate views of what happened outside of Anne's environment. Lindquist (2006) purported that the broader historical context should be conveyed, as well as others' experiences during the Holocaust, in order to show what was lost, how responsible peoples' actions can influence change, and how the decisions that students make can affect themselves and others. Studying the Holocaust through literature, such as narratives, poetry, and first-person accounts, not only adds humanity to the subject (Schneider, 2016) but also offers students the opportunity to contemplate the

personal, societal, philosophical, and religious implications of the event (Lindquist, 2006). Alternative texts, namely poetry, novels, graphic novels, films, and plays, are comprised of several genres from various voices that can present a more comprehensive version of the Holocaust from multiple perspectives (for alternative texts, see Suggested Readings: Maus, 1991 – graphic novel; There was Once Elzunia, 2012 – poem; and Bloodlands, 2010 – book) (Schneider, 2016).

Láníček (2018) surveyed students on what other topics they would have liked to discuss during teachings of the Holocaust. Students surveyed noted that they wanted to see the relevance of the Holocaust today, not just to be taught a purely historical course (Láníček, 2018). Desired topics included: the aftermath of survivors' trauma, the impact of the Holocaust on human rights discourses, allies and the Holocaust, and how the world responds to genocides and to gross human rights violations (Láníček, 2018). Given the complexity of the Holocaust, educators must realize that it will never be fully understood. However, for that reason, it is a good topic to rouse critical thinking in classrooms. By critiquing certain literary works and other forms of Holocaust media, educators can engage students in active discussions to expand their understanding (Láníček, 2018) and develop their own opinions and a sense of individuality. Since today's Gen Z students are digital natives and prefer learning opportunities via classroom projects, hands-on experiences, and peer collaboration, they need chances to cultivate analytical -, problem-solving -, coping -, and communication skills (Schwieger & Ladwig, 2018). Therefore, it could be beneficial to have academic historiographical debates about Holocaust testimonies in video format or a guest talk by a Holocaust survivor to fulfill Gen Zers' experiential learning needs (Schwieger & Ladwig, 2018; Láníček, 2018), and if possible, visits to Holocaust exhibitions to obtain hands-on experiences (Láníček, 2018). Possible topics of discussion in the classroom could include: origins of religious anti-Judaism and modern anti-Semitism within a long historical overview of the history of the Holocaust; a brief history of the aftermath; the role of Nazi propaganda during the Holocaust; and an examination of bystanders of the Holocaust (Láníček, 2018).

The Generational Shift in the Classroom: Logotherapy Interventions

Despite the many strengths of Gen Zers passed down by the previous generation of Millennials, there are still several concerns that impact the learning preferences of the Gen Z cohort. For example, educators are bound within educational institutions to sanctions provided by state and federal agencies, but simultaneously, informal education has historically been the traditional way of society educating young, future citizens (Ekanem, 2012). Therefore, Dr. Francis E. Ekanem (2012) suggested a dichotomous relationship between formal and informal education. Ekanem (2012) further declared that continuing to educate pupils with values heavily aligned to that of formal education promotes materialism in society, as the primary goal for students and their families is to obtain a degree; an idea that has been contorted as a vital tool to live well. What is not considered in this ineffective approach to education is that these future citizens are seldom being held accountable for their character, resilience, perseverance, and civil contributions prior to death (Malik and Akhter, 2013). As life continues they may face deaths of loved ones, job loss, economic recessions, robbery, and much more. Brazilian philosopher and educator, Paulo Freire (1980) summarized the need for this approach to education in his book, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* by saying:

...the oppressed must confront reality critically, simultaneously objectifying and acting upon that reality. A mere perception of reality not followed by this critical intervention will not lead to a transformation of objective reality-precisely because it is not a true perception. (p. 28) (as cited in Ekanem, 2012).

Opening the eyes of students, it is the position of the authors of this article to apply existentialist principles towards various segments of education (i.e. curricula, instructional activities, school climate). In combining existentialism and education, Ekanem (2012, p. 26) details that existentialists perceive education as "...the process of developing consciousness about the freedom to choose and about the meaning of and responsibility of choice..." and that education "...should be designed to create in us a sense of self-awareness and to contribute to our authenticity as human beings." Essentially, an existentialist approach in education balances the dichotomous relationship of formal and informal education by ensuring that students deeply reflect on themselves, their environment, and how they can

contribute to the challenges that they and their peers face (Ekanem, 2012). Moreover, students should appreciate their own uniqueness, assume responsibility for their personal actions, and focus on living up to their own expectations (Ekanem, 2012). Gen Zers' exposure to diversity has helped them recognize individuality and caused them to dislike being labeled (Beck & Wright, 2019).

The charge for change is made primarily to educators who directly influence not only educational curriculum but also the culture of educational institutions. According to Ekanem (2012), today's world presents a constantly changing society. This claim is evidenced by the digital natives who fill classrooms today. Many experts on infusing existentialism in education such as Ekanem (2012) and Malik and Akhter (2013) share that educators should encourage students to ponder the meaning of human existence, life, love, and death through conversation within the classroom. Specifically, Ekanem (2012, p. 26) purports that choosing subjects that "...vividly portray individual men and women in the act of making choices..." could effectively supplement an existentialist curriculum as the subjects display emotional, aesthetic, and poetic attributes. Biographies, films, and books such as *Man's Search for Meaning* by Viktor Frankl are mentioned as each displays unique human conditions throughout life, challenges faced, and the choices made.

Gen Z students process information fundamentally differently than prior generations due to being exposed to technology since birth (Ricketts, 2016), which makes them the first generation of true digital natives (Beck & Wright, 2019). Therefore, pedagogy must account for that in order to maximize students' learning. Beck and Wright (2019) explored the characteristics of Gen Zers, discovering that they exhibit the following: connect with technology more easily than with other people; expect all screens to be interactive; seek interesting content to view on social media rather than connect with friends; are the most diverse generation in U.S. history due to race and sexual orientation; believe that using a mobile device in the classroom is the best way to learn; better understand how to retrieve and apply information through the internet; are advocates for social justice; and enjoy interesting pictures and videos versus text. Project- and discussion-based learning are becoming more prevalent in the classroom, but due to Gen Zers having difficulties in distinguishing disagreeable free speech from hate speech, educators should foster more positive and productive peer discussions (Beck & Wright, 2019). Since Gen Z students value creativity and self-sufficiency (Beck & Wright, 2019), these concepts should be incorporated into the classroom, giving students the freedom to choose, promoting their independence, and helping them learn to make right decisions on their own (Ekanem, 2012).

Applying an existentialist lens to teaching and learning can also be beneficial for both adults and lifelong learners (Malik and Akhter, 2013). One could also consider Albert Bandura's (1977) social learning theory and the benefit of educators to serve as role models who effectively apply existentialist principles to life's challenges. Malik and Akhter (2013) believed that existential pedagogy not only trains future citizens in ways to navigate issues related to self-actualization, confusion, and developing identities but also aids educators in how to do so.

An existentialist approach for educators would be displayed by creating an educational environment in which students have the freedom to choose their own paths (Ekanem, 2012). In that sense, educators should be empowered by their leaders to implement curricula that promote self-worth, self-awareness, and self-reflection. Specifically, independent learning is encouraged by the use of technology with which research has shown that these digital natives are familiar. Examples of independent learning outside the classroom include listening to or watching a lecture, viewing a video, and completing assigned readings at a convenient time for the student (Ricketts, 2016).

Schwieger and Ladwig (2018) discovered that Gen Zers value personalized experiences, are self-educated, self-sufficient, prefer self-service tools such as YouTube to research, and seek uniqueness and identity. Since Gen Z students learn best by creating things and having hands-on experiences (Persada, Miraja, & Nadlifatin, 2019), offering opportunities inside and outside the classroom for students to choose their own educational paths promotes student uniqueness, self-discovery, and self-education, concepts that Costello (2016) associates with Frankl's logotherapeutic concepts of freedom and responsibility. Digital learning in particular is mainly self-taught, which encourages independent learning (Schwieger & Ladwig, 2018). Today's digital learning offers broader technologies and digital tools such

as: online assessment, content and classes; technology applications in the classroom; combination of mobile learning and electronic learning; interactive learning resources; software or simulations that involve students in educational content; and electronic access to class-related documents, academic videos, and educational articles (Persada, Miraja, & Nadlifatin, 2019). Essentially, educators take the stance of supporting their students in fulfilling their personal destiny (Malik and Akhter, 2013) through using independent digital learning.

Frankl (2006) believed that people can face adversities by finding meaning within the midst and modifying their concurrent attitudes. There are three ways in which individuals can ascertain the meaning of life: 1) creating an accomplishment or performing a deed; 2) experiencing love; and 3) changing one's attitude when confronted with an unalterable situation such as cancer (Frankl, 2006). Logotherapeutic techniques include Socratic dialogue, paradoxical intention which means doing that which one is afraid of, and dereflection which is refocusing attention from oneself toward the proper object or goal (Mosalanejad & KooLee, 2013). Socratic dialogue is when questions are asked that foster an individual's introspection to identify one's life meanings, discover how these may be portrayed, and facilitate recognition that making choices toward these goals is constantly available (Schulenberg, Hutzell, Nassif, & Rogina, 2008). The educator utilizes Socratic dialogue by adjusting pupils' inconsistent, contradictory and unsubstantiated judgments, leading the student to a planned conclusion, using logical arguments, and formulating questions to give students the maximal number of positive responses (Stepura, 2017). Not only does this allow better absorption of the information by pupils but also stimulates thoughtful arguments (Stepura, 2017). Gen Z students are interested in learning from peer-based information (Schwieger & Ladwig, 2018), so incorporating collaborative classroom projects, hands-on experience, analytical thinking and problem-solving opportunities, and teaching coping and communication skills as opposed to the conventional teacher-lecture method could better meet Gen Z students' needs (Ricketts, 2016). Stepura (2017) opined that pedagogical logotherapy elicits meaning in students' lives and redirects their attention to developing moral and cultural values of personality. Frankl (2006) believed a desire for meaning is a natural driving force of behavior and personal development. Logotherapy techniques can enhance students' self-development and self-determination, motivate them to achieve new academic and life goals, help them independently form their individual social position and worldview, and discover how to express, argue, and defend their opinions (Stepura, 2017).

Conclusion

The traditional ways of teaching the Holocaust, such as by means of textbooks, maps, and primary source documents, are indeed significant, but typically do not evoke empathy or critical thinking towards relating Holocaust history to present-day situations. Through a survey, Lániček (2018) determined that instead of purely historically-based curricula, students of today desire to study topics regarding the Holocaust: consequences of survivors' trauma, influences of the Holocaust on human rights, allies of the Holocaust, and the world's response to genocides and gross human rights violations. Due to students' preconceived notions about the Holocaust (Lániček, 2018) and the sheer diversity of today's student cohort (Bialik & Fry, 2019), today's educators must rethink how the Holocaust is taught. Since Gen Z students are digital natives, it may be beneficial to have actual stories from the Holocaust in the form of video testimonies, Holocaust-survivor guest speaker(s) – to fulfill Gen Z's experiential learning desires – and if possible, visiting Holocaust exhibitions for “hands-on experiences.” Changing pedagogical strategies and gearing them towards today's generation can maximize Gen Z students' potential learning and minimize the gap between Generation X and Y educators. Effective teaching methods include showing classroom videos, distance learning, and collaborative online learning. Socratic dialogue, a logotherapeutic technique, is a productive strategy to build students' critical thinking skills. Overall, the goal of pedagogical logotherapy remains for educators to encourage students to detach from the problems they face and how they respond to them. For students, this elicits the freedom to choose how they react and make responsible decisions, which ultimately shapes them as future citizens of the world.

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P-12 Administrator Thinking and Decision-Making: An Exploration of the Influences of Educational Administration Programs, Craft Knowledge, and Best Practice Research

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This research is the culmination of a five-year initiative which analyzes data collected from P-12 elementary, secondary, and district level administrators, as well as from students in a university educational administration program leading to certification as P-12 school administrators. The five-year data set for this article included recent surveys of students completing their certification requirements to become school administrators and previous research data collected between 2013-2017 from practicing P-12 administrators who were identified by reputation as exemplary leaders. The research in this five-year initiative sought to better understand some of the influences on P-12 school principals and superintendents as they made decisions on a day-to-day basis. The core research examined some common conflict-potential variables and how those influences impacted the administrators' thinking and action planning. There were four key variables that were examined to see how they influenced decision-making: 1) the impact of mandates on the administrator, 2) the influence of best practice research, 3) the influence of craft knowledge, and 4) core beliefs of the administrator. The aim of the five-year research project was to better understand how these four variables shape P-12 administrators' thinking that leads to decision making.

The research initiative began with survey research and focused interviews with elementary and secondary principals from 2013-2014. Following that, the work during 2014–2016 focused on survey data from public school superintendents. The culminating research began in 2017, finishing in 2018 with the collection of survey data from educational administration program students; that student data was compared to the data from the 2013-2017 research. To date, this series of formative studies has been presented in a number of professional conferences and publications: Hunter and Larson (2014) examined secondary principals' core values and beliefs; Hunter, Larson, Aller and Robertson (2014) compared and contrasted elementary and secondary school principals' decision-making related to mandates; Hunter, Larson, Aller and Robertson (2015; 2016) examined how female and male superintendents reconciled external mandates with their core values; Greenfield and Hunter (2015) examined public school principals' reasoning and reflection-in-action to better understand how school administrators weighed compelling and restraining influences in their decision-making; and finally, Hunter (2018a; 2018b; 2019) examined historical perspectives on how university faculty and educational administration programs prepare school administrators, exploring the influence of field-based craft knowledge and empirical evidence on both faculty in educational administrator preparation programs and on students in those preparation programs.

This present summative research seeks to analyze and synthesize the author's previous formative research, and compare it to the most recent survey data from students in an educational leadership program, thereby adding to the literature base that seeks to better understand administrator thinking and decision making.

Review of the Literature

Administrator Cognition

How school administrators mentally weigh variables in decision making has been a subject of research for many years. For instance, when analyzing change initiatives, a key dynamic in school organizations, researchers have highlighted, for decades, how the nonrational variables of mandated

change impacts organizations dramatically, concluding that how leaders and followers view change initiatives is driven by individuals' core beliefs. Seminal work on this can be seen in the RAND change agent studies during the 1970s; they showed that change initiatives impact the organization in both the rational and nonrational dimensions (Berman & McLaughlin, 1975). The RAND studies helped researchers and practitioners develop a deeper understanding that change is systemic, and is influenced by many contextual variables (Fullan, 2007).

As an example of how change initiatives are influenced by multiple organizational variables, research by Hargreaves and Goodson (2006) reveal that high schools have been bastions of resistance, maintaining traditional paradigms through many decades of national and local reform initiatives. The authors highlight that this system resistance is well understood as being rooted in nonrational organizational variables; essentially, the research shows that people in the systems resist change because it disrupts their personal, internal belief systems, regardless of what "best practice" might say. The RAND studies indicated this tendency before Hargreaves and Goodson. Berman and McLaughlin (1975) summarized the data from the RAND research, noting that: "An implementation strategy that promotes mutual adaptation is critical" to successful change initiatives" (p. x). Simply stated, change initiatives are successful when the organization influences the change and when the change initiative influences the organization.

The RAND research, Hargreaves and Goodson's (2006) work, and other research evidence has reinforced the understanding that: 1) administrators' decision making is influenced by how they cognitively weigh and evaluate rational and nonrational variables; 2) core values influence the leader in variables; and 3) rational and nonrational variables, and core values influence an administrator's *creation of solutions* intended to meet the organization's and the people's needs (Sashkin & Egermeier, 1992; Johnson, 1996; Glidewell, 1993; Raun & Leithwood, 1993; Leithwood & Steinbach, 1993).

A key concept that helps us situate administrator decision making comes from research that has endured for many decades and comes to us from the social sciences. Blumer (1969) explains that *symbolic interactionism* is the process whereby individuals mentally create connections and understandings that is informed by the person's core beliefs used to evaluate key variables in presenting situations. This process of internally making meaning leads to creating action plans designed to meet the needs of the situation as the individual has uniquely and mentally given it meaning. Blumer is simply stating that people create a link between their own internally-created meaning and the action they choose to initiate. These internally crafted plans for action are intended to balance the individual's personal meanings and desired outcomes while maintaining equilibrium for others and the organization.

These two literature bases show that school administrators cognitively weigh both their own core beliefs, and the rational and nonrational variables of the organization as they mentally create meaning related to initiatives. This uniquely created meaning leads to their action planning that is intended to maintain equilibrium for themselves, the people in the organization, and the structural requirements of the organization. But is the desire to maintain equilibrium for the people and the organization the *only* things that influences an administrator's thinking? Below, we see that the sweep of historical practices also influence administrator thinking.

Historical Evidence and the Point of Scientificity

In a seminal presentation, *Tinkering Toward Utopia*, Tyack and Cuban (1995) noted that the sweep of educational history shows a startling fact: educational leaders talk a lot about change, but very little changes from decade to decade. To illustrate this point Tyack and Cuban highlight American public high schools, noting that these schools have essentially maintained structures and paradigms that originated during the dramatic growth and systematic ordering of secondary school systems during the early 1900s. Just take a quick look at the high schools during that era and compare them to today's average high school and you will see that they look very much the same organizationally, pedagogically, and philosophically. English (2002) attributes this to the political motives of university educational administration programs and professors from the 1920 era that have influenced every decade since then. He discusses the genesis and institutionalization of the field of educational administration, explaining that university programs and professors of educational administration were established in the early 1900s. English suggests that in an attempt to legitimize the field at the university level, professors in this new

discipline framed the academic and political discussions, and course work, using the popular and well-regarded path of Taylorism. During the early 1900s, Taylorism embodied the use of the scientific process, as seen in early manufacturing practices like those used on the assembly line by Ford Motor Company in the beginning years of the automobile industry. Borrowing from the framework and language of Taylorism, professors from the first university educational administration programs crafted course work, school systems, and research projects within the paradigm of the scientific process as seen in Taylorism. These early efforts by university faculty were designed to establish the field of educational administration as a science. English (2002) explains that, “The distinction between science and non-science creates the borders between a field and a non-field.” (p. 110). Politically, the “field” of educational administration needed to be a science to be legitimate. English introduces the idea of a “Point of Scientificity” by defining the terms as:

The point of scientificity, or pos, represents a place in history where educational administration was founded as a science. A pos creates a field of memory and a field of studies. A pos is epistemologically sustained in its claim for scientific status by a line of demarcation or lod. A lod is supported by truth claims based on various forms of correspondence. (p. 109)

The core of English’s article is that the evidence “has shown to contain serious flaws when compared to the actual history of scientific discoveries, [so] the entire project of a distinct and unitary field known as educational administration is seriously cast into doubt” (p.109). Essentially, English argues that educational administration as a “field” of study, with clearly established empirical evidence constituting the foundational base of understanding that is applicable to practice, does not exist. More recently, Thompson (2017), echoes some of English’s thinking when writing about research in educational administration, noting that, “The methods used to establish ‘truth’, as well as the very possibility of truth, are the focus of some debate” (p. 4). Her criticism of how educational administration traffics in knowledge is very poignant:

Knowledge production via a journal is not a simple process – it is rather the result of the combined strategies of various actors [playing the journal game]. Writers choose a particular journal on the basis of what it has already published, reviewers make judgments based on their own positioning and what they understand of the journal, the editor and editorial board can steer what is published through editorials, the declaration of particular types of papers it would like to receive, and through special issues. What ends up being published produces and reproduces a dominant journal genre. (p.5)

This control, arbitration, and sanctioning of what is distributed as disciplinary “knowledge” is part of what causes English to question whether educational administration should be called a clear scientific field of knowledge. This also gives rise to the assertion that educational administration programs tend to just replicate the leadership paradigms that currently and historically predominate in schools, and Tyack and Cuban’s (1995) assertion that nothing has really changed dramatically for generations.

Empirical Evidence and Craft Knowledge

A common belief or expectation is that students in educational administration programs are taught how to use best practice leadership skills. However, an examination of the evidence indicates that craft knowledge often trumps empirical evidence (Greenfield & Hunter, 2015). **Empirical evidence** is simply **evidence based on rigorous formal research**. Typically one finds this level of evidence in peer-reviewed journals. Grimmett and MacKinnon (1992) define **craft knowledge** as “a particular form of morally appropriate intelligent and sensible know-how that is constructed by teachers...in the context of their lived experiences and workaround issues of content related and learner focused pedagogy” (p. 396). Craft knowledge related to teacher practice is well documented, but it is not so well defined or documented in the literature related to educational leadership. Using the literature base from teacher research we can apply the idea to the present study with this functional definition: **craft knowledge is a person’s contextual and functional know-how, based on personal experience in their local and unique work environment.**

As noted above, English (2002; 2008) has substantiated that much of the historical and current theory of educational administration is built upon craft knowledge, not empirical evidence, even though educational administration leaders and writers have suggested that a base of theory informs the field. He presents a strong argument that there is no universal knowledge base or foundational epistemology in educational administration and asserts university professors of educational administration rely on *craft knowledge* as a main source of “theory” that they *use* as best practice, thereby reproducing the same school-leader archetypes decade after decade (English, 2006; 2008).

After extensive examination of the literature base, this present researcher sought to investigate how practicing administrators tend to inform themselves as they made day-to-day decisions and compare that to the thinking of one group of students in an educational administration program leading to certification for school administration.

Methodology

The entire five-year research initiative employed a mixed-methods approach (Creswell, 2014; Gall, Gall, & Borg, 2010). The research’s primary focus was to look at how experienced administrators’ thinking and decision making were influenced by common variables. Participants for the first four years of the study were assistant principals, principals, or district superintendents in public school systems. The last part of the study focused on students in an educational administration preparation program leading to certification allowing them to serve as school administrators, district office leaders, or district superintendents. The study used criterion sampling (Gall, Gall, & Borg, 2010), based on the belief that participants selected have knowledge or experience related to the study’s focus. The researchers asked school superintendents and other district administrators to nominate principals and assistant principals whom they considered exemplary administrators. Superintendents were nominated by university faculty who identified the participants as exemplary leaders. Diversity of the participant pool was encouraged in the nomination and selection process (Stake, 1995).

Both surveys and focused interviews were used to collect data. Surveys were distributed to participants through SurveyMonkey (2018) and/or Qualtrics (2018, Provo, UT), using the anonymity settings to ensure data was not tied to individual participants. To tease out the meaning behind some of the narrative data, focused interviews were used with small groups of volunteers from those who were surveyed at stages one, two and three, of the five-stage research initiative (see Appendix A). In these focused interviews, which were recorded by consent and translated verbatim, volunteers responded to open-ended questions (Gall, Gall, & Borg, 2010; Stake, 1995), providing detailed descriptions and explanations concerning ideas that came up on the completed surveys, thereby providing a better understanding of meaning, association of concepts, participant thinking, and explanation of ideas that were not clear from initial data collection. The survey data and the transcripts of interviews were analyzed using constant-comparison, open and axial coding, and triangulation between the various sets of data to strengthen trustworthiness of the research conclusions (Creswell, 2014; Gall, Gall, & Borg, 2010; Strauss, 1987; Stake, 1995).

In addition to demographic information, the surveys posed 10 basic questions. The key questions in the surveys examined the following: 1) when and how participants felt compelled to set aside personal/professional values in decision-making; 2) if they felt compelled to set aside their personal/professional core beliefs and values *because* of mandates; 3) questions that asked the participant to identify a ratio that represented the percentage of daily decisions that would be considered black/white (or right/wrong); and 3) the percentage of situations that were nuanced, requiring them to exercise their judgment based on personal or professional core beliefs. The surveys invited participants to give examples related to the questions and to identify where they sought guidance when addressing challenging situations where there were no clear policies, procedures or well-defined solutions. As choices, the surveys asked the participants if they turned to research evidence or to craft knowledge when confronted by these unclear and challenging decisions. For analysis, the researchers aggregated the survey responses, including the narrative reflections offered by participants.

Findings

Of the 92 participants in the study, the demographic data revealed that there were similarities across the five stages of the research. It showed that the elementary principals (N=15) in the study had an average 19.14 years in education, with 6.9 in administrative leadership, while the secondary principals (N=9) had 16.5 and 5.5 years, respectively. Superintendents (N=22) in the research reported 28.68 years in education with 17.8 in administration. Students (N=39) in the educational administration program had an average of 13.65 years in education.

Examining the key questions in the research survey and focused interviews, the range of responses were tightly clustered. For instance, when identifying challenging decisions that were nuanced, requiring them to use situational judgment and their core values, the scores ranged between 64% and 78%: elementary principals reported that 64% of their decisions were nuanced, secondary principals indicated that 78% were nuanced, and superintendents reported 65% were nuanced. Comparably, the future administrators (students in the university certification program) reported 70% of the time they were looking at nuanced decision making.

Among principals in the study, 62.5% of them felt that their core beliefs were in conflict with organizational mandates; 87.5% of them reported that this happened either “occasionally” or “several times a week.” Likewise, 65% of the superintendents felt these conflicts and 91% of them indicated that this was occasionally or several times a week. For the future leaders, they felt that 80% of the time their core beliefs were challenged by mandates; since they were not in the administrative role they were training for, we did not assess how often during the week they felt this conflict.

Universally, all the groups in this study indicated that they turned to craft knowledge more often than the research base when they were in need of guidance in decision making. What is interesting is the way in which this process played out. The study participants indicated that when they were challenged to make a decision where they felt conflicts with their core beliefs, they tended to turn to those core beliefs as the main guide in formulating a decision. Additionally, if they did not feel like they had enough information with which to make a decision, they did not turn to the research base, they turned to the craft knowledge of colleagues who were experienced administrators.

Discussion and implications

After comparing the research data with the literature, it is clear that both experienced administrators and those in training to become school administrators use a decision making process that includes the use of their own core values and beliefs, and their professional experience. This cumulative knowledge is largely constructed from craft knowledge gained either as part of their administrative course work where education administration faculty rely on a knowledge base that is largely craft knowledge unsupported by empirical research, or it is based on the practicing administrator’s own uniquely developed “know-how” from experience in the field. This is not to say that they do not use some empirical research, but the evidence in this present research initiative indicated that the majority of their thinking and decision making comes from craft knowledge, either their own, their colleagues, or craft knowledge disseminated from university faculty. They use this craft knowledge as the primary base for decision making and research evidence was used secondarily. This is evident when one looks at some of the most popular books used in the field of education as “professional” literature. As English (2008) documents, many of these books used in the field, or as part of university educational administration programs, have no research base, even if the book claims to be research based:

The intellectual/epistemological foci for much of the content of theory and operations of schools and school systems are also common to public and business administration. There is a whole list of largely popular business texts that are cited from time to time in educational leadership books and which many students in education have read. Virtually... none of them are research based and the few that claim to be [are oversimplified and de-contextualized] for them to fit. (pg. 160)

English listed many of these popular books that are passed off as research-based best practice, when in fact they are simply craft knowledge from individuals that are suggesting that the ideas apply to education, when there is no direct evidence of such. Eugene Samier (2005) identifies these as “kitsch management” literature, which is saying that they are “cheap, crass, vulgar, saccharine, gaudy, ersatz or

pseudo-art, and indicative of bad taste” (p. 36). Samier suggests that these works draw people in emotionally and appeal to sentimentality, but have little enduring research or practice evidence. This is not to say that there are not good ideas in these books, but it represents craft knowledge from areas outside of education that has no direct research connection to the context of education. And that is the story of this present study.

Taken as a whole, the present five-year study shows that both experienced administrators in the field and those in training rely on craft knowledge for decision making. Furthermore, they use their own core values and beliefs as a filter to cognitively make meaning in challenging situations, then they formulate decisions using their available craft knowledge, attempting to maintain a sense of personal equilibrium as well as organizational equilibrium. Indicative of the thinking revealed by participants in the study, is this administrator’s explanation of her process: “Values and integrity always have to be my guide.” What is clear from this statement and similar ones from the surveys is that the vast majority of search participants relied on their own unique internal values and craft knowledge. When explaining how she used knowledge gained from her educational administration program training, one participant said, “There are some situations the program cannot prepare you for; you have to experience them and trust in the soundness of your own core values to lead you through each situation.” This succinctly summarizes the global idea from the five-year research agenda. P-12 administrators trust in, and use their craft knowledge more often than any research-based knowledge.

Recommendations for future research

Although this research presents a clear picture of the compelling influence that craft knowledge has on practicing and future school administrators, and shows that educational administration programs primarily use craft knowledge as training paradigms, it does not delineate the exact nature of the use of research evidence in schools or in university programs. It remains unclear as to how exactly university programs integrate theory into their training programs, how students in those programs gain from that training, or when and how they use that in their practice. It would be helpful for future research to quantitatively compare practicing administrators’ use of craft knowledge to research-based practices that are firmly established empirically in the literature. That was beyond the scope of this present research. Such future research could help university faculty begin to judge the impact of research on administrator’s thinking, and determine how education administration programs might address the challenge of creating training programs that help more school leaders develop more effective practice rather than just perpetuating the leadership that currently exists, and has existed for many decades.

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Appendix A
Stages of the research, and participants

Research stage:	Number of people nominated:	Number of actual participants:
Stage 1 2013-14: Secondary Principals Surveyed and focused interviews conducted	16	9
Stage 2 2013-14: Elementary Principals Surveyed and focus interviews conducted	35	15
Stage 3 2015: Focused interviews with all levels of administrators below the superintendent positions.	15	7
Stage 4 2016-17: Superintendents surveyed	20 12	11 11
Stage 5 2018: Educational Administration Program students surveyed	103	39
Totals:	201	92

Impacts of Real-Time Captioning in an Elementary Spanish Foreign-Language Classroom

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Literature Review

Student achievement is well documented in educational research studying second-language pedagogy in K–12 schools, showing increases in student achievement in other content areas. However, with the present-day testing emphasis on mathematics and reading, foreign languages are relatively low on school districts' priority lists (McClure, 2013). A positive relationship exists between early secondary-language learning and improved mental processes, which include conceptual learning (Archibald et al., 2006). As an example, a study of 104 6-year-old students found that those who spoke two languages were better at transitioning from one task to another, which is a measure of the students' ability to manage attention (Barac & Bialystok, 2012). Such benefits show the need for studies in the connection of heightened foreign language study and high stakes tested areas.

Although the existence of another application called Real-Time captioning (captioning and displaying the spoken word in real-time), is available, the impacts of the application in a foreign-language classroom are limited. Although researchers have studied Real-Time captioning in the English-as-a-second-language classroom, the constraints on a second-language classroom are different from those of a foreign-language classroom; impacts to vocabulary acquisition and other aspects of the foreign-language classroom are unknown. This study sought to answer the question, What impacts do Real-Time captioning have on an elementary Spanish-immersion foreign-language vocabulary class?

Real-time Captioning

Researchers have extensively studied the impacts of Closed Captioning of television programs and movies in a foreign-language classroom (Linebarger, 1999; Neuman & Koskinen, 1992; Roso, 1997; Strassman, MacDonald & Wanko, 2010). Closed-captioned television has accompanied increased vocabulary acquisition and learning, particularly noted in novice foreign-language learners (Linebarger, 1999). However, [Real-Time captioning](#) has not had as much review (Ingraham, 2014), perhaps due to the financial obligation associated with Real-Time captioning and the equipment associated with Real-Time captioning functionality.

Picture–Word Inductive Model

The picture word inductive model (PWIM) builds on Calhoun's (1999) research and is designed to develop primary or early stage readers' vocabulary, reading, and writing skills explicitly and inductively. This inquiry-oriented language-arts strategy uses pictures containing familiar objects and actions to elicit words from children's listening and speaking vocabularies (Calhoun, 1999). A [picture–word chart](#) is used containing a picture and the words students will identify or “shake out” of the picture. The PWIM method was employed as a teaching technique in all stages of this study.

Methods

This qualitative bounded case study sought to illuminate the impact Real-Time captioning has on vocabulary acquisition and retention in a Spanish elementary immersion class at a university-based laboratory school. Acme Laboratory School is located on a moderately selective university (Acme University) campus in a small Midwestern town. The study was conducted in an elementary immersion foreign-language classroom conducted in the mainstream classroom. The foreign-language teacher enters the classroom to conduct 30-minute immersion classes daily.

Triangulation of data was performed to achieve trustworthiness, including participant journals, research observation field notes, participant lesson plans, and Real-Time transcripts. Additionally, student pretest and posttest data were collected and reviewed to provide an additional data point. All data were reviewed and, through open-axial coding, impact themes emerged.

Participants

The study had four types of participants, each yielding a different type of data: the researcher as participant, classroom teacher, elementary Spanish foreign-language students, and the researcher as observer. Data were collected from each type of participant to ensure trustworthiness of the study.

Procedures

The study was conducted for 3 weeks, allowing for three units of Spanish vocabulary instruction that used Spanish immersion with [PWIM instruction](#). The first week was a pretreatment unit, the second week was a treatment week, and the third week served as a posttreatment week of instruction. This method helps account for the nature of language acquisition over time. The treatment unit of instruction remained constant to each of the other units, based on the type and frequency of instruction and activities. The only item that changed during the treatment week was the use of [Real-Time captioning](#) during the entirety of the instruction.

The first day of each unit of instruction taught new vocabulary terms through the use of PWIM pictures, whole-group instruction of the vocabulary terms with the pictures, group practice with writing the PWIM vocabulary words, and movements illustrating the meaning of the PWIM vocabulary words. Each unit contained eight new nouns taught and two new verbs taught. Prior to the instruction on the first day, students took a pretest individually, asking them to identify as many nouns and verbs in Spanish that they could identify illustrated in the picture. This pretest provided a baseline for understanding the growth of vocabulary by students.

On the subsequent 3 days of instruction, daily PWIM shaking-out of vocabulary words was conducted as a whole group, and in small groups. Additionally, sentence strips were passed out to the students to complete in small groups, whereby the students had to create sentences about what was occurring in the PWIM pictures, using PWIM vocabulary. On the final day of instruction, students played PWIM vocabulary bingo, prior to taking the posttest.

Data Collection

During the data collection phase of the study, there were multiple artifact collected from the participants. These included: pretest and posttest scores, field notes by the researchers and the teacher, Real-Time captioning transcripts, email communication with Caption Colorado captioners, and lesson plans from the teacher-researcher.

Document Analysis

Open axial coding and constant comparative analysis (Creswell, 2012) were employed for data analysis. Trustworthiness was achieved through triangulation of data and the use of thick, rich description to explain the phenomena (Creswell, 2012; Merriam, 1998). As the data were analyzed, themes emerged to describe phenomena.

Results

Through data analysis, themes emerged to explain the phenomena of the impact of Real-Time captioning in an elementary immersion Spanish foreign-language classroom. Illuminated through triangulation of the data, three themes emerged: Engagement, Learning, and Logistics. The results are illustrated in Table 1; data meaning will be further constructed in the Discussion. As a quantitative

component of the study, student learning was captured through descriptive statistics analysis (see Table 2).

Spanish-vocabulary learning and retention of vocabulary was heightened during the Real-Time captioned lessons, as seen in Table 2. These gains were captured through pretest–posttest PWIM assessments. Additionally, the teacher-researcher noted learning due to lesson/content-preparation emphasis.

Discussion

Engagement

Engagement “refers to behavioral displays of effort, time, and persistence in attaining desired outcomes” (Klauda & Guthrie, 2014, p. 240). In the current study, engagement of teachers and students can be seen through the lenses of the amount of effort or focus expended on an activity, the time dedicated to the activity, and the persistence toward completing a task or goal. Eccles and Wang (2012) make a further connection, implying that a linkage between engagement and achievement; in this study, achievement was observed through student language acquisition. However, not only was student engagement noted, but teacher engagement was also perceived as enhanced during the treatment sessions.

Student Engagement. During the study, specifically the treatment portion of the study, student engagement increased, made clear through conversations students had with their mainstream teacher, through observational field notes the researcher took about students interacting with the captioning, and journal notes by the teacher-researcher. Although the same amount of time was dedicated to each class session, the 10- to 15-minute preparation time extended the awareness and anticipation for the lesson. Students exhibited this increased focus on the Spanish lesson when the teacher-researcher was entering the room with the equipment for the treatment classes. Students made comments like, “Wow, that’s big!” or “What is that?” This was different from the nontreatment sessions when the teacher-researcher did not enter the room until the designated class-start time.

Additionally, students were more engaged with the class when the treatment session was transpiring. This was noted in the teacher-researcher journal, the teacher’s notes, and the researcher’s journal. However, the engagement was not solely with the lesson itself but rather appeared to be focused on the transcribed Spanish words being displayed. The teacher-researcher noted this in the journal saying, “Today during the last part of the class, they didn’t seem quite as ‘into’ the activity. They didn’t repeat the words as loudly and as many times. I believe the transcription took some of their attention.” However, this view was countered by the observations the researcher noted: “not all students can see the board where the Real-Time captioning is being displayed.” Therefore, it is not possible that a direct link occurred between the decline in participation by students and students watching the Real-Time captioning text more intently. The teacher did talk with the teacher-researcher after the class session was complete, saying “one of the students was looking the entire time at the Smartboard, even positioning himself for the group activity where he could still see the board.” It is unknown why the student did this. The student was focused on the Spanish that was being written on the board, thus focus and engagement in the class activity was high.

During another lesson, the teacher-researcher noted two students were focused and attempting to determine what the teacher-researcher was saying while giving directions, and the students continually looked at the transcribed words in what appeared to be an attempt to “keep up” with the lesson being delivered in Spanish. The teacher “saw a couple of boys looking at the screen [where the transcription was displayed] today,” indicating focus on the Spanish written words. During a conversation the teacher had with the class after the Spanish lesson was over, the teacher noted that one student liked the transcription, saying, “it says what she is saying.” Fourteen of the 21 students said they used the transcription often in the class, with one student indicated liking it because the student “can look up and see the words” the teacher-researcher is saying. However, 16 students said that they do not like having the transcription. One noted that “it’s distracting” because it is delayed” with another student noting, “it is slow and I wait on it and then I’m behind on what she is saying.” Of the students, 17 said that they would like it better if the delay was not as long. Overall, the majority of the students were aware of the function of the Real-Time caption in class, with most students noting they did use it. This possibility illustrates an

awareness of or focus on the written Spanish words and a connection between the oral and written forms of the language, which did not exist in the nontreatment sessions. This heightened focus on Spanish acquisition implies heightened engagement with lessons during the treatment sessions.

Teacher Engagement. In addition to great student engagement in the classroom, teacher engagement also heightened. This teacher engagement was viewed through the time dedicated to preparing for the lesson. As stated in the teacher-researcher's journal entries and the archived lesson plans, the teacher was engaged with the language while preparing for the class during treatment and nontreatment sessions. However, during the treatment stage, the teacher was forced to write the lesson plans in English and Spanish so the transcriptionist would understand the intent of the lesson and the targeted vocabulary that should be taught.

Additionally, with the added time required for the set-up of the classroom for the treatment sessions, the teacher was at the school site earlier and remained later after class to deconstruct the work space, as noted in the teacher's journal entry on the first treatment day, saying, "Wow, they contacted me early today, at 10:07 and class doesn't start until 10:30." This time to completion of the activity illustrated the engagement of the teacher to the lesson (Klauda & Guthrie, 2014). Through the time spent on the additional lesson preparation and the time spent in preparing the learning space, the teacher's engagement with the class material and delivery intensified.

Learning

Learning is an abstract concept with many definitions and theories related to it (Nonaka & Takeuchi, 1995). Many researchers have examined and categorized learning based on attributes of the learning taking place. Confucius illuminated moral and ethical endeavors in learning (Kee, 2007). More recently, learning has been categorized by the type of learning taking place, emphasizing emotional learning or cognitive learning (Merriam & Bierema, 2014). For this study, learning means the "gaining of knowledge of something" (Merriam & Bierema, 2014, p. 25). Although this definition is simplistic, it is further qualified by the group of people who were seen to learn in the study: teacher and students.

Teacher Learning. Although the classroom is considered a place for student learning to transpire, development of the teacher is pivotal as well (Darling-Hammond & Bransford, 2005). Through continual teacher development and engagement with the teacher's own learning creation, an environment rich for student learning can be realized. As seen in the teacher-researcher's journal, during the Real-Time captioning treatment, the teacher-researcher felt more aligned with prethinking the language to be used in the class. This was, in part, due to having to create lesson plans to submit to the Spanish-only transcriptionists. Knowing that the transcriptionists did not understand English (as they were stationed in Chile), the teacher-researcher was forced to design lesson plans that not only isolated the vocabulary that would be the focus of the lesson, but also considered the sentences students might develop as a part of the PWIM lesson. Additionally, considering the sentences the teacher-researcher would use to explain the vocabulary word was imperative. As the teacher-researcher was not a native speaker, and definitely not familiar with the vocabulary used in Chile, clear isolation of the vocabulary was imperative to having the transcriptionist correctly spell the targeted vocabulary. Throughout this process, the teacher-researcher noted in a journal dedicating more time to prethinking the lesson and the language to be incorporated into the lesson.

Although the attention shown to detail and to being cognizant of the lesson the teacher-researcher was going to teach was different from the pre/posttreatment units, the attention students gave in the treatment sessions was also vastly different from the nontreatment sessions. The researcher noted, during the treatment sessions, students engaged with the teacher and with the technology being employed. During one session, the mainstream teacher noted that one student moved throughout the lesson to continually be able to view the displayed captioning.

Student Learning. Elementary students in this study were learning a second language through an immersion class, but also with explicit language instruction targeting predetermined vocabulary. The students were undergoing both implicit and explicit language absorption (Krashen, 1985); implicit was acquisition and explicit was learning (Ellis, 2008). Language learning is a "conscious process and results in explicit learning and knowledge" (Ellis, 1997, p. 246). For this study, student learning was the explicit

instruction leading to knowledge gained and illuminated through a pretest–posttest comparison of targeted written Spanish vocabulary, seen through PWIM prompts.

Through document analysis and descriptive statistics of the pre- and posttests, vocabulary learning increased during the treatment session (see Table 1). Although students gained Spanish during the nontreatment phases of the study, they better retained the new Spanish vocabulary during the treatment phase than they did in either of the nontreatment phases and the combined nontreatment phase averages. The newly learned vocabulary illustrates the immediate and explicit learning that transpired for the week of the treatment instruction.

When reviewing the descriptive statistics for the total number of Spanish words retained over the term of the study, students retained a greater number of Spanish words during the final phase of the study. Although this could be seen as a weakness of the study, according to language-acquisition theory, more implicit use of a language leads to continual growth in the language over time (Ellis, 1997). Therefore, reviewing the combined nontreatment descriptive statistics offers greater insight into the effects of the treatment on language learning and mitigates the implicit language-acquisition factor of the study.

Logistics

Logistics has a plethora of definitions, many denoted by the profession in which someone works. The education profession in the United States does not typically use the term logistics when referring to nonpedagogical issues that transpire in a classroom. Marzano, Marzano, and Pickering used the term “procedures” (2003, p. 13) to describe qualities of a classroom that are effectively managed. Darling-Hammond and Bransford (2005) and Frey, Douglas, and Everlove (2009) defined productive groups as being on-task or being engaged. Charles (2011) referred to interruptions in the classroom as “distractions” (p. 198). As a way of further refining what was noticed in the study, Orlich, Harder, Callahan, and Gibson referred to these nonpedagogical events transpiring in a classroom as “unanticipated interruptions” (2001, p. 210). However, in reviewing the teacher-researcher notes, the documents, and the researcher notes, all these ideas were present during the study, and in particular during the treatment portion of the study. As a way to collectively refer to these nonpedagogical aspects of the classroom, the term logistics was adopted from the work of Nussbaum and Diaz (2013).

In the current high-accountability educational environment, determining the most expeditious method of learning is important. Although the intent of a classroom is generally to enhance learner knowledge in a given subject matter, typically this value-end couples with the logistics of imparting knowledge (Nussbaum & Diaz, 2013; Orlich et al., 2001). One such logistical consideration is the time it takes for a teaching strategy to convey knowledge. Once this is understood, a teacher can balance the logistical factors with the value-end result and determine the strategies that yield the best results in the quickest fashion.

During treatment sessions, while the Real-Time transcript was employed, the researcher made multiple notations in field notes about logistical situations. The teacher-researcher noted in the journal on the first day of transcription that the transcriptionist contacted the researcher earlier than previously arranged. This caused additional stress on the teacher-researcher to balance the instruction, the movement of the technological devices, and the relationship between the captioning company and the teacher. In the researcher’s notes, many times it was noted that the classroom instruction had to stop to ensure the students were seated in locations where they could see the instruction that was transpiring as well as the captioning. Additionally, the review of the e-mails between the teacher-researcher and the Real-Time captioning company illustrated more logistical issues. Arranging for the captioning to transpire took 21 e-mail exchanges; this was time consuming and did not directly impact the pedagogical decision making or implementation.

Making Meaning

Although the results of the study provide a rich description of the impacts of Real-Time captioning on the elementary Spanish classroom, providing the results in a real-world context provides greater clarity. One such daily activity that all educators use is the Internet. Educators use the Internet to plan and execute lessons, and typically this involves searching the Internet for information. Just as searching for

information on the Internet can be impacted by a person's decisions on how to search, so can an elementary Spanish classroom be impacted by deciding to use Real-Time captioning in teaching.

Firewalls

The theme of engagement in this foreign-language classroom is like the use of firewalls on the Internet. If a person uses firewalls, they extrapolate only the information they desire. If instead they do not use firewalls, they may find themselves inundated with too much information, thereby causing overstimulation and down time. Similarly, students were able to use the transcribed word to engage in the Spanish being used by the teacher-researcher. This transcribed word allows a student to filter for what they missed in what the teacher said, or to look for a vocabulary word they need. It acts as another form of engagement in the learning process, allowing the student to filter for the type of learning they use best, either auditory or visual.

Filters

Learning through a Real-Time captioned class is similar to interactions with social media using filters. The filters provide the consumer with only predetermined information and topics. The Real-Time captioned class only enhances the learning experience with the selected information needed (i.e., visual cues of the oral language). This process also aligns with comprehensible-input theory, allowing a student to not only be inundated with immersed oral teaching, but also provides visual input to make learning at a compressible level possible, while providing new language-learning opportunities (Krashen, 1985).

Settings

All computer companies (i.e., Macintosh, Hewlett Packard, Android, iPhone, etc.) have various settings; trying to mine through the various settings takes time, much like the logistics of using Real-Time captioning. It is time consuming to set-up the initial Real-Time captioning account, connection, and room area desirable to use Real-Time captioning. However, once the teacher learns the new system, using it becomes less tedious and the benefits are tangible, just like the options that the settings allow for a person using a hand-held technological device.

Conclusions

This study has multiple implications, including the need for further research about the effects of Real-Time captioning in other areas of education. The three most significant entities to be impacted are teachers, district administrators, and teacher-preparation programs. In order to better understand the full implications to these entities, further research should be conducted, including a quantitative study, allowing for greater generalizability.

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Table 1
Students' Statements Regarding Identified Themes

Themes	Students' statements
Engagement	Student 1: "It says what she is saying."
Learning	Student 2: "I am learning a lot more having it every day."
Logistics	Student 3: "It is on and I wait on it."

Table 2
Spanish Word Retention

Treatment	Total Spanish			New Spanish		
	Words	<i>N</i>	Per student	Words	<i>N</i>	Per student
Pretreatment unit	35	20	1.75	1	20	< 1
Treatment unit	114	21	5.4	96	21	4.6
Posttreatment unit	128	22	5.8	90	22	4.0
Combined nontreatment	163	42	3.8	91	42	2.1

The Effect of Articulated (tech prep) Credits on College Outcomes at a Stand-alone Technical College

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Abstract

Students can earn postsecondary technical credit through the tech prep program. This study examines retention, completion, and time-to-degree for tech prep participants.

Introduction

Career and Technical Education have seen many shifts in purpose throughout its long history, which mirrors the history of the United States. Initially, federally funded vocational programs in high schools were designed to provide entry-level workplace skills to students who would enter the workforce immediately after high school. With expanding technology and an increasing demand for the technological skills needed for work, emphasis for federally funded vocational programs has shifted to preparing students for postsecondary technical programs. The tech prep program was federally funded as a vehicle to provide a credit-based transition program aiding in that modification.

In *The Neglected Majority*, Parnell (1985) discussed the need for greater coordination between high schools and postsecondary vocational education to prepare non-college prep students for work. Parnell asserted that high school college prep programs only influence about 35% of high school graduates. He noted “far too many high-school seniors are enrolled in unstructured and unfocused programs lacking in substance” (p. 45).

The solution, according to Parnell (1985), who at the time was the president of the American Association of Community and Junior Colleges, was to create a 2+2 program. This program would encompass the last two years of high school and two years of terminal vocational education, which would serve the students who were not in the college-prep/baccalaureate track. The program, called tech prep, would be a combination of applied academics and career education to prepare students for the skilled and technological jobs requiring less than a bachelor’s degree. Partnerships between high schools and college campuses, called consortiums, would be created to articulate the course of study arranged around career clusters such as mechanical trades or health sciences.

Tech prep has been described as a partnership, a process of teaching and learning, and a curriculum structure (Center for Occupational and Research Development, 1999). Through articulation agreements within the consortium, a curriculum structure for technical and academic content is created and taught at the high school level. Those credits transfer to the college as postsecondary articulated technical credit upon the student’s matriculation, thus reducing the credits a student must take at college. As a process of teaching and learning, career and technical education “is inherently contextualized and can reach many students for whom the abstract nature of the typical academic classroom can be simultaneously intimidating and boring” (Lewis, Kosine, & Overman, 2008, p. 53).

Tech prep is a credit-based transition program aimed at the middle two quadrants of high school students, providing a seamless path to technical postsecondary education, rather than four-year colleges (Bailey & Karp, 2003; Krile & Parmer, 2002). Tech prep is not designed to serve the academically proficient students who qualify to participate in other credit-based transition programs, such as Advanced Placement and dual credit (Parnell, 1985; Tobolowsky & Allen, 2016).

Problem Statement

Increased accountability is a theme in education, and tech prep is no exception. Perkins IV added accountability measures to gauge the success of tech prep, including technical skill attainment; credential, certificate, degree completion; student retention or transfer; student placement; and nontraditional participation and completion. However, education literature reveals that little evidence exists on the success or failure of tech prep in preparing students to meet these college outcomes (Shaw, 2012).

The stated goal of the tech prep program is to provide a credit-based transition program from secondary to postsecondary career and technical education. Benefits of the program are purported to be not only the articulated credits, which give the student a head start on earning postsecondary credit, but also the technical skills and career discernment to succeed in postsecondary education.

These benefits should lead to increased persistence/retention, certificate and degree production, decreased time-to-completion, and increased technical skills attainment. However, Career and Technical Education has been criticized for lack of evidence that these goals are being realized (Duncan, 2011; Shaw, 2012). This study will inform policy makers of the efficacy of the current tech prep program in a small western state by examining records of the tech prep students who matriculate to a partner technical college.

Career exploration is pertinent to this discussion because of the effect it has on student engagement. According to Perry, Wallace, and McCormick (2016), when students understand the connection between what they learn in the classroom and how it applies to real-world work, they become increasingly invested in their education as a vehicle for autonomy.

“Developing a career is a process, not just a destination (Kosine & Lewis, 2008, p. 227). Super’s (1963) seminal theory of vocational choice identifies phases of career exploration. “It is through the exploration process that the individual *crystallizes* his or her career interests by narrowing choices, *specifies* a vocational choice, and then *implements* the choice by making it a reality via training, education, and work” (Kosine & Lewis, 2008, p. 231).

The exploration process, encompassing all three phases, is referred to as career discernment in this paper. Career discernment is the cognitive process a young person goes through to combine interests, aptitudes, and opportunities in search of a career role (Jernberg, 2018). The natural outcome for career exploration is for a student to develop an interest in a career cluster, and further refine that interest into action. This self-knowledge, coupled with effective career counseling, provides a foundation for determining what type of credit-based transition program, if any, will be most beneficial for the student to realize his or her career goal.

Literature Review

Credit-based transition programs refer to educational opportunities for students to earn college credit while still in high school. Well known credit-based transition programs include Advanced Placement, dual credit, and International Baccalaureate programs. Credit-based transition programs provide a method for academic and social integration before the student enters college. Such programs may have an effect on the student’s choice to go to college, and which college to attend.

There is a wide body of literature in support of credit-based transition programs and the positive effect they have on students’ academic and social integration leading not only to high school graduation, but also to college matriculation and achievement of favorable college outcomes (An & Taylor, 2015; Chajewski, Mattern & Shaw, 2011; Columbia University, 2012; Dougherty, Mellor, & Jian, 2006; Foust, Hertberg-Davis, & Callahan, 2009; Kim & Bragg, 2008; Kyburg, Hertberg-Davis, & Callahan, 2007; Mattern, Marini, & Shaw, 2013; Taylor, 2015).

High school outcomes associated with tech prep were the subject of early analysis when tech prep programs were initially developed. Tech prep is beneficial to high school students’ academic, career, and social development (Brotsky, Arroyo, & Fabozzi., 1997). Tech prep students continue to postsecondary education in higher numbers, and tech prep students are more likely to work after high school, regardless of postsecondary enrollment (Bragg et al., 2002; Bragg, Kirby & Zhu, 2006). Cellini (2006) asserted that tech prep “helps participants complete high school and encourages enrollment in two-year programs” (p. 394) after a fixed effects approach study involving over 7,000 students.

DeLuca, Plank, and Estacion (2006) found that while high school career curricula increased the odds of a student enrolling in postsecondary education, tech prep programs were negatively related to any college enrollment, which suggests that the job skills taught in high school programs may be sufficient for students to gain employment without an additional postsecondary credential.

College outcomes associated with tech prep include postsecondary retention, completion, and time-to-degree—a function of both career exploration and articulated credits. While Krile and Parmer (2002) asserted, “Tech prep has a positive effect on subsequent college performance” (p. 9), other studies detailed above have had mixed results when considering college outcomes such as retention, graduation, and time-to-degree. Brodsky and Arroyo (1999) found that tech prep students persisted better and completed postsecondary technical programs at higher rates than non-tech prep students did. In addition, Brodsky and Arroyo found evidence that tech prep students stayed with their original college curriculum choice, which matched the high school tech prep curriculum, reinforcing the value of career exploration in high school.

The seven-consortium longitudinal study of the “most promising tech prep programs” (Bragg et al., 2002, p. 74) concluded that there were little to no differences between the tech prep and non-tech prep college outcomes of persistence and completion. Krile and Parmer’s (2002) Sinclair study found no difference between first quarter to second quarter retention, and a significant favorable difference in first quarter to second year retention for tech prep students.

Sweat and Fenster (2006) found little difference in time-to-degree between tech prep and non-tech prep students. However, Torres (2008) found a significant difference in time-to-degree in favor of tech prep students. Torres also found that south Texas students who completed high school tech prep programs graduated at nearly double the rate as their non-tech prep peers.

The most robust of the studies, Shaw’s (2012) longitudinal study of CTE high school students that matriculated to CTE programs, found positive effects of tech prep college outcomes in retention and graduation. However, the high school students in the study were from CTE high schools with strong ties to partner-institutions.

An understanding of the limitations of technical degrees and technical credits is pertinent to the discussion because many high school students find that articulated tech prep credits do not transfer to four-year degree programs nor to all technical degree programs. Unless the technical credit earned in high school is required in the particular program the student enrolls in, the credits will be on the student’s transcript, but not applied to the degree program. This concept is amplified when the student attempts to articulate tech prep credit to a four-year college in pursuit of a bachelor’s degree.

The lack of transferability is a growing concern with all types of credit-based transition programs. Gewertz, Harwin, Sparks, and Lewandowski (2016) reported that students lose an average of 13% of pre-college credits when they enroll in college. A study funded by the Greater Texas Foundation (*Appleby et al.*, 2011) noted that with 226 students with dual credit, all the credits were accepted by Texas colleges. However, only 73% were accepted toward a degree. Florida requires its department of education to develop and circulate a statement that tells students and parents that dual credits might transfer only for general education or elective credit (Gewertz et al., 2016).

The implicit promise made to students is that if they earn college credit, then colleges should accept that credit. Credit transfer is a complex topic that falls outside the scope of this research. However, it is a theme to keep in mind through the following analysis of tech prep credit that was articulated through the partner college consortium agreements.

Research Questions

The purpose of this study is to understand the effect of tech prep participation and associated articulated credit on the partner institution’s students, who matriculated with articulated tech prep credits from 2012 to 2016 within three-and-a-half years of high school graduation. Accordingly, the overarching research question is: What is the effect of tech prep participation and associated articulated credits on college outcomes?

In order to effectively analyze the research question, three questions were formulated to understand the differences between tech prep and non-tech prep students, and two questions were formulated to

understand the effect of articulated credit with regard to the completed postsecondary program and career discernment. The six research questions are as follows:

Regarding comparison of tech prep to non-tech prep:

1. Is there a statistically significant difference in the second semester enrollment rate of tech prep and non-tech prep students?
2. Is there a statistically significant difference in the completion rate of tech prep and non-tech prep students?
3. To what extent did time-to-degree completion differ between tech prep and non-tech prep students?

Regarding tech prep students only:

4. To what extent did the articulated credits apply to the degree the tech prep student completed?
5. To what extent did the student complete a program in the same career cluster as the articulated tech prep credits?

Procedures

This study employed a quantitative research methodology. Specifically, the first three the research questions were examined using an ex-post facto causal-comparative research design. The presence or absence of articulated tech prep credits, allow for categorization of postsecondary students after the fact. The independent variable is tech prep or non-tech prep status. The dependent variables are the college outcomes of retention, completion, and time-to-degree

The dataset provided to the researcher by the partner institution Office of Institutional Research contained 2,190 records. Each record for was a student who had attended the college in credit bearing classes between summer 2012 and fall 2016. Records were eliminated if the student was non-degree seeking, did not graduate from an in-state high school, or matriculated more than three and one-half years after high school graduation.

The remaining records (n = 398) comprise the dataset used in this study. The records are those of degree seeking students who matriculated to the partner institution between summer 2012 and fall 2016, and graduated from an instate high school within three-and-a-half-years of matriculation.

The data set was filtered for students who have transcribed articulated credit. This group was established as the “tech prep” group (n = 68). The remaining records formed the “non-tech prep” or control group for this study (n=330).

Research questions 4 and 5 are descriptive in nature.

Research question #1: Retention

The retention measure utilized in this study considers initial enrollment and determines if the student came back to school the next semester. Data was analyzed using the chi-square test for independence.

Results indicate that tech prep students enroll in second semester classes at a higher rate than non-tech prep students. Tech prep students enroll in second semester classes at a rate of 82.35% vs. 66.67% for non-tech prep students. The difference is statistically significant with a small effect size, $\chi^2(1, n = 398) = 6.526, p = .0106, \Phi = .128$. Tech prep students were more likely to persist to second semester than there non-tech prep peers.

This finding confirms the results described in Brodsky and Arroyo’s (1999), and Shaw’s (2012) studies. However, it contradicts the findings of Bragg et al. (2002) and Krile and Parmer (2002), where no differences were found. The positive results in the current study may be due to the career discernment opportunity for tech prep students, or because tech prep students have exposure to the rigor of college-level technical courses while still in high school.

Research question #2: Completion

This question seeks to understand the difference in completion rates (earned technical certificate or AAS) between tech prep and non-tech prep students.

Because students who matriculated to the partner institution in the 16-17 cohort as AAS students have not been in school long enough to complete degrees, records for students with a start program of AAS from the 16-17 cohort were eliminated before analysis. The data were frequency counts in a failure

success matrix. Expected frequencies were less than five in at least one cell. Therefore Fisher's Exact Test was employed.

In this study, tech prep students complete technical certificates and Associate of Applied Science degrees more often than non-tech prep students at 56.6% vs. 34.85% respectively. The difference is statistically significant with a small effect size, $p(2, n = 317) = .0121$ (two-tailed), $V = .172$. Tech prep students were more likely to complete than their non-tech prep peers.

This finding may be attributable to both early career discernment and the rigor of college-level curriculum while still in high school. Both Torres (2008) and Shaw (2012) found that tech prep students completed programs at higher rates than their non-tech prep peers. However, Bragg, et al. (1999) detected no difference in completion rates between tech prep and non-tech prep students.

Research question #3: Time-to-Degree

This question seeks to understand time-to-degree for tech prep and non-tech prep students. Time-to-degree is the time lapse between initial enrollment and graduation, expressed as a percentage of the normal time to complete a degree. The tech prep program allows students to earn postsecondary technical credit while still in high school, thus reducing the credits the student would have to take at the postsecondary technical school. Sweat and Fenster (2006) noted that when students earn credits before matriculating to college, the time-to-degree should be reduced.

The statistic for this analysis is an independent-measures t-test. As with the Torres (2008) study, the hypothesis was tested two-tailed with an alpha of .05.

The independent-measures t-test has an assumption that the variances are equal. This assumption is especially important when there is a large discrepancy in the sample sizes (Gravetter and Wallnau, 2013). In order to determine if the homogeneity of variances assumption was met, the assumption was tested with the Levene Test.

For the comparison of time-to-degree for all students, the Levene Test provided evidence ($p = .0057$) that the homogeneity of variances assumption was not met. Therefore, the t-test for independence samples was run assuming unequal variances.

This study found, that while no students graduated early, tech prep students graduated at average of 114% of normal time-to-degree ($M = 1.14$, $SD = .23$), while non-tech prep students graduated an average of 131% of normal time-to-degree ($M = 1.31$, $SD = .54$). These findings were statistically significant with a small effect size, $t(112.22) = -2.47$, $p = .0151$ (two-tailed). Tech prep students had a shorter time-to-degree than their non tech-prep peers.

Literature supports the findings of the current study related to time-to-degree. Sweat and Fenster (2006) and Torres (2008) each found that tech prep students had a faster time-to-degree than non-tech prep students. This finding may be due to articulated credits, which allowed students to sequence college courses more effectively, or due to the commitment of the student to the career path.

Research question #4: Applicability of tech prep credits to degree.

This question seeks to determine whether or not the articulated credits were applied to the degree that the student earned. This question employed a descriptive method, developed for this research, of categorizing the articulated credits and their utility toward a postsecondary degree using three criteria for each record: at least one credit applied, number of courses that applied, number of credits that applied.

Of the 30 students who completed postsecondary degrees, 19 were able to use 40 courses worth 109 credits. Only 55.6% of the credits articulated by the partner college completers were applicable to the degree the students earned. Some of that finding may be confounded because when students articulate any credits, all earned credits are recorded on the student's transcript, whether or not the credit will apply to the student's initial program. Nevertheless, there were nine students who articulated credits that were unable to use any of the credits in their program. This finding suggests that the students had an imperfect understanding of the partner institution's program requirements, received inaccurate advice from an admissions counselor, or thought the credits may be useful in a future degree program.

Gewertz et al. (2016) reported that students lose an average of 13% of pre-college credits when they enroll in college. Students in this study, who persevered to degree completion, lost 44.4% of their pre-college credits.

Exploring the articulated credits of postsecondary completers yielded two interesting discoveries: First, not all students who articulated credit were able to use that credit toward their program. Second, credits generated through the Health Science and Skilled and Technical Sciences went further toward a postsecondary degree than the other two career clusters.

These findings may be due to the introductory nature of CTE classes available in the high schools. Introductory classes, such as Introduction to Health Professions and Medical Terminology, are foundational courses in all the health-related programs at the partner college. In the same manner, basic welding and shop safety courses are foundational to several programs in all the mechanical trades programs at the partner college.

Research question #5: Impact of tech prep on Career Discernment

This question seeks to understand the effect participation in tech prep may have had on a student's motivation to pursue a course of study associated with a particular career cluster. For example, if a student articulated credits in welding, did he or she complete a degree in automotive technology (both are in the same career cluster), or in nursing (a different career cluster). This question may illuminate the effect of tech prep and career curricula on career discernment.

The methodology for this question utilized a descriptive technique from Brodsky and Arroyo's (1999) study on tech prep. Articulated credits were compared to students' program of study by career cluster. Three possibilities were possible: no match, partial match, and match.

No match refers to articulated credits and courses that were not applicable to the student's degree and not in the same career cluster. Partial match refers to articulated credit and courses that are not applicable to the student's degree, but are in the same career cluster. Match refers to articulated credits that apply to the student's degree and are in the same career cluster.

Only a small number of courses (3 courses worth 9 credits) that were articulated were in the same career cluster as the students' degrees, but not applicable to the degree. Of the thirty students who earned a degree from the partner institution, twenty-one (70%) came to the college with articulated credit in the same career cluster as the earned degree. The finding support the results of Brodsky and Arroyo (1999), who found that 63% of students completed a program of study in the same interest area as the articulated credits.

This finding may be due to the introductory nature of articulated courses, or because students, who earned recommended credit in a career cluster they did not want to pursue, simply did not have the credits articulated. Career exploration leading to career discernment is a benefit of career technical coursework in high school.

By taking CTE courses in high school, a student can learn what he or she enjoys and has an aptitude for, thereby moving toward career discernment. Conversely, a student can also learn what he or she does not enjoy. Hanford (2014) notes, "one goal of vocational education is to help kids figure out what they *don't* want to do" (p. 3).

Summary

Statistical analysis found relationships between tech prep and non-tech prep students related to college outcomes. Tech prep students had better, statistically significant, outcomes in retention, completion, and time-to-degree. Analysis of the applicability of articulated credit revealed that most students had at least one tech prep credit apply to the degree earned, and of the students who completed degrees, more than half of the tech prep credits earned in high school applied to the earned degree. Analysis of articulated credit related to career clusters shows that most students completed programs in the same career cluster in which they earned tech prep credit.

Policy Implications

Results from this study have implications for educational policy and program support. The focus of the tech prep program, is on generating articulated credits and transfer from high school tech prep to postsecondary technical programs. However, this study concludes that the usefulness of the actual articulated credits is slight. The benefit of the tech prep program was successful college outcomes of increased retention, increased completion, and shorter time-to-degree. There is not enough information in this study to conclude whether the success was attributable to early exposure to college-level curricula, or

the development of career discernment, which increased the students' abilities and motivation to pursue a particular career role.

Educational leaders should strive to understand the importance of career and technical education in assisting students to make career decisions and embark on a path to effective training. The ability to explore career roles, try them out on real equipment, and gain access to opportunities within those roles, is a benefit of Career and Technical education and necessary components of career discernment. Therefore, educational leaders should consider the impact of CTE beyond transitioning from secondary schools to postsecondary technical programs.

Career counseling is key to career exploration. Career counselors in secondary schools must understand the importance of balancing the students' career aspirations with educational opportunities that are a good match, both academically and financially, to the student's particular circumstances. Postsecondary technical education is a shorter, often less expensive, route to a secure career. This study provides evidence that tech prep students have better technical college outcomes than their non-tech prep peers; yet participation is low. CTE teachers in both secondary and postsecondary institutions, as well as career counselors, should strive to provide the necessary linkage to increase the number of students transitioning to postsecondary technical education, especially among those students who fail to go-on to college at all.

CTE encompasses many career clusters. Yet, funding for CTE programs is often limited, especially in the smaller school districts. Increases in funding for secondary CTE education may allow schools to develop CTE programs in a variety of career clusters to better serve students and provide more opportunity to explore career roles.

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Effective Helper Characteristics

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Schools today are focused on math and reading scores. Yet, it is pertinent to graduate high school students who are equipped to help others, even if they don't choose natural "helping" careers such as teaching, counseling and social work. Citizenship, which covers topics such as civic duty and social justice, is a part of a solid social studies curriculum (Wade, 2007). Furthermore, a social studies curriculum may very well be where pupils are inspired to learn and build their "effective helper" skills, such as empathy, which they will need in their friendships, family relationships and in the work place. When reinforcing these skills within a curriculum, it is then important to ask, "What is an effective helper?" In this paper, the effective helper will be defined by discussing the following important effective helper characteristics: trust, acceptance, rapport, genuineness, empathy, understanding human behavior, ethical behavior, and strong listening skills. Trust is the first characteristic of an effective helper.

Trust

Trust is obtained when a person has confidence in another person (Stuart, 1986). Trust, degree of suspiciousness and openness in discussing feelings are all directly related (Brenner, 1982). In order to gain trust, an effective helper must have personally experienced the feeling of trust, which is necessary to laying the foundation of communicating feelings in an open manner (Munson, 1971). The people needing help will more likely be able to accept help and suggestions from those they trust and when they have confidence in the helper's validity (Brammer, 1979). If someone is distrustful of the helper, advice may be rejected (Stuart, 1986). Trust must be established early in the relationship between the helper and the person being helped to encourage the free expression of feelings (Jones, Lepley, & Baker, 1984). Trust can be developed when the helper is successful in finding ways to relate to others in a way that is meaningful to them (Quy, 2018). Trust is closely related to acceptance, which is another mandatory characteristic of an effective helper (Stuart, 1986; Tyler, 1969).

Acceptance

Acceptance is the helper's unconditional respect for a person's self-worth. Acceptance is to regard another human being as being separate and individualistic in his or her feelings, attitudes, and actions (Rogers, 1961). Body language alone can indicate acceptance (Stuart, 1986). According to Stuart (1986), acceptance is especially important in establishing the initial relationship, for it can represent the desire on the helper's part to control, or it can represent the helper's genuine desire to be of assistance. When those being helped feel accepted, they are enabled to change through having a positive and tolerant attitude toward the helper's attempts to provide assistance (Shertzer & Stone, 1980). Rapport can be established along with trust, acceptance, and through the effective helper being genuine in offering assistance (Stewart, 1986 & Rogers, 1969).

Rapport and Genuineness

Positive or negative rapport can be established early in the relationship of the helper and the person being helped (Stuart, 1986). If a helper begins a relationship with another by destroying trust, it is difficult to have good rapport. Rapport can be described as an unconditional bond between the helper and the person being helped (Shertzer & Stone, 1980). The bond is formed and maintained by genuine caring, interest, sincerity, cooperation, acceptance, trust, pleasantness, confidence, understanding, harmony, and sensitive emotional involvement (Shertzer & Stone, 1980; Stuart, 1986).

People are quick to detect artificiality on the helper's part and this damages rapport (Weiner, 1975). Weiner (1975) especially points out how destructive it can be to try to adopt the dialect or slang of the person being helped in order to gain rapport. Those being helped will quickly feel that phoniness and pretense is communicated by the helper if the helper tries to act in a way that is not real or natural for him or her. Being genuine means the helper is "real" and does not perform under pretense. He or she does not have a facade and is more productive as a result (Rogers, 1969). The more secure a helper is, the more genuine he or she is and consequently, feelings can be shared in a nonthreatening matter. An effective helper must be genuine, have understanding, and also demonstrate empathy (Stuart, 1986).

Empathy

Empathy is fundamental in being able to understand others' feelings (Brammer, 1979). Empathy is being able to understand things from another person's point of view. In Mary L. Lathrap's (1895) poem, there is a saying that reflects this concept which states that you can't truly understand another person until you've "walked in his moccasins." To have empathy, Benjamin (1974) states that we must draw upon the commonalities of being human in order to comprehend how others think, feel, and see the world. It may be necessary to cast aside our judgements and opinions as we try to become objective in understanding another person's point of view.

In empathizing with others, it is necessary to point out that the goal is not to agree or disagree with the other person, but to feel what the other person feels (Stewart, 1986). Empathy comes from internalizing the important human need that people desire to be understood. The awareness of this need, along with the recognition of others' attitudes, feelings, perceptions, and thoughts will play an important role in establishing an empathetic relationship (Brammer, 1979). Other important empathy-related behaviors for the effective helper include listening, paraphrasing, reflecting, and summarizing feelings (Ivey and Simek-Downing, 1980). In being empathetic, it is also necessary for the effective helper to have a basic understanding of human behavior (Demos & Grant, 1973).

Understanding Human Behavior

According to Stewart (1986), effective helping skills knowledge can empower a person to provide helpful information that can assist others in avoiding making needless mistakes that can hinder an individual's potential to be self-fulfilled. Dixon (1979) states that in order to be an effective helper, at a minimum, the helper should understand the following summarized premises upon which behavior exists:

1. All behavior has a cause, which may involve complex interpersonal interactions.
2. All behavior is purposeful, which may aim at finding balance when a person's equilibrium is threatened.
3. All humans experience the same behaviors and feelings, but in different degrees.
4. A person and his or her social environment can be considered as being a united and interactional field.
5. All people experience conflict and stress. Therefore, happy people are those who are able to produce behaviors conducive to sustain equilibrium in the face of adversity.
6. The way in which people socially behave is a result of their experiences.
7. Successful social functioning is related to biological endowments, the social environment, and the life cycle stage.
8. A person's range of success in functioning socially can range from highly effective to ineffective.
9. A dysfunction in socialization can improve after it is identified and the contributing environmental factors are evaluated as a result of the person seeking help.

Helping people relies on the helper understanding certain premises of human behavior. These premises form the foundation for understanding people and the way they behave (Dixon, 1979; Stewart, 1986). Those being helped will obtain fulfillment in their relationship with the helper when they will feel reassured that the helper understands something about human nature and if they can trust that the helper portrays ethical behavior regarding information shared.

Ethical Behavior

Ethical behavior requires norms for conduct, which differentiate between acceptable and unacceptable behavior (Resnik, 2015). Maintaining confidentiality is an important piece of ethical

behavior. People need to know that when they trust the helper with their feelings, the helper will not violate that trust. Confidentiality of private information should be guaranteed (Heller, 1983). Once confidentiality is broken, it may be impossible to repair a trusting relationship between a helper and the person being helped (Stewart, 1986). When the helper is ever in doubt about breaching confidentiality, it is advised that the helper ask for permission to share any information. It's a good idea for the helper to keep in mind the World War Two slogan, "Loose lips sink ships," for nothing destroys relationships more quickly than gossip. Acting in an ethical manner is as fundamental to being an effective helper as is having strong listening skills (Stewart, 1986).

Listening

Active listening is integral in facilitating two-way communication Busch & Oakley (2017). Listening can require work. When the helper is attentive, it conveys to the other person that he or she is caring, sensitive, and has a genuine interest in his or her concerns (Benjamin, 1974). When the helper is approached, the person needing help may not be seeking advice initially. He or she may simply need to vent. When listening, it is important for the helper to establish eye contact, appear relaxed in posture, use gestures that are natural, and reflect what is being said without interrupting, asking questions, or bringing up new topics (Brammer, 1979). Davis (1977) advises that the helper stop talking, put the talker at ease, show the talker that he or she wants to listen, remove distractions, empathize with the talker, be patient, hold his or her temper, avoid putting the talker on the defensive, ask questions, and once again, stop talking. "Stop talking" is included in Davis's list as being the first and last step because Davis emphasized that all of the other steps are dependent upon this action. Listening can't take place if the helper is talking.

Conclusion

Because life provides many chances to help others in friendships, family relationships, and workplace relationships, all can benefit from developing people helper skills (not just those in helping professions). Opportunities to inspire pupils to build these skills will most likely occur in a solid social studies curriculum in which content is studied such as civic duty, social justice, and empathy. Being an effective helper can be a difficult task. It can be time consuming and emotionally draining. In some circumstances, a counselor, may be needed. However, one does not have to be an expert to use effective helper skills including trust, acceptance, rapport and genuineness, empathy, understanding basic human behavior, ethical behavior, and being a good listener. Life will provide individuals with many opportunities to be a helper as well as many rewards that result in contributing to making the world a better place by possibly doing something as simple as just listening to others and empathizing.

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Angels Among Us: A Sociological Analysis of Guardian Angel Cathedral In Las Vegas

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Authors' Note

After the presentation of “Angels Among Us: A Sociological Analysis of Guardian Angel Cathedral in Las Vegas” at the National Technology and Social Science Conference, one member of the audience termed it “a perfect example of participant observation.” The authors adopted the methodology of participant-observation for three reasons. First, because the clergy and members of the church congregation, though welcoming, are justifiably protective of their unique place of worship. Second, the subject matter lent itself to a blend of methods and techniques of observation, including examination of relevant theory, document analysis, and interviews. Third, the motivating inspiration of the two artists provided an incredibly innovative, optimistic, and inspirational interpretation of traditionally accepted devotions.

As practicing Roman Catholics, the authors participated in services for at least twice yearly for ten years. They noted the unusual architecture and colorful windows, but did not really understand them. Two years ago, they purchased “Toward the Total Christ” by Isabel Piczek at the gift shop of the church. They were intrigued by the artist’s explanation about the depth, and meaning of the art and architecture of this cathedral on the Las Vegas Strip. They read deeply into the sociology of religion, as well as, liturgical art and architecture. They interviewed clerics and parishioners. Lastly, they made several visits to the church to photograph and study the murals, mosaics, and stained glass windows. There followed nearly two years of intense discussion and detailed analysis of a complex artwork.

The authors received no funds from outside sources for their research. They undertook their pilgrimage for intellectual and spiritual growth and reaped a rich reward on both counts. The authors encourage you to visit the Cathedral during the visiting hours posted on the web or view photographs of the stained glass windows at About Our Cathedral, <<http://www.gaclv.org>>.

Abstract

Las Vegas, Nevada is an adult amusement park with incredible culinary delights, potent alcoholic libations, and noisy, brassy, gaming that promises the possibility of instant wealth. It is exciting and, for some, addictive. A drive down the famous “Strip” passes unusual architectural wonders depicting a pyramid, Caesars Palace, the Eiffel Tower, a Medieval Castle, the New York skyline, and an Italian villa, each enticing visitors to enter, enjoy the delights within, and spend money. In the midst of these exhilarating attractions, on a small side street stands a rather unusual, neon-free building, a Catholic church, Guardian Angel Cathedral. St. Francis de Sales observed, “Make yourself familiar with the angels, and behold them frequently in spirit” (Interfaith Chapel). Christian, Muslim, Jewish, Buddhist, and Hindu religions rely on these heavenly messengers. Many people insist there is a special “Guardian Angel” whose job is to protect and guide them. This paper analyzes the architecture, art, and community of Guardian Angel Cathedral from a sociological viewpoint. It deals with people’s views of life after death and the way to obtain it, not as a matter of faith, but how these beliefs influence the conduct of people’s lives (Cristiano 27). Sociologist Max Weber’s (1864-1920) concept of aestheticism and mysticism helps one understand the term, “mystic realism,” the thought that inspired the art in Guardian Angel Cathedral. Most of the world’s religions have a strain of mysticism, the belief that one attains

union with the Deity or the Absolute through contemplation and self-surrender. Guardian Angel Cathedral offers several gifts as an object of analysis. It provides a quiet contemplative space away from the gaudy neon lights and temptations of the strip. It is a prime example of modern or Googie architecture, a staple of popular culture both derided and lauded by contemporary architects. It's religious art carries a total message that challenges viewers intellectually and spiritually. The closest one comes in describing these artistic masterpieces is as mirrors of the individual observer's depth of Christian understanding and commitment. In a fragile medium, they offer a charismatic challenge, as well as, a historical commentary to all. One of its bright windows depicts several Las Vegas casinos. The Cathedral welcomes all visitors in the spirit of the words of Geoffrey Chaucer in *The Canterbury Tales*, "pilgrims were they alle" (line 25) and provides an inspirational starting point to begin that journey.

Introduction

For He will command his angels concerning you to guard you in all your ways.

Psalm 91:11

Cascades of pulsing neon lure gamblers to casinos. Pyramids and castles, as well as, replicas of architectural delights in Venice and Paris beckon those with money to spend. Hucksters prowl Las Vegas Boulevard preying on gullible tourists. French sociologist Jean Baudrillard in *Simulacra and Simulation* (1986) asserted that Las Vegas is the "absolute advertising city" where consumers can find a greater variety of large-scale reproductions than in any other place (91). North on Las Vegas Boulevard, past the up-scale Fashion Show Mall and Encore, Steve Wynn's luxury resort, is a narrow road. At its end, lies a unique Roman Catholic Cathedral. How it found a place amidst the glitter and excess of the Las Vegas strip makes for a fascinating story.

The narrative of Guardian Angel Cathedral began in 1955 when the Viator Order of priests built a church on the site of the city dump. It proved untenable and the city condemned it within six months after its completion. In 1958, the priests of the Congregation of St. Viator began celebrating a 4:30 PM Sunday Mass in the showroom of the Desert Inn Hotel especially for hotel workers; cooks, waiters, bartenders, and musicians, working the swing shift (Cathedral Celebrates).

Pastor Richard Crowle established good relationships with casino owners. He convinced them that a church on the strip was good business. Casino moguls did not want their Catholic customers or employees wandering too far from Las Vegas Avenue. With their donations, Crowle built Guardian Angel Church in 1963 on a thin strip of land donated by Morris (Moe) Barney Dalits, a Jewish mobster, who owned the Desert Inn. Dalits, known as "Mr. Las Vegas" for his philanthropy, commissioned African-American architect Paul Revere Williams with whom he worked on the Royal Nevada Hotel.

This paper focuses on the architecture and art of Guardian Angel Cathedral. It employs the sociology of religion to ground this inquiry firmly in the social sciences. It is based on what the observer can see, measure, and observe rather than on faith. Sociology also provides lessons in the functions of religion and meanings of ritual, and importance of community. This inquiry examines the Cathedral's unique architecture, and unsurpassed art. Two sisters, Isabel and Edith Piczek spent over a decade fashioning the art of the cathedral. Their view of the process of salvation, mystical realism, is the key to understanding the ultimate meaning of their art. The challenge for comprehending their mysticism is realizing knowledge comes not from reason, but from intuition.

The Viatorians of Guardian Angel Cathedral refer to visitors, not as tourists, but as pilgrims. This paper gives all seekers of truth a glimpse of a unique view about the ultimate meaning of life. Such opportunity is rare in the post-secular age, an unexpected treasure in the desert Xanadu of Las Vegas.

Sociology for an Angel

Religion is a culture of faith; science is a culture of doubt.

Richard Feynman, *Twitter*. 2018

Sociological theory, as it relates to an analysis of Guardian Angel Cathedral, recognizes that religion played a role in human affairs in the earliest known societies. Evidence shows clear traces of the beliefs, practices, symbols, and rituals among humans (Crossman). Classical Sociologists, Emile Durkheim, Max Weber, and Talcott Parsons examined religion in its social and cultural context.

Emile Durkheim (1858-1917) published the last of his groundbreaking works, *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, in 1912. He defined religion as “a unified system of beliefs and practices relative to sacred things, that is to say, things set apart and forbidden, beliefs and practices which unite into one single moral community called a Church” (44). According to Durkheim’s definition, Guardian Angel Cathedral is more than a building, meeting hall, or gathering place. It is a church.

Durkheim used the word “church” to describe people united by their religious practices. This term refers equally to people offering flower garlands at a Hindu temple and those attending vespers at St. Paul’s Cathedral in London. Sacred rites and rituals take place in both edifices. Both feature architecture and art designed to reinforce how believers see themselves as part of a divine plan. The images outside the Hindu temple remind believers to leave earthly things outside and focus on the truth of the tenets of their faith. St. Paul’s towering dome, designed by Christopher Wren, calls attention to its place as Mother Church for a city distinguished by innumerable Anglican churches.

Durkheim studied things he could observe or measure. He never claimed the ability to establish the truth of any religious teachings. In fact, he asked that free thinkers “confront religion from the same mental state as a believer” and that free believers forget provisionally the formula they believe in, reserving the right to return to it later (xvii). Durkheim stated three elements define a religion: beliefs that some things are sacred, rituals centering around the things considered sacred, and lastly, a moral community or church resulting from a group’s beliefs and rituals.

Max Weber used the concept of inner-worldly or ascetical, and outer-worldly or mystical, to describe different aspects of religion (Christiano 310). Inner-worldly speaks to the conduct of life on earth as exemplified by the practice of Medieval Catholicism and the Protestant ethic. Outer-worldly refers to life after death, the locus of classical Hinduism and contemporary Pentecostalism. The thread of mysticism is woven throughout Christianity from the Biblical story of Martha and Mary (Luke 10:38-42), to Hildegard Von Bingen, to modern day Quakers. Weber explained the activity of the mystic within the world is characterized by a humble "brokenness" constantly striving to escape from activity in the world to the quiet inwardness of the god (Weber H.2.d).

American Sociologist Talcott Parsons (1902-1979) argued that the chief function of religion was to control people’s behavior by giving them guidelines for everyday life. Another functionalist, Milton Yinger (1970) asserted the principle function of religion was to answer the ultimate question of the meaning of life and what happens after we die. Believers throughout history asked these same questions. Why do people suffer? Is there life after death? The answers to these queries give people a sense of purpose. “Instead of seeing themselves buffeted by random answers in an aimless existence, believers see their lives as fitting into a divine plan” (Henslin 533). Other functions of religion include emotional comfort, social solidarity, adaptation, support for government, and fostering or resisting social change (Henslin 533-535).

One function of religion is to comfort adherents with a picture of life after death. Most Christians believe in a divine plan of salvation (soteriology). They explain man sinned and fell from God’s grace. Out of love for mankind God sent his Son who, through his death and resurrection, brought salvation. The architecture and art of Guardian Angel Cathedral provides symbols and rituals that reinforce and explain this belief. Dennis McNamara in his book, *Catholic Architecture and the Spirit of Liturgy* (2009), a primer on how to build a Catholic church, noted “liturgical art and architecture are part of the “process of people learning about God so that they can return to Him” (36).

Niklas Luhmann (1927-1998), a follower of Parsons, defined his work on the sociology of religion in *Systems Theory of Religion* (2000). He saw religion as one of the many functionally differentiated social systems that made up modern society e.g. law, government, art, and religion. These systems consist of communications between individuals and social systems. Differentiated functional systems are autopoietic i.e. they reproduce themselves. Luhmann saw church as a system that provided a code for coping with a complex and often uncontrollable world. He maintained the function of religion was to allow “the individual it represents a resource of meanings that allows one to imagine as united what is in reality divided, as absolute what is relative” (Cipriani 244). In this sense, religion provided an interpretive

function. Religion dominated all ways of thinking in Medieval times, but today each system is more or less autonomous.

The German philosopher and sociologist, Jurgen Habermas' theory of communicative action elaborated on Luhmann's theory. Habermas (1929) stated that both sides of any communication must understand each other's language, its meaning, and its validity (Leydesdorff 273). Just as society shapes individuals, church buildings influence worshippers.

Architecture

Faith's grammar in built form.

McNamara 15

Architects put theory into practice. When builders design a place of worship, they transform theology into wood, glass, and stone. The functions of a church determines its plan. The more numerous the functions, the more complex the church. An early Latter-Day Saint temple was little more than a room with folding chairs, but later temples featured specialized rooms for specific rituals. A mosque or Jewish temple needs separate spaces for male and female worshippers. Many Christian churches adopted a cruciform shape.

Architecture is a visual art best understood when buildings speak for themselves. Steven Schloeder, an architect and PhD in his humorous post, "The Church of St. George Jetson" (2012) observed that Paul Revere Williams, the architect of Guardian Angel Cathedral, "was a good stylist, and obviously a keen observer of fashionable architectural publications. He followed quickly on Walter Netsch's widely published designs for the Cadet's Chapel of the US Air Force Academy" (Schloeder).

The architectural design of the two places of worship show many similarities. Both stand as beacons of modern architecture and feature triangular stained-glass windows. The Cadet chapel features seventeen soaring spires; Guardian Angel Cathedral showcases twelve. The chapel at the Air Force Academy raises the spirits of the cadets and complements a campus that looks much like an airport. Though often overlooked, Guardian Angel Cathedral remains a place that lifts the spirits of those who discover it. The Cathedral forms a fitting enclosure for amazing art by Edith and Isabel Piczek.

Guardian Angel Cathedral represents a style often identified as Modern, Space Age, or Googie. This style boasts sharp angles suggesting the aerodynamic design of a rocket ship. The Space Needle in Seattle, Dulles Airport in Washington D.C., and Williams' theme building at Los Angeles Airport constitute the most notable examples of this style. It also left its mark on everyday architecture like the space age theme of Sonic restaurants or the bright colors, golden arches, and upswept roofs of the original MacDonald's restaurants. The iconic "Welcome to Vegas" sign with its famous starburst pays allegiance to this style.

Modern or Googie architecture represented a brief, vibrantly optimistic period. Some critics consider it an aberration because of its limited impact and links to popular culture. Schloeder questioned "how far architects should go trying to speak to the age." He argued the design was dated, not a model for replication, and the A-frame architecture was too mechanical to carry the weight of "something intended to speak of the transcendent" (Schloeder 1).

Guardian Angel Cathedral can accommodate 1,100 congregants. Its A-frame triangular exterior gives it presence adjoining the dominating chocolate brown twin towers of Steve Wynn's hotel casino resort. The bold colorful mosaic of four Guardian Angels above its entrance welcomes visitors. Successive beams support amazing stained-glass windows depicting the stations of the cross. These dark dense windows mute the harsh glare of the desert sun.

Michael Garris, the lighting and sound engineer for the church, designed an indirect lighting system made up of extremely narrow and shallow troffers to augment this natural effect, giving the interior an overall light value of 15th candle power. Similar lighting backlights the mural behind the altar (Paul Revere Williams 1). These luminous sources fill the interior with a soft gentle light conducive to prayer and meditation.

Art

Religion, like art, lives in so far as it is performed.

Turner, *Ritual*, 85.

Years of collaboration and common beliefs about art and religion forged the aesthetic partnership of two sisters: Edith (1919-2014) and Isabel Piczek (1927-2016). They both worked in painting, murals, mosaics, and stained glass. Isabel became an internationally known physicist, recognized for her study of the Shroud of Turin. Monseigneur Weber, a friend of both artists, noted on Isabel's passing that "The unassuming sisters" saw their vocation as a "cultural and religious mission" to implant their authentic artwork on the soul of the observer (King).

The sisters' birthplace was in the town of Hatvan, Hungary. Their father, Zoltan, was an accomplished artist. The siblings displayed artistic talent at an early age, and graduated from the Academy of Fine Arts in Budapest. They fled the suppression of the Communist regime after World War II, first to Vienna and then to Rome. The two sisters won a contest in 1949 to create a mural for the Pontifical Bible Institute, an unprecedented honor for women artists. A Canadian bishop encouraged them to emigrate and they finally established their own studio in Los Angeles. Their works appear in over 390 buildings in seven countries. On Edith's death, *Angelus* writer, Heather King, quoted Edith as saying, "The artist is creating visual representation to see the sacred in each of us, to show the love of God through art for the Church" (1).

Isabel's obituary in *Dignity* related an experience that occurred while she was working on the art in the Guardian Angel Cathedral, Las Vegas. A young man approached her and asked how he could learn to paint large murals. She told him that you cannot learn it. It was a gift from God. "Yes", I (Isabel) said, "but remember, it is a gift that comes with a very high price. Once you are born with this gift, your life and your choices are all set" (Nouwen 1).

Mystical Realism

German sociologist, Niklas Luhmann, believed that religion regulated the relationships of people with the world in a comprehensive and ultimate meaning (Cipriani 242). The Piczek sisters interpreted reality through mysticism. They understood believers can attain knowledge into the mysteries of faith, through intuition and communication with the Divine. Their philosophy of religion permeated their art. They believed divine entities are not accurately described in terms of space, matter, time, or causation. Realism to them meant art informed by their philosophy (Piczek 1).

The figures in Isabel's windows remind the viewer of the somewhat abstract style found in adventure comics. Her human portrayal of "Flesh" provides an excellent example of how an artist strips down the essential elements of a figure to "amplify through simplification" (McCloud 30). She exposes the carnal aspects of humanity as hulking, hunched, and hateful, with a beetled brow and a smirk of self-satisfaction.

The best description of the art movement known as Mystical Realism comes from an article published by Russian existential Orthodox Christian philosopher Nikolai Anaxandrovich Berdyaev (1874-1948) in his article, "Decadentism and Mystical Realism" (1904). The article contrasts decadentism, an artistic movement centered in Western Europe that followed an aesthetic of excess and artificiality, with the mystic realism of Eastern Europe which holds that entities are not accurately described in terms of space, matter, time, or causation but only in relationship to God's divine plan.

Berdyaev explains mystical realism through a devastating critique of decadentism. He described decadentism as a bad joke, an illness of spirit that cannot distinguish the light of the moon from that of a streetlamp. Mystical realism, on the other hand, is a joyful encounter, healthy thought striving for a new way of being. Decadentism is vulgar. It confuses mysticism with aestheticism. Mystical realism bridges the gap from aestheticism to accepted and experienced beauty. Most importantly, decadentism is an expression of love without object. It does not unite with the divine. Mystical realism is love with an object uniting man with God through the incarnation of the word into flesh (Berdyaev 8).

The sisters' art takes one from fragmentation and division to unity and synthesis. It is centered on man and his connection to God through Christ. It features intuition, light, knowledge, and spiritual mystery. It portrays harsh figures like power, flesh, and despair and explores the abstract reality of the seven sacraments. It celebrates the victory of Christ and man's place in the new creation. This new age of

man identifies Christ as the founder of Christianity and a monumental unsurpassed image of man. The art presents worshipers with a well-ordered unity with everything overlapping, and simultaneously a paradoxical structure. Somehow it works. The artists noted that “the destiny of man is happiness – your happiness and is created within you, by you” (Guardian Angel Church Bulletin 9 April 2017).

Entrance Mosaic - Edith Piczek was the creative artist on the 1600 square foot mosaic over the main entrance to the Guardian Angel Cathedral. The Favret studio in Pietrasanta, Italy did much of the stonework. Sandra Hemmerlein in her blog, *Avoiding Regret* (2016), compared the figures on the mural to comic book super heroes. Below the eye of God, rays of grace and power fall upon a large guardian angel, a strong compelling companion for man, ready for action with his hair flowing behind him. One hand reaches toward God and the other touches the world of man signifying a communication between God and man through angels. Three smaller angels, portrayed below, signify prayer, penance, and peace. The angel of penance stretches out his hand asking man to express remorse. The angel of prayer kneels ready to transmit man’s prayers to God and accept His reply. The angel of peace is the guardian and companion of man in the quest for peace, inspiration, and joy. The four angels stand ready to help and encourage pilgrims on their journey to eternal life and happiness.

Stained Glass - Isabel Piczek was the lead artist for these astonishing stained-glass Stations of the Cross located in the twelve triangular niches of the church. Observe the thick rough lead that binds the flat broken pieces of glass together. Her stained glass features a severe and spartan approach to the human figure. They are high in quality and imbued with pathos and strong personality, entirely at home within the building. Isabel gave great attention to composition, content, and impact, including gestures and facial expressions of the characters in the various scenes (Schloeder 1).

The glass pieces of the window are bound together in a puzzle of mixed stories spanning both Testaments. There is a variation in color, figure size, and inferred animation. Viewers must learn to read them like the frames of a graphic novel. When one employs this method, a story emerges whether it is “stained-glass windows showing biblical scenes in order, to Monet’s series painting, to your car owner’s manual” (McCloud 20). In the case of the windows, the viewer’s first impression is meaningful, but deeper meditation reveals a parsing of mysteries both historical and personal. What is presented is impressive, but what is inferred is elusive. The closest comparison to Isabel’s work is the stained glass windows of Russian born artist Marc Chagall (1887-1985) that decorate the cathedrals of Europe.

The humility of these two women artists is a reflection of their belief in Mystic Realism. According to Max Weber in *The Sociology of Religion* (1923), “The mystic is constantly striving to escape from activity in the world back to the quietness and inwardness of the god” (H.2.f). Mystical knowledge lies not in facts and doctrines, but in the perception of the overall meaning of the world (H.2.c). The function of the artist is to lead the viewer on a journey toward a unified understanding of the world based on the conviction that Christian brotherly love leads to unity in all things. The Piczek sisters imbued their art with this conception of community.

Those who visit this church cannot ignore the impressive and unusual windows. The lines of these artworks involve the minimal cleanliness of “cartoons,” an artist’s simple preliminary drawing for a painting or tapestry. A reoccurring theme of “choice” runs through the stained glass windows. Small scenes emerge almost as flashes of memory within many of the windows that portray Old Testament Biblical characters making difficult decisions. In contrast to traditional portrayals, the startling glass creations provide a mystery for contemplation. A tacit invitation permeates each window inviting the viewer’s internal response, an inducement to reflect and ponder. As a result, the impact of these artworks comes from an appreciation of the artistic composition the viewer sees, but also the response of one’s own conscience confronting his or her moral compass.

Introduction To The Message

In order to fully understand the message of the Piczek sisters, it helps to view the murals, mosaics, and stained glass windows of the Cathedral in a certain sequence. First, grow accustomed to the explosion of light and color that radiates throughout the Cathedral. Then proceed toward the main altar and investigate the stained glass windows in the side chapels. Second, start with Station I on the right side of the main altar and follow the Stations of the Cross to the back, crossing to the left side of the Cathedral,

and returning to the front. This circuit generates energy that finds its fulfillment in the third part of the sequence, the North and South side sanctuary windows and the altar mural. Depart, down the main aisle, filled with energy, hope, and guidance.

The Marian Chapel - The bright airy Marian Chapel to the left of the main altar features a beautiful wall of small stained glass windows cataloging specific events in Mary's life, such as the Annunciation and the Marriage Feast at Cana. For many, this is a special place dedicated to reflection on Mary, the mother of Christ. Above a small altar, is a stunning mosaic depicting a figure of Jesus as a young boy standing before Mary. Both figures welcome visitors with their arms extended wide in welcome and in sharing, in altruism as well as invitation. Many Christians find solace in meditating on Mary as a conduit to the Divine, especially since she experienced the trials and distresses of normal family life. There is comfort, consolation, and welcome here.

The Blessed Sacrament Chapel - To the right of the main altar the Blessed Sacrament is kept in a tabernacle in this chapel. The mosaic in back of the altar features Christ with his arms outstretched surrounded on both sides by angels and humans who stand and kneel. The small stained glass windows decorating the chapel wall depict the corporal works of mercy outlined in Matthew 25:36-46. "I needed clothes and you clothed me, I was sick and you looked after me, I was in prison and you came to visit me" (The Holy Bible). Additional small windows illustrate the virtues of feeding the hungry and caring for the sick. A reoccurring theme in the background of each window features people shunning or ignoring those in need, a deference to lessons often portrayed in Medieval stained glass windows for those who could not read.

The Way of the Cross

Christian visitors to Jerusalem, after its conquest by Muslims, retraced fourteen events of Christ's last day on earth in a mini-pilgrimage called the Via Dolorosa. The Franciscans assumed responsibility for this devotion in the 12th century. It is based on tradition. Only eight of the fourteen stations have scriptural foundations. Today it forms part of Catholic, Anglican, Lutheran, and Methodist liturgy. This devotional may occur inside or outside. It features prayers, meditation, and a short lesson at numbered stations, most often marked by icons or images. It usually takes place on the Fridays of Lent. The stained glass windows of Guardian Angel Cathedral portray a unique version of the Stations of the Cross, as is the artist's occasional placing of two stations in one window.

Some worshipers revere a more traditional expression of Christ's last hours, which focuses on His heart-rending sacrifice suffering incredible pain, agony, and humiliation as the price of Redemption. They may find it difficult to accept the Piczek sisters interpretation of this devotion. The artists do not deny the torture of Christ's last hours. They focus on His incredible determination to offer horrible suffering as a gift of love and deliverance for all mankind. In these windows, Christ sees beyond the sacrifice He must make, and displays the consummate example of love, strength, and courage.

Station I - "Look at the Man," is a startling contrast to the traditional version. Isabel Piczek replaced a scene of Jesus condemned to death with a striking masculine depiction of Jesus. He is strong, bold, and surrounded by the red flames of love, emerging from the dark world of primitive creation. A jagged figure of Human Weakness washes His hands, an homage to Pontius Pilate. Evil Will, Dark Mind, and the confined angular caricature of Flesh stand in condemnation of the promised Messiah. The hand of God in the dark apex of the window gives humankind the Ten Commandments held by Moses and His Son, symbolizing the connectedness of the Old and New Testament.

Station II - "Freedom and Obedience," covers the left and top two-thirds of this two-part window. In the traditional version of this station, Jesus is given his cross. In Piczek's rendition, a flaming red Jesus accepts the cross, the result of His choice to obey God's will. The artist portrays Jesus as a super-man, with powers beyond the universe. Two false types of obedience, fear and mechanical, stand forlorn in the background. A barefoot shepherd, Moses, appears in the lower left hand corner of the window. He contemplates the burning bush recorded in the book of Exodus. This phenomenon attracts Moses and a voice informs him that God designated him to lead the tribe of Israel out of Egypt. Moses' obedience is a harbinger to that of Christ.

Station III - "Freedom and Love" is traditionally named Jesus Falls the First Time. It occupies the bottom right third of the window, separated by a blue arrow from the previous station. Bright reds and orange colors call attention to Jesus, His face filled with love, holding on to the cross after falling, radiating acceptance. Adam and Eve stand above Christ, symbols of man's rejection of God's will. Three evil villains emerge from a dark cave to push Jesus down. They represent Pride, Pomp, and Self, products of man's darkened intellect after the fall from God's grace.

Station IV - "The Woman of Hope" is significantly different from the traditional version, Jesus Meets His Mother. Mary walks with Jesus as he drags his cross. Her radiant face expresses strength and hope for Him and all mankind. In the apex of the triangular window, a woman crushes the head of a snake, a symbol of her power over evil (Genesis 3:15). Behind her there is a depiction of the Ten Commandments linking this scene to the Old Testament. Malevolent caricatures of Political Power, Hypocrisy, Anger, Despair and Mockery surround mother and son. The next window also contains two stations.

Station V - "Human Oneness," traditionally depicts Simon of Cyrene helping Jesus carry his cross. In the lower left-hand corner of the window, Simon embraces Jesus and the cross, a symbol of human oneness. The rough-hewn figure of Flesh mocks Simon's sacrifice with a sardonic smile. Cain and Abel appear in the lower right hand corner of the station, portraying the Old Testament presence of strife in mankind.

Station VI - "The Mystery of Man," is conventionally labeled, Veronica wipes the face of Jesus. There is no mention of this incident in the scriptures, but tradition has it that this woman of Jerusalem, moved by Christ's suffering, used her veil to wipe His face. A miracle occurred as a result of her kindness when her veil bore an image of Christ's face. In Piczek's version, Veronica kneels at the feet of Jesus revealing that human nature bears the imprint of God's face. The huge haunting eyes of God surrounded by a triangle form the centerpiece of the window. A small insert on the bottom right of the window portrays the ancient story of the widow Ruth, who chooses hard labor in the fields to care for her Jewish mother-in-law, Naomi, even though Ruth does not share her ardent faith. As a result of her humble sacrifices, Ruth meets and subsequently marries Boaz, accepts his faith, and thereby provides the lineage to David, and eventually Christ.

Station VII - "The Future," conventionally known as Christ's second fall, shows man achieving a great forward thrust into impending times. Resistance to this path begins in the apex of the window with idolaters worshipping a Golden Calf, a symbol of sins of the flesh. A pyramid of stylized faces oppose Christ's movement toward wholeness: Gluttony pouring out wine, Brutality, Vanity kissing own image in mirror, and Laziness skulking in the background. Jesus, pictured at bottom of the window, has fallen under the burden of atoning for man's sins, yet His face mirrors understanding as he offers his mercy.

Station VIII - "The True Mother," formerly called Jesus meets the women of Jerusalem, reflects a tender and powerful concept of motherhood. The focal point of the window is Mary, who offers up her son to God. Christ is crowned with thorns and holds on to his cross. He blesses a group of lamenting women. An insert on the right portrays the Old Testament fate of two women who consider dividing a newborn baby under the judgment of Solomon. This serves as an example of enduring love and sacrifice. The two stations in the next window depict compelling versions of reality.

Station IX - "Peace," is also known as Jesus falls the third time. The lower left-hand side of the window presents a fallen Christ. He kisses the earth as a sign of accord with God's creation. In the background stand an assembly of assorted accusers and tormentors exhibiting deterrents to Christ's message of salvation: Wealth clutches his ill-gotten gains, Power wields a sword, and medals and ribbons bedeck Status.

Station X, "Poverty" - The upper right hand side of the window shows Christ stripped of his garments. Greed steals His cloak. Misery begs for His possessions. Anger and Hate fight each other over His garments. Behind Jesus, the Ten Commandments envelop the unfinished tower of Babel indicating the extent of God's plan of salvation. David battles Goliath in the lower right hand corner, referring to Christ's monumental struggle to overcome the negative forces of the outside world.

Station XI - “The Birth of a New Humanity,” emphasizes Christ’s sacrifice. The small inset of Abraham intending to offer his son, Isaac, reemphasizes the Old Testament surrender of the son to his father. Three stark, darkly evil forces of man’s nature depicted in previous windows, Pride, the World, and Flesh, hammers in hand, nail Christ to the cross while Mary, John, and Mary Magdalen stand in silent witness.

Station XII - “The Victory and the New Cosmos,” occupies the left two-thirds of this dual window. Piczek gives a new optimistic slant to a station that illustrates Christ Victorious surrounded by bright circles of orange rent by rays of yellow, a New Cosmos. He restores order to the universe welcoming the good thief into his heavenly reward. The bad thief, his hand nailed to the commandments he defied, lies sprawled below Christ. Above the bad thief is a depiction of the blinded Samson, from the Old Testament, who also sacrificed his life bringing down the Temple upon the Philistines.

Station XIII – Isabel Piczek shows so much more in her poignant station “The Universal Mother,” than in the traditional representation of Jesus taken down from the cross. The artist focuses on Mary. She welcomes the lifeless body of her son who sacrificed himself for all. Mary extends her arms in acceptance of His sacrifice. Above her, Moses holds the Holy of Holies, a sign of God’s covenant with man. Danny Thomas, comedian and long-time Las Vegas performer and his wife, donated this window.

Station XIV - “The Sealed Energy,” conventionally called Jesus is laid in the tomb. Gold and white energy emanates from inside Christ’s tomb. The center of the picture is the outline of a large gold baptismal font. Christ rests on a red sarcophagus symbolizing baptized mankind. The white figure above the True Man demonstrates emerging intense feelings of hope and resurrection. The eschatological image of the Church in the form of Mary appears above Christ. At the top of window, Noah’s Ark represents the future church ringed with rainbows of promise.

The Promise Fulfilled

Having completed the devotional circuit of the stations, one approaches the sanctuary area of the church which features two adjacent side windows that frame a brilliantly colored central mural titled the Final Beginning.

The South Sanctuary Window, “The Cosmic Christ” - This window, that portrays “Cosmic Christ, Lord of the Universe” has a special connection to those who live in and visit Las Vegas, Nevada. Man, on the left, is drawn in two different directions, being pulled toward the distractions of earthly pleasures and drawn to accompany Mary in recognizing the compelling care of Christ. Figures symbolizing different occupations embellish the center of the window including a laborer, scientist, farmer, nurse, teacher, musician, and poet. The lower section of the window depicts famous past and present Las Vegas casinos including the Hilton, the Stardust, and the Stratosphere. At the lower right the harlequin, bearing the masks of comedy and tragedy symbolizing the passing quality of earthly life, infers that the façade of reality asks challenging questions of all mankind regardless of profession or geographic location.

The North Sanctuary Window, “The Christ of Surrender” - A white shroud loosely drapes from the Risen Christ’s shoulders, demonstrating his inclusive offering to all mankind and unites the complex theme of this window. Christ’s arms extend wide in surrender. Two streams come from His side, one of water and one of blood symbolizing two types of sacraments. On the right side, the blue stream represents the sacraments of the priesthood of man with three figures portraying Baptism, Confirmation, and Holy Orders. The red stream denotes the sacraments of blood including the sacraments that refer to death in the Sacrament for the Sick, with penance for Reconciliation, with life in Matrimony, and with love in sharing the Eucharist. At the base of the window a blue partial globe exhibits a simple connection to the earth and its inhabitants.

Sanctuary Mural - The Stations of the Cross lead to a large mural, The Final Beginning, over the altar on the rear chancel wall. The images over the main altar are far from the figures adorning traditional Catholic Churches. In this mural souls ascend with Christ at the Resurrection. Bright, cosmic, energy-filled triangles of light and dark create a soaring, galactic world. The central, risen body of Christ bursts forth as a spirit engulfed in flame at the center, arms stretching skyward in recognition of the redeemed and recreated world of man. A second figure below Christ represents risen mankind, whose salvation is forever intertwined with Christ’s Resurrection.

The mural shows man's forward run to life. It follows the upward thrust of the station windows joined by the sanctuary windows, culminating in the Resurrection. A red and orange fireball of light surrounds Christ who dominates the center with arms outstretched to the corners of the composition. Triangles of energy from the power of the Holy Spirit surround him. Christ's five wounds give off light. Groups of human figures surrounding Christ portray the senses that express perception and love. All of these groups are parts of Christ's Mystical Body and have compelling roles in fulfilling the vision of Redemption. Each participant in Christ's mission will belong primarily to one of these groups. On the left in front of a modernistic eye-shaped background, the top two figures in blue focus carefully, typifying vision and its extension, Truth. Below these, two figures in magenta reach out in a digital milieu, searching for Knowledge. On the top right the artist pictured a couple in blue and red before a stylized mouth personifying taste and its extension, Wisdom. Below, in bright green, the artist painted a simple large ear encompassing a couple demonstrating hearing and its extension, Counsel. On the bottom right in earth tones, the artist features an outline of the human face emphasizing the nasal area to present smell, the extension of Justice. The mural puts everything together, the new cosmos, spiritualized man, angelic powers, and the material universe

Conclusion

We could not even survive without our guardian angels.

Elizabeth Kubler-Ross <www.thoughtco>

The authors used the tools of participant observation to discover the mysteries and beauty of Guardian Angel Cathedral. They attended services, examined relevant theory, analyzed documents, and interviewed clergy and parishioners. They discovered that Guardian Angel Cathedral embraces a unique community bound together by sacred rituals, symbols, beliefs, organizational structures, and inspirational art. Functional sociologists emphasize that the architecture and art of the sacred binds visitors and parishioners into a unique community. The soaring A-frames of the Cathedral's architecture signal congregants this is a holy place in a city noted for the profane. The murals, mosaics, and stained glass windows instruct pilgrims on how to treat each other, and describe a unifying plan of salvation.

The community occupying this beautiful sacred space is unique in that 75 to 90 percent of the people attending services are visitors. The church embraces the message that these visitors are pilgrims on a spiritual journey. Those attending services introduce themselves to one another. They meet Roman Catholics from all over the world. The celebrant mentions this at the final blessing of the service and it is reinforced in the parish bulletin. The parish expects much from its base of casino workers and senior citizens, and they respond.

Singing together is an expression of unity. The music during the liturgy is always outstanding, something visitors will remember when they return home. The church boasts a beautiful Allen organ. The timbre and ambience of the sound system is excellent. The unique construction of the cathedral does not deter the quality of vocal or orchestral music; rather, it seems to project it evenly throughout the building.

The Cathedral Bulletin informs worshipers of the rituals and rites available during the week. It gives the times and days for devotionals like Novenas, Perpetual Help Devotions, and Holy Hour. It lists times for the sacrament of penance (reconciliation). George Herbert Mead (1863-1931), a symbolic interactionist judged religion by its good works. He wanted no part of a religion that, "diverts attention to a supernatural realm, which consoles and comforts psychologically without altering the objective realities of human existence" (Reck 70). Mead would have approved of the pragmatic works of charity listed in the bulletin for diocesan charities, marriage counseling, victims of sexual abuse, and a seniors social group.

The art and architecture of Guardian Angel Cathedral in Las Vegas provides opportunities for discovery, appreciation, and challenge. Marvel at the concept of angels on the strip, popular culture references to casinos in stained glass, and the beauty of the art of the Piczek sisters. Max Weber defined mysticism as the belief that one attains union with the Deity or the Absolute through contemplation and self-surrender. Isabel and Edith Piczek described their work as Mystic Realism. Mystic in the sense of a religious experience and realistic as opposed to abstract.

Two resourceful and incredibly talented women provide the art for this place of worship. Their total dedication to their Christian faith actually drove them to delve deeply into the total perception of “church” or perhaps “faith.” Each individual window tells its own story of Christ’s final journey; yet, taken together they actually impel the viewer deeper into the positive concept of Redemption. The entire experience includes the role of each participant in the exuberant challenge of the whole. As worshipers progress forward, the message becomes simpler, more potent, and intensely personal.

At the completion of this circular rubric, participants find the two sanctuary windows that refer to the basics of faith. One presents the sacraments as God’s gifts, while the other explores one’s personal opportunities to share talents with others. The central mural behind the altar reduces the message even more, representing a profound and multifaceted meaning to each of the five senses of humankind in service to the deity. The mural itself displays a cosmic motion, drawing all of the artwork together from the back of the cathedral to the front in a complex yet simple message of devotion.

This sense of movement caroms once again and sends its energy out in those who participate even if they fail to comprehend the total message the Piczeks created. Most of the people who attend services here are visitors. Each Mass ends with a special blessing for them as departing pilgrims. “On your journey home, remember, life is a journey; you decide to be a pilgrim or a tourist. Upon entering this sacred place, you have become a pilgrim. May the blessings of the Journey remain with you always” (Guardian Angel Cathedral Bulletin 14 April 2019).

As the vitality of the charismatic power of devotion to carries visitors down the main aisle and out the church doors, they pass outside under Edith Piczek’s mosaic above the entryway which features angelic companions who will aid the pilgrims on their way. The large central figure conveys a simple linkage between earthly reality and celestial presence. Three smaller sentinels remind worshipers to seek reconciliation, communication, and peace of soul. These are truly the Guardian Angels who accompany mankind on one’s pilgrimage of faith, who provide inspiration, communication, and joy.

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No Dirt on Donald: Politics and the *National Enquirer*

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Abstract

“FBI Plot to Impeach Trump,” warned the lurid red, yellow and white headline of the *National Enquirer* (8 January 2018). You may believe this publication single-handedly created our celebrity culture or argue it is a threat to democracy. Either way it is a force worthy of academic analysis. The first part of this paper looks at the history of the world’s most famous supermarket tabloid. It details its change from a sensationalistic scandal sheet to a celebrity gossip newspaper at home in every supermarket in America. This paper analyzes this magazine and its readers. It provides data on the tabloid’s make-up, composition, writing style, and readers. It examines its scoops and suits. At this point, this paper focuses on two friends, both brash New York businessmen, President Donald J. Trump and the publisher of the *Enquirer*, David J. Pecker. Their friendship, founded on loyalty and mutual-benefit, led to a host of supportive stories by and about the Wharton School of Business graduate, as a TV personality, candidate, and President. Their relationship resulted in a plethora of stories condemning Trump’s Republican opponents in the primaries, and assorted Democrats, especially Hillary Clinton, Barrack Obama, and his wife and children. These stories all carry the signature style associated with both men: caustic, negative, and aggressive. Lastly the paper details with a story perfect for the tabloids but never covered, an alleged affair between Trump and a Playboy bunny. Pecker negotiated a non-disclosure agreement with Karen McDougal in an effort to suppress information about this dalliance. After a tangle of legal maneuvers, she finally told her story. Information continues to emerge as reporters gain access to documents seized by the FBI or subpoenaed by a Federal Court. It is easy to trivialize a supermarket tabloid that titillates and provokes. Another story lurks behind the lurid headlines. The easy to understand prose, written with one purpose, is to convince the American public of the correctness of the President’s agenda. Our democracy rests on a public informed, not by propaganda, but by the truth. The future of our democracy depends on the honesty and accuracy of the Third Estate and an educated public that can read critically.

Introduction

Rachel Maddow, MSNBC anchor, described the *National Enquirer* as “weird, outrageous, and fantastically false” (Emery, 2017). She observed the most dangerous thing about this celebrity news magazine was, not so much whether what they said was true or not, but how they said it. She read the headline from the 26 October 2016 copy of the weekly to demonstrate her point. “Hillary Blackmailed FBI to Kill Corruption Probe, Gay Sex Sting.” She contrasted the tabloid’s vicious attacks against Clinton with their obsequious stories about the Republican candidate for President. She concluded the *Enquirer* was definitely a news outlet for Trump.

Those who confront the *Enquirer* should be aware their writers retaliate. “Enquirerman” counter-attacked in an article “Rachel Maddow’s Brain-Dead Enquirer Attack” (20 January 2017). He chided the political journalist for getting the price of the supermarket tabloid wrong. It costs \$4.99 not \$1.99. He insisted the story clearly stated it was Hillary’s “fixers” who setup the sting on federal agents, not Hillary herself. “Enquirerman” suggested the host of an Emmy award winning news show, dig deeper than the headlines and sent her a free subscription. Rob Shutter in his “Number One in America Gossip Column,” subtitled “Naughty but Nice” reported a make-up artist working on the MSNBC news host for a cover of a *Rolling Stone* magazine described the popular political commentator as a vain diva who did not

like her face touched (29 July 2017). In their latest jab, the scandal magazine falsely reported it was “Claws out!” in a fight between Maddow and Megyn Kelly (*Enquirer*, 16 May 2018).

Social science theory helps one understand why all this is of importance. President Thomas Jefferson (1789) emphasized the value of an informed electorate in a letter to Ricard Post. He wrote, “Whenever the people are well-informed, they can be trusted with their own government.” Leaders in a democracy break down the walls separating the people from their government and build bulwarks of trust.

Jurgen Habermas (1991), the German philosopher, wrote in *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, of a dam erected by democratic societies to protect the public. He described this phenomenon as “made up of private people gathered together as a public and articulating the needs of society with the state” (p. 176). Dialogue, debate and discussion in the public sphere legitimizes authority. For Habermas, the major danger was manipulative publicity (p.178). This type of propaganda “manages views, fosters political theater, and conveys authorized opinions to assert the dominance or entitlement of those in authority” (Soules, 2007).

The *Enquirer’s* coverage of President Trump, lies solidly within political scientist and communications expert, Harold Dwight Laswell’s, definition of propaganda as “the expression of opinions or actions carried out deliberately by individuals or groups with a view to influencing the opinion or action, of other individuals or groups for predetermined ends and through psychological manipulations” (cited by Ellul, p. 11). Jacques Ellul, a French sociologist, noted in *Propaganda: The Formation of Men’s Attitudes* that modern propaganda operates on, “half-truth, limited truth, and truth out of context,” a perfect description of the stories in the *Enquirer* (p.2). Ellul identified the following effects of propaganda on individuals: limited and rigid personality, prejudices hardened, self-righteousness accelerated, self-justification, increased anxiety, propensity to violence, and belief in the hero as model and father (Ellul p. 172). These characteristics apply equally to Trump’s base, as well as to readers of the *Enquirer*.

Anthropologists Debra Spitulnik and Thomas Tufte (2014) called for “more ethnographic investigation of the relations across media, nation and publics.” The analysis of one of these tools, the celebrity/sensational tabloid, *The National Enquirer*, starts with an investigation of how this publication resonates with the everyday life of real people who buy the paper on impulse and discuss its stories in bars, beauty shops, and breakrooms. The President relies on social media, Fox News, the Sinclair TV station chain, and the *National Enquirer* to communicate the goals and policies of his administration. The more we know about how these tools work and how they are used, the better we can understand their lasting effect on our country.

Blood and Gore

William Griffin, a colleague of yellow journalist William Randolph Hearst, founded the *New York Enquirer* in 1926. It cost 10 cents a copy and featured stories about horses to watch at the racetrack. Generoso (Gene) Pope Jr., a graduate of MIT, bought the paper in 1953, for \$75,000, reputedly with mob money (Calder, 2004, p. 55). He renamed the newspaper, *The National Enquirer* and extended its circulation to New York, New Jersey and Connecticut, and then nationally.

He changed the format of the paper from an eight-column broadside to a tabloid less than half the size. This innovation saved money on printing costs. Readers found the new format more convenient to read while traveling to work on the subway or bus. Pope had an uncanny ability to “recognize what stories would sell and what kind of stories the average person wanted to read about” (Connolly, 2017). He focused on sex, gore, and crime stories. By the 1960s, his newspaper became a dominant tabloid, with a loyal fan base, strong financial cushion, and lucrative national distribution contracts.

Pope instituted practices still in use at the *Enquirer*. He authorized reporters to pay up to \$2,500 for tips without prior authorization. He paid \$18,000 for a picture of Elvis in a white suit lying in a copper coffin snapped by a distant teenage cousin (*Newsweek*, 2008). He negotiated with celebrities to bury harmful stories in exchange for an interview, gossip about another famous person, or other favors. He paid his writers well and rewarded them with lavish bonuses for sensational scoops. Pope pressured reporters to produce. He established a grading system to assure the quality and quantity of their work. If writers did not measure up, he fired them.

Pope anticipated sociological changes in the 1950's and 60's. People moved to the suburbs. They no longer bought their paper at a newsstand or small grocery store. Pope conceived the idea of selling the *Enquirer* at supermarkets. He had to tone down the carnage on the cover to sell his tabloid in a marketplace where women shoppers predominated. In a 1972 interview Pope observed, "We had saturated the gore market, and since this is a business, I knew we had to change" (Morton, 2009, p. 33). He diversified the content. The tabloid featured stories about celebrities, especially new TV personalities. Yet the *Enquirer* remained true to its heritage. The tabloid's writers continued to write stories that provoked and aroused a negative emotional response.

Supermarkets proved a tough market to enter until Pope hired blond movie star, Jane Mansfield, to promote the paper at a convention of supermarket executives. He also offered them 25% off cover price of every *Enquirer* sold and promised to buy back unsold copies (Calder, 2004, p. 56). It was a retailer's dream. They had only two points of contact, when a clerk rang up the sale of the tabloid at the cover price and when they remitted the agreed upon fee for the *Enquirers* they sold.

Pope moved the publication to Florida in 1955 after his mob connections warned he could get hurt if he stayed in New York (Connolly, 2017). More likely, the cost savings effect of non-union labor and favorable back-haul freight rates to distribute his tabloid nationally figured in his decision. In the 90s, the supermarket tabloid business went through a period of rapid consolidation. Pope's heirs sold the *Enquirer* and other affiliated newspapers that originally cost \$73,000 for \$412 million on Pope's death in 1968. The publication suffered an anthrax attack in 2001, filed for bankruptcy in 2010 with \$1 billion in debt, and moved back to New York in 2015.

The Accountant Giveth and Taketh Away

David J. Pecker, born in 1952, was the son of a bricklayer from the Bronx. He graduated from Pace University in business administration and passed the CPA exam. After a succession of accounting jobs in the media business, he, along with investors from the Evercore Corporation, purchased the publishing conglomerate American Media Incorporated (AMI) in 1999, for \$850 million. He became Chairman, President and Chief Executive Officer of the company (Borchers Keep, 2017). The CEO oversees a collection of more than a dozen magazines and newspapers including the *National Enquirer*, *Star*, *Us Weekly*, *Globe*, *OK!* and several men's fitness magazines.

In a 20 June 2018 article in the *New Daily*, Larry Hackett, former editor of *People Magazine*, reported AMI's acquisition of 13 gossip and celebrity magazines owned by a German firm, Bauer media. AMI now owns every tabloid on the rack in the supermarket, except for *People* magazine. Hackett worried a company that controls so many different magazines with an estimated readership of thirty-eight million people has unprecedented power to influence the electorate. He warned it was time to take the tabloid/celebrity sector seriously (Hackett, 2018).

Pecker portrays the image of a bon vivant, but at heart he is a clever bookkeeper trying to stave off further losses in an overcrowded and declining magazine sector. The *Enquirer* sold an average of 4.5 million copies a week in the 1980s. Five people read each issue sold, meaning almost 25 million people read it every week, more than 10 percent of the U.S. population (Connolly, 2017). Today, one can read celebrity gossip at TMZ.com on the internet or watch it on television. The *Enquirer* is overpriced in a competitive marketplace. At the beginning of 2018, the scandal sheet had a weekly circulation of 260,000 copies, a 13 percent drop from the previous six-month average, according to publisher data provided to the Alliance for Audited Media (Rutenberg Investigator, 2018).

The answer was simple for an accountant specializing in turning around troubled media companies: restructure through bankruptcy, slash staff, and force each member of the remaining staff do the work of three or four people. Amy Wicks, a reporter for *WWD (Women's Wear Daily)*, quoted Pecker as saying, "We encourage accountability and aggressive reporting, and if you make a mistake, that's OK." Colleagues added, "If you succeed you get credit, if you fail, it can get ugly" (Wicks, 2011). Wicks reported that Pecker had the first and last word at meetings. The staff always remembered Pecker's pronouncement, "I'm the chairman of the tabloids. You giveth and taketh. Believe me, I understand that" (Wicks, 2011).

The bright contrasting colors and lurid headlines of the *National Enquirer* attract the attention of shoppers in the lines near checkout stands. One supermarket in Florida, Publix, found the covers so offensive, they ordered them covered (Sorentrude, 2017). Typically, a tabloid headline focuses on who did what, forsaking the why for development in the story itself. Every cover features a picture, a headline telling the story as unambiguously as possible, and a sub-headline called the money line. The 7 May 2018 edition of the *Enquirer* featured the stern visage of President Trump. The main headline read “Trump Fixer’s Secrets and Lies.” The money line developed a favorite theme of the tabloid, “Payoffs & Threats Exposed.” An analysis of the story showed there were seven individual stories, each with its own sub-headline. Each story had a slant, sometimes for and sometimes against Michael Cohen, the President’s beleaguered personal lawyer. Of the seven stories, six were less than one-hundred words long (p. 16).

Pecker devised a proprietary database of the covers of all celebrity magazines, including those of his competitors, called “cover explorer” (Toobin, 2017, p. 36). Trump, the Royals, and Heidi Klum lead the list in the Spring of 1918. Trump or his enemies appeared in 39% (N=71) of the covers from 6 March 2017 to 12 July 2018. Like most newspapers, there are actually three headlines on the front page: a banner or skybox, the main story, and a footer. Headlines on Trump or his opponents appeared in the Skybox 20% of the time, the center 52% of the time, and the footer 27% of the time (N=44). Twenty-eight percent of the time there is no mention of Trump in any of the three headlines (N=25), but there is a story related to Trump somewhere in the body of the tabloid (See Appendix A). The issue date 4 June 2018 contained a story on facts about the presidents. It related Trump has a \$29 million yacht on which he has not spent a night. The billionaire explained, “It makes me nervous to relax” (Sheridan).

Each issue contains ads, a tremendous amount of gossip about A and B list celebrities, news, games (cross words and puzzles) health watch, market place, (psychics and New ID) oddities, horoscope, a giveaway, and pet vet. For a detailed content analysis see Appendix B. The *Enquirer* is a direct-response retailers dream. The most common and largest ads are for weight loss products, including a weight loss recliner. There is an equal number of ads for collector dolls. Impulse buyers can even purchase one with a birth certificate. Other popular products for sale include commemorative coins and memorabilia, including a cat dressed in a Marine Corps uniform or a Queen Elizabeth statue. Usually, this celebrity gossip magazine touts products designed for seniors especially life-alert bracelets, easy to read computers, and phones. Ads tempt readers to purchase model cars and non-snoring bracelets.

Give Them What They Want

Enquirer executives pride themselves on knowing their audience. One editor argued, “The big news organizations tell people what they think they should be interested in, whereas we try to give them stories that they *are* interested in” (*Newsweek*, 2008). Pecker described the weekly’s target audience as, “People that live their life failing, so they want to read negative things about people who have gone up and then come down” (Borchers Why, 2016). The writers for the tabloid stoke the anxieties and feelings of inadequacy of their readers with gossip, guilt, and victimization. Paula E. Morton (2009) in *Tabloid Valley*, stated the *Enquirer*, “Frequently, in the process of exposing personal hypocrisy or impropriety, it inflames a public outrage that the mainstream media pursue in depth” (p. 156).

The National Enquirer’s readership is female, older and conservative (Kludt, 2018). Global Direct Response, a subsidiary of AMI, sells advertising for the publication. Their website stated the average age of readers is 52.3. The ratio of women to men is 62/38. The average household income of the inquiring minds who purchase the weekly is \$76,319, well above the average (Global, 2018). If they bought the *Enquirer* on impulse, they can afford to purchase a direct mail order item advertised in the tabloid.

Jack Shafer, *POLITICO*’s senior media writer, in his Jan/Feb 2017 article, “Pravda on the Checkout Line,” offered two contrasting views of *Enquirer* readers. He sees them as representatives of the emerging post-truth era, reliant on their own beliefs and indifferent to the facts accepted by the mainstream. In contrast he views them as a pre-truth group, drawn by arguments based on emotional appeal able to spread its message by word-of-mouth and other organizations to main stream newspapers.

Walmart accounts for 23% of the sales of the *Enquirer* and Kroger, the largest supermarket chain in the US, for 10% (Toobin, 2017, p. 45). It appeals to buyers with stories of celebrity extra-marital affairs, surgeries, sudden weight losses and gains, and, increasingly, Donald Trump.

The *Enquirer* and its fellow AMI tabloids emit a constant cultural background noise to American life. There are 37,000 supermarkets in America, with an average of about ten checkout stands. Each one has a wire rack displaying the *Enquirer* and other AMI magazines. According to an industry study, American households make an average of 1.5 trips to the supermarket each week. Every customer passes by the checkout stand, which means even people who never purchase a tabloid absorb the ambient headlines, and those headlines can shape their view of the world (Shafer, Jan/Feb, 2017).

Embrace Your Inner Gossip

Enquirer writers are well paid and consider themselves some of the best in the business. Their writing is easily understood with slang and gripping language. Some say the best way to read it is to leave your logic at the door. Note the headlines and read the stories twice; first to observe the emotional impact on the target audience and second how well the story is written. In their own words “FBI Coup to Take Down Trump,” a “Double-dealing” FBI agent secretly orchestrated a sinister plot causing “incalculable havoc.” This was allegedly done while Hillary Clinton was “rubbing her hands with glee” (6 January 2018). The 18 June 2018 issue of the *Enquirer* shows examples of the writer’s use of colloquial English to identify with readers. Stars “keep it on the down-low.” Romps are always wild. “Perps” are usually busted. Husbands are “Hubbys.” and women who are pregnant are “knocked-up” (18 June 2018, p. 15).

After Carol Burnett won her suit for \$10 million in the early 1980s, AMI policy called for two lawyers to review every story. “And these lawyers don’t advise. They decide” (Kludt, 2018). *Carol Burnett v. the National Enquirer* made legal history on its journey to the Supreme Court. A California judge decided it was not a newspaper entitled to full first amendment rights. The Supreme Court ruled Burnett could sue for defamation in California, even though the AMI printed the tabloid in Florida

Dr. Phil McGraw and his wife Robin filed a 42-page suit for defamation of character against the *National Enquirer* and AMI in July 2016 asking for damages of \$250 million. Dr. Phil declared “Enough is enough. It’s time for them to own up” (McLaughlin, 2016). The psychologist and TV host claimed “AMI published the false and defamatory accusations without reasonable investigation, with actual knowledge of falsity, and with reckless disregard for truth or falsity” (McGraw, 2016). Various stories accused McGraw of child abuse, marital infidelity, and making one of his guests feel weird. The cover of the 14 March 2016 *Enquirer* warned of “Dr. Phil, Raging Monster.” The sheer number of stories enraged McGraw. The *Enquirer* published a total of 85 articles about Dr. Phil from 2003 to 2016, an average of 6.5 articles per year at a rate of approximately one article every other month (McGraw, 2016).

Other stars sued the scandal sheet. Charlie Sheen called the claims he sexually assaulted a younger actor “ridiculous” and “disgusting.” (Associated Press, 2017). Sheen later admitted he did have AIDS. A Los Angeles Superior Court judge dismissed Richard Simmons’ defamation suit against the *National Enquirer*. Simmons vehemently denied the accusation and sued the publication in May 2017 over a story alleging he was in the process of becoming a woman. Judge Gregory Keosian ruled being misidentified as transgender did not inherently expose someone to “hatred, contempt, ridicule or obloquy,” and therefore, did not rise to the level of defamation (Maddaus, 2017). He ordered Simmons to pay \$130,000 for the court costs incurred by the tabloid.

In the September 2017 issue, the *Enquirer* issued an apology to Judge Judy Sheindlin for a story stating she suffered from “brain disease,” was fighting both Alzheimer’s and depression, and was “hiding a heartbreaking medical crisis” (Taylor Apology, 2017). The tabloid also stated Sheindlin cheated on her husband. Their apology stated, “None of these statements are true, and we unequivocally retract them” (Taylor Apology, 2017). Most celebrities ignore stories in the *Enquirer*, suing only when the mainstream press picks them up. Their record of success is mixed. Most times they are content to accept an apology.

The *Enquirer* made its reputation for professional journalism with solid stories like the murder of Ennis Cosby (1997), Gary Hart’s extra marital affair with Donna Rice in 1987, and the salacious details of the Lewinski-Clinton affair in 1998. They paid \$60,000 for a picture of Rice sitting on Hart’s lap aboard his yacht named Monkey Business. Hart denounced the celebrity newspaper’s reports as “lies, tabloid trash,” but the evidence was overwhelming and he withdrew from the Presidential race within sixty days (*Newsweek*, 2008). The tabloid broke the Clinton pardon scandal, Jessie Jackson love child stories, and Bob Dole’s affair in (2001). In 2007, the celebrity scandal magazine had scoops on OJ

Simpson's book, *I Did It!* and John Edwards' affair with filmmaker Rielle Hunter, stories given little credence until proven true. In 2008, they broke a story of the pregnancy of vice-presidential candidate, Sarah Palin's unwed daughter and continued to reveal interesting tidbits about the Palin family, despite the protestations of the McCain campaign committee.

Shocking Love Affair

An article in the *New York Times* reported "The federal campaign an tax evasion case that is embroiling the White House began in the unlikeliest of places: the world of supermarket tabloids" (Rutenberg and Ruiz 2018). This story began with a prominent real estate developer in New York in the 80s and 90s who developed a fondness for celebrity gossip. He basked in the publicity, even if the headline announced, "Trump's Mistress Cheats on Donald with Tom Cruise" (Gillette, 2016). When Pecker became CEO of AMI in 1999, the negative Trump stories ceased. The tabloid gave glowing coverage of Trump before and during this campaign. In early 2015, the tabloid revealed encouraging poll results.

Trump authored several stories in the newspaper revealing, "the most intimate details in my amazing life," "I am the only one who can make America great again!", "and, on a personal note, my wife, Melania would make a terrific first lady!" (Suebsaeng, 2016). In another article, that appeared in his book *The Art of the Deal*, the Republican candidate for President appealed to the cult of the hero, telling the story of how he punched his music teacher in the eye "because I didn't think he knew anything about music. I'm not proud of that, but it's clear evidence that even early on I tended to make my opinions known in a forceful way" (Trump, 2015). One campaign staffer described the tabloid as a "campaign mailer" (Hensley, 2018).

The 2016 Presidential candidate received only a few newspaper endorsements, one of them from the *Enquirer*. Pecker explained, "I made the decision to endorse Donald Trump. Nobody influences the editorial decision-making process at the *National Enquirer* other than myself and our editors" (Toobin, 2017, p. 47). An article using the *Enquirer's* folksy term for the candidate from Queens trumpeted, "TRUMP MUST BE PREZ!" The celebrity tabloid declared, "Nobody understands the economy better than this self-made billionaire, and only he is willing and able to fix it." The *Enquirer* promised "He will chase down illegal immigrants," and "stand up to foreign leaders like Vladimir Putin" (*Enquirer*, 14 March 2016).

POTUS has a short attention span, expressing himself in provocative blocks of speech. The *Enquirer* and the President both ignore facts and indulge in outrageous self-promotion. It is not hard to imagine President Donald J. Trump personally writing for the supermarket tabloid, which in fact, he has. Amy Peck, senior reporter for *Huffington Post*, stated Trump's campaign committee, White House staff, and the *National Enquirer* writers are remarkably similar in approach. They spent the time before and after his election "sharing blatantly false articles with reckless abandon, knowing their audience had a high tolerance for half-truths and whole lies" (Peck, 2018).

One person close to the campaign recalled a meeting at Trump Tower in February 2015 between Pecker and Trump about how AMI could promote embarrassing information about Bill and Hillary Clinton during a general election. The person, who requested anonymity, said Cohen was also present. The following year Cohen, helped suppress the candidate's crude remarks on the infamous Access Hollywood tape (Rutenberg investigators, 2018).

Trump loved a weekly publication with national reach. The *Enquirer* printed stories like, "Natural-born leader Donald Trump is a highly focused, driven and charismatic genius who thinks outside the box and is almost too smart for his own good" (Taylor Magzter, 2017). The editors of the *Enquirer* felt free to name-call and exploit resentments if it furthered Trump's agenda. The Prez wondered, "Why didn't the *National Enquirer* get the Pulitzer Prize for Edwards?" (Borcher Trump, 2018). He claimed that the publication was "very respected" and suggested Pecker would make a 'brilliant Choice' for Time Magazine CEO (Eglash, 2017).

The Perfect Friendship

The *Enquirer* staff wrote a self-congratulatory piece after the election declaring, "Only one magazine told the world all along how Americans REALLY were feeling about the 2016 election! As the world of

professional pollsters spend today in humiliation, we look back at the figures that showed Trump was winning over America” (9 November 2016). An online readership poll conducted 31 May 2016 showed 58% favored Trump and 42% favored Clinton. The tabloid crowed, “Although the *Enquirer* polls did not follow the strict rules of statistical samples, one thing is certain: We had our finger on the pulse of the nation all along, and always will!” (9 November 2016).

“David thought Donald walked on water,” a former *Enquirer* employee told the *New Yorker* (Levine, 2017). “Donald treated David like a little puppy. Donald liked being flattered, and David thought Donald was the king. Both have similar management styles, similar attitudes, starting with absolute superiority over anybody else” (Levine, 2017). “We used to go after newsmakers no matter what side they were on,” a former *Enquirer* staffer told Jeffrey Toobin, a reporter for the *New Yorker*, “And Trump is a guy who is running for President with a closet full of baggage. He's the ultimate target-rich environment. The *Enquirer* had a golden opportunity, and they completely looked the other way” (Levine, 2017).

Pecker has no strong political views and a fascination with celebrity (Toobin, 2017, p. 45). “My duty is to my readers,” Pecker said. “Few presidential aspirants in recent history have generated the kind of discussion Donald Trump has,” Pecker told *The Daily Beast*. “It's no surprise that the readership of the *Enquirer* recently told us that they wanted to read more about Trump than any other 2016 candidate” (Suebsaeng, 2016). Trump often acted as a source for the publication. “When there was something going on in New York, David would talk with Trump about it (Toobin, 2017, p. 46). An American Media (AMI) employee told Toobin, “if Donald didn't want a story to run, it wouldn't run. You can put that in stone” (Toobin, 2017, p. 46).

“Pecker has the power through his media properties to influence public opinion,” said Stu Zakim, a public relations executive who worked at AMI for three years. “Donald being the media manipulator that he is — it's a perfect friendship” (CNN, 2018). The media mogul is emphatic about Trump, “The guy is a personal friend of mine” (Borchers Trump's (2018). Toobin noted the friendship has lasted for decades and the publisher boasts about helping his friends (2017, p. 40). According to Pecker, a cover depicting Donald Trump as a hero, lambasting his opponents, boosted sales by 23% (Shafer, 2017). The readers of the *Enquirer* voted for Trump,” Pecker told the *New Yorker*. “And 96 percent want him reelected today.” (Borchers Why, 2016).

The Weather Vane Effect

No Republican challenger to Trump was safe during the primary. The *Enquirer* published a story in March 2016 about “boozin” Ted Cruz's five mistresses and his father's involvement in John F. Kennedy's assassination (Suebsaeng, 2016). When asked about it Trump said he did not know if it was true, but he did read it in the *Enquirer* which had a good reputation. They paper also ran a story about “bungling” Ben Carson claiming he left a sponge in a patient's brain. The scandal sheet also ran a story on 31 December 2015 alleging “nerdy” Mario Rubio, Senator from Florida, had a relative who had connections with cocaine smugglers. The celebrity newspaper reported Jeb Bush was a dope smoker and had an affair with a Playboy bunny (Suebsaeng, 2016).

Stories about the first woman in history to run for President as the candidate of a major political party especially her health appeared during the Presidential election. Far-right publications, talk shows, and campaign operatives picked these stories up and amplified them. The 4 July 2016 edition headlined “Dying Cher,” the *Enquirer* noted that crooked Hillary, “sounds like Obama in a skirt.” The cover of the 8 August 2016 proclaimed, Hillary's “Secret Health Crisis.” The 15 August 2016 issue, “Donald Trump's Revenge on Hillary and her Puppets,” repeated rumors of poor health as well as reports of her mob connections and gay double life. The following month in “Hillary's Full Medical File,” (8 September 2016) the tabloid ran a cover with a picture of Clinton that made her appear on the verge of death. The publication alleged she was suffering from or had suffered from muscular dystrophy, multiple sclerosis, Alzheimer's, liver damage, brain damage, seizures and strokes. The issue that appeared in supermarkets across the country the day before the election informed shoppers, “Hillary Blackmailed FBI to Kill Corruption Probe.” Sub-headlines associated her with gay sex and narcotics.

Former president Barack Obama and his family were subjects of disparaging stories. One wrongly alleged the Obamas were divorcing. Another headline screamed “Malia Obama – Out of Control”

reported Obama's daughter was missing. The accompanying story speculated she was in treatment for cocaine addiction (14 December 2016). The *National Enquirer* ran a cover story in claiming Obama was secretly trying to get Trump impeached (8 February 2017).

The *Enquirer* acts as a weathervane signaling who is out of favor with the President. Once the news broke that the FBI raided the home of Paul Manafort, the *National Enquirer* reported the president's former campaign chairman cheated on his wife (Siegel, 2017). The President distanced himself from Cohen after a Federal Court indicted his attorney. Readers discovered the extent of Cohen's fall from grace in the 7 May 2018 edition of the *Enquirer*. It promised it will reveal "TRUMP FIXER'S SECRETS & LIES!" The fixer is Cohen and The President wants us to know the attorney did very little legal work for him. *National Memo* writer Oliver Willis announced in one of the articles, "Afraid he will squeal to Feds, Trumps Tabloid Pals' Attack Cohen" (8 June 2018).

Catch and Kill

Reporter Callum Borchers of the *Washington Post* observed "The Enquirer practices a type of transactional journalism known as catch and kill" (Borchers Keep, 2017). *Gawker*, a bankrupt blog, reported David Pecker paid enormous amounts of money to suppress negative coverage of Arnold Schwarzenegger, executive editor of AMI's Men's fitness magazines (Pecker, 2010). A CNN poll showed 56% of Americans think the *Enquirer* is covering up for Trump (Kludt, 2018). The *Enquirer* paid \$30,000 to doorman, Dino Sajudin, to stop a story about Trump allegedly fathering a child with a Trump Tower maid in 2016 (Pearson and Horowitz, 2018).

Pulitzer prize winner Ronan Farrow in his 16 February 2018 article, "A Playboy model and a system for concealing identity" in the *New Yorker*, reported an employee of the *Enquirer* observed about catch and kill, "There's no question it was done as a favor to continue to protect Trump from these potential secrets. That's black-and-white." In June 2017, reputedly White House officials pressured television hosts Joe Scarborough and Mika Brzezinski to apologize to the President for their comments. In return, the *Enquirer* would not publish a story about their relationship. The same month the scandal sheet agreed to drop a negative story about Tiger Woods after he agreed to a cover story in *Men's Fitness*.

Jonathon Chait of the *National Interest* observed, "So, we know Trump habitually pays for sex, and we also know he is willing to pay to keep embarrassing secrets from going public. He counted on Pecker and the *Enquirer* to do just that" (Chait 2018). Jerry George, a former senior editor at the *Enquirer*, said "We never printed a word about Trump without his approval" (Farrow, 2018). Pecker knows where the bodies are buried and has the power to run stories or not to run them (Farrow, 2018). Farrow, son of Mia Farrow and Woody Allen, related the following story told by Pecker. When Karen McDougal first appeared on the scene, everyone wanted to hear her story. "At the same time, she was launching her own beauty-and-fragrance line, and I said that I'd be very interested in having her in one of my magazines, now that she's so famous" (Farrow, 2018).

The Prez, The Playmate, and the Tabloid

McDougal born in 1971, grew up in a small town in Michigan. She attended two years of college majoring in elementary education and took a job as a preschool teacher. She began a modeling career after winning a swim suit competition. She was the Playboy centerfold in December 1997. Hugh Hefner chose her as Playmate of the year in 1998. She described the key to her personality as "I've always put the feelings of others first. I'm just very nurturing and love to take care of people" (IMDb).

McDougal met Trump at a pool party at the Playboy Mansion. He asked for her telephone number and they soon began chatting on the phone. Their first date was dinner in a private bungalow at the Beverly Hills Hotel. McDougal wrote Trump impressed her. "I was so nervous! I was into his intelligence + charm. Such a polite man," she wrote. "We talked for a couple hours – then, it was "ON"! We got naked + had sex" (Farrow, 2018). As the model and actress was getting dressed to leave, Trump surprised her. "He offered me money," she wrote. "I looked at him (+ felt sad) + said, 'No thanks - I'm not 'that girl.' I slept with you because I like you - NOT for money' - He told me 'you are special'" (Farrow, 2018).

McDougal and Trump continued their relationship during the American Celebrity Golf Tournament in July, 2006 at Lake Tahoe. Allegedly, "the Donald" had sex with adult entertainer Stormy Daniels at the

same event. McDougal claimed she had intercourse with Trump dozens of times during their affair from June 2006 to April 2007 (Cooper, 2018). Trump flew McDougal to public events across the country but hid the fact he paid for her travel so as not to leave a paper trail. He introduced her to members of his family and took her to his private residences. While visiting Trump Tower in New York, Trump pointed out Melania's separate bedroom. He said Melania "liked her space to read or be alone" (Farrow, 2018). McDougal ended the relationship because of her paramour's derogatory statements about her mother, a black friend, and feelings of guilt in April, 2007. Trump denied the affair.

Collusion and Manipulation

Nine years passed. On 7 May 2016, a friend of McDougal tweeted about the affair. McDougal's friends told her this was the perfect time to take control of her story, earn some well-deserved compensation, and advance her career. On 13 June she hired Keith Davidson, a Hollywood celebrity lawyer, who represented adult-entertainment star Stormy Daniels in a similar case. Davidson suggested a non-disclosure agreement (NDA) would not hurt Trump, for whom McDougal still professed affection. In July, Trump received the Republican Party nomination for President.

AMI offered McDougal \$150,000 and promised her opportunities for career advancement. She signed a NDA on 5 August 2016. Davidson collected 45% of their offer as his commission. AMI paid for exclusive rights to her story, along with promises of publicity and marketing opportunities through its fitness magazines. The contract did not identify Trump and required her to keep quiet about any relationship with a married man. Pecker boasted, "Once she's part of the company, then on the outside she can't be bashing Trump and American Media" (Farrow, 2018).

The *Wall Street Journal* published a story about the adulterous relationship and the NDA on 4 November 2016, four days before the Presidential election. However, without corroboration the story soon died out. McDougal, a Republican, voted for Trump. At this point, she had the "inkling that she had been duped, especially when AMI threatened her with a \$10 million penalty if she breached the contract" (Weis, 2018). McDougal fired Davidson because he did not tell her about the contract's fine print and negotiated with Cohen without her knowledge. She contacted a well-known first amendment lawyer, Ted Boutrous, who renegotiated the contract to allow her to respond to legitimate inquiries about Trump without fear of penalty.

In a democracy, candidates have a right to privacy, but the electorate needs to know if a candidate has a life-threatening illness or significant moral flaw. Jefferson warned in his first inaugural address in 1801 that a man who "cannot be trusted with the government of himself. Can he then be trusted with the government of others?" (Jefferson). Many allege Trump covered up several affairs while he sought the top political office in the country. Non-disclosure agreements such as the one used to silence McDougal are common practice in the corporate world. But this is not the problem according to Heidi Kitrosser, a professor of constitutional law at the University of Minnesota Law School. It is the fact "Donald Trump is acting like he personally owns this information, as though he can act like a king and take any measures to control the way people talk about him" (Peck, 2018).

Karen McDougal hired a third lawyer, Peter Stris who filed suit in Los Angeles Superior Court on 20 March 2018 to void her non-disclosure agreement. Stris, stated, "Through efforts including the collusion of her own lawyer, AMI has consistently deceived and manipulated Ms. McDougal through an illegitimate contract" (Conley, 2018). In her suit, the former Playmate charged Davidson did not explain to her that allowing her to write stories for AMI did not mean they would publish them. She argued Davidson, Cohen, and Pecker conferred without her knowledge to protect the President. Furthermore, the suit claimed her payout amounted to an illegal corporate contribution intended to influence the election. On the Rachel Maddow Show, Stris suggested legal action against Davidson and Cohen for fraud and ethics violations.

AMI counsel, Jean-Paul Jassy, fought back with a motion to strike McDougal's suit. He contended AMI had a First Amendment right not to publish her story and its editors "who chose not to publish it cannot be punished for exercising that right" (Briquelet National). In rebuttal, Stris said. "As we have learned through brave truth-tellers like Ms. McDougal, the tabloid went to great lengths to silence her and

others, and they are now attempting to silence her again with the absurd claim that their own free speech was violated” (Briguelet National, 2018).

McDougal revealed telling details about her alleged affair on the Anderson Cooper show aired three days after she filed her suit. She expressed affection for Donald Trump, who, she said, was always a gentleman, and paid her compliments. She recalled Pecker invited her to lunch after she signed the NDA and thanked her for her loyalty. She realized too late Pecker did not want to help her and had lied to her. She said Davidson, promised her “many millions of dollars,” but she signed the NDA, not for the money, but a chance to transition from modeling to writing (Cooper, 2018). She expressed regret for the illicit relationship and offered an apology to Melania.

Playboy Model Freed from Contract

On April 17th, 2018, Karen McDougal announced she was happy with the settlement. She noted, “I am relieved to be able to tell the truth about my story when asked, and I look forward to being able to return to my private life and focus on what matters to me” (Dedaj, 2018). She anticipated working again with the *National Enquirer*. The tabloid announced, “Ms. McDougal has always been free to talk about her relationship with President Trump” (Weis, 2018). AMI agreed to everything they promised in the original non-disclosure agreement. They offered to publish five additional McDougal health and fitness columns. They maintained a financial interest up to \$75,000 in any re-sale of an exclusive on McDougal's personal story.

Rachel Maddow tried to make sense of it all on her 18 April 2018 show. She could not understand why McDougal settled when her lawyer was on the verge of obtaining documents and depositions that further implicated the President. The television host's guest, former US Attorney Chuck Rosenberg warned, “It was not for us to decide. We do not know her goals.” He added Stris represented the wishes of his client and this settlement would not affect a criminal case brought by the U.S. Attorney's Office for the Southern District of New York against Cohen for possible campaign finance law violations and improper lobbying activities (Maddow President, 2018).

Pecker is also faces a Federal Election Commission complaint claiming the \$150,000 payment to Karen McDougal represented an illegal campaign contribution. AMI denied any wrongdoing, while also saying its cooperation with investigators would not extend beyond its constitutionally protected status as a news organization. “It's easy to look down at the work product of celebrity magazines and assume they are not entitled to the same protections as the mainstream media,” said Cameron Stracher, a lawyer for AMI (Briquelet National, 2018).

New York Times writer Matt Apuzzo in “Lawyer's Secret Tape Reveals Trump's Talk of Payments to Model,” described tapes and emails seized from Michael Cohen's office and subpoenaed from Pecker. This evidence proved that Cohen, Pecker, and Davidson colluded over McDougal's settlement with the knowledge and direction of the President. One secret tape revealed Trump considered buying the rights to McDougal's story as a way of reimbursing Pecker (21 July 2018, p. A1). Federal prosecutors have granted Pecker immunity. His close associates claim there are saved encrypted documents a safe full of secrets detailing more “catch and kill” stories about Trump (Rutenberg, 24 August 2018. p.1) Meanwhile, the *Enquirer* has ceased publishing articles about Trump.

Michael Cohen acknowledged these facts In a 21 August 2018 guilty plea (US District Court). He told the judge he made payments to McDougal, “in coordination with the direction of a candidate for federal office” (Rashbaum et. Al.). The evidence revealed Pecker had a long-standing relationship with Cohen who reviewed all stories about the candidate/President, and ensured only the best photos of Trump appeared in the *Enquirer*. Pecker fulfilled his settlement with McDougal. She appeared on the September 2018 cover of *Men's Journal*. The issue contained her story, “Four Moves for Stronger Abs,” (September 2018) despite the protestations of the magazine's CFO that it would hurt advertising revenue (Maddow, 10 August 2018).

Conclusion

Most Americans are familiar with the *National Enquirer*. It has a long history of UFO's, aliens, gore, and celebrity scandals. Many times, its writers scooped the mainstream press. It is ubiquitous, seemingly in every supermarket in the United States. Its bright colors and garish sensationalistic headlines

call out to the public. “Discover secrets and find out the truth.” So why take notice, besides a chuckle at a headline or schadenfreude over the fall from grace by film, TV, or political celebrities?

One reason the *Enquirer* is worthy of scholarly investigation is because of its unwavering support of President Donald J. Trump who lacks the endorsement of the mainstream press. He relies on a few select media outlets to broadcast his message to the American people. He uses the 140 characters of Twitter, the “Fair and Balanced” approach of Fox News, the many local TV stations of Sinclair Broadcasting, and the *Enquirer*. The President loves and respects the *Enquirer* and has a long relationship with the tabloid. It was the first national publication to endorse his bid for the Presidency. It published articles written by the candidate himself. The scandal weekly bashes Trump’s enemies and supports his every policy. David Pecker, is a loyal friend, willing to pay money to buy and kill stories detrimental to Trump.

The friendship between Pecker and Trump involves convenience, style, and mutual interests. The messages of both are short, easy to read, and designed to elicit an emotional response. Both men are brash and utilize name-calling, conflict, and division. Both employ the argot of the streets of New York. This paper analyzed how Trump has “Enquirerized” politics using the headlines, covers, and words of the writers of the tabloid. Habermas believed an informed democracy thrived on contention, debate, and discussion, but needed protection from manipulative publicity. Sociologist Ellul pointed out that propaganda closes the minds of its recipients and provides them with a set of prejudices and beliefs as well as objective justifications (p. 166). Democracy’s safeguards lie in what people read and how they react. The electorate must read critically, from more than one source. The press should foster discourse, not anger and resentment. Incivility is a toxic virus. Americans can avoid the disease it carries only by listening, accepting, and respecting one another. If democracy is to prevail it needs a healthy prescription of liberty, equality, and especially, fraternity.

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Appendix A

Facts and Statistics for Enquirer

Shocking news – America Media Inc. owns celebrity and health & Fitness magazines, Purchased (1999) by David J. pecker, chairman & CEO,
Friend of Prez
Income up from 2014-2016, # of employees down (statista.com).

House of Horrors - Enquirer weekly tabloid founded in 1926. based in NYC.

Be the first to know – Circulation weekly 250,000,
23% Wal-Mart, 10% Kroger,
2 to 15% increase in circulation for Trump story,
96% are Trump SUPPORTERS
(Toobin, “Feeding the Beast,” *New Yorker*, 3 July 2017).

Getting it right – READERSHIP Declining,
Aging, Median Age 52.3,
Ratio women to men 62/38,
Average House Hold Income \$76,319, disposable income,
Easily understood,
Engages EMOTIONS, gossip.

We pay for tips – TYPICAL Enquirer contains Ads, Celebrity gossip,
News, Games (Crosswords & puzzles), Stars & Stumbles, Health Watch,
Market place (psychics & New id), Oddities, Horoscope, give away, Pet Vet.

World EXCLUSIVE! – Trump covers 39% (N=71) from 6 March 2017 to 12 July 2018,
sky box 20%, center 52%, footer 27% (N=44).
Trump story not on cover 27% (N=25).
Statistics from 2017-2018.

Secrets and Lies – Catch and kill
Karen McDougal lawsuit settled April 2018
(Farrow, “A Playboy Model”, *New Yorker*, 16 February 2018)

Appendix B

Content Analysis for Enquirer (N=5)

Ads – Weight loss (5x), Life alert, Disney pin, weight loss recliner, dolls (5x), coins, cat with Marine uniform, facial hair remover, computer for seniors, Queen Elizabeth statue, model car, non-snoring bracelet, eternity ring, zippo lighters, weak bladder pills, acupressure shoes, debt control, dream chaser statue, snow globe, personalized checks, knit night shirts.

Celebrity gossip –Adele, Amarosa, Kristen Bell, Drew Barrymore, David Beckham, Halle Berry, Justin Bieber, Drew Carey, John Cena, George Clooney, Anderson Cooper, Bill Cosby, Matt Damon, Glada De Laurentis, Neil Diamond, Carmen Diaz, Shannen Doherty, Tammy Dombeck, Megan Fox, Michael Fox, Gal Gadow (Wonder Woman), Lady Gaga, Sarah Gilbert, Selena Gomez, Tonya Harding (2x), David Hasselhoff, Hugh Jackman, Janet Jackson, Kate Jackson, Paris Jackson, Elton John, Angelina Jolie, Kloe Kardashian, Mariah Kerry, Nicole Kidman, Jimmy Kimmel, Hoda Kotb, Heidi Klum (5x), Jenifer Lawrence, Matt Lauer, Heather Locklear, Lindsay Lohan, Eva Longoria, Madonna, Lisa Marie, Paul McCartney, George Michael, Abby Lee Miller, Lisa Minelli, Jason Momoa (Aquaman), Malia Obama, Roy Orbison, Maria Osmond, Sarah Jessica Parker, Danica Patrick (2x), Kate Perry, Nancy Pelosi, Brad Pitt, Erin Rogers, Royal Family (5x), Jean Simmons, Will Smith, Jada Smith, Scary Spice, Meryl Streep, Suzanne Summers, Taylor Swift, John Toones, John Travolta, Denzel Washington, Barbara Walters, Natalie Wood, Tiger Woods, Scott World.

News – Weird sex swap, Trump cleared Russia probe, Plot to blackmail Royals, Murder of Lee Harvey Oswald, O.J. Simpson’s Nephew is a pedophile, Kid catches carjacker, Gory stories (2x), FBI coup, North Korea, Sex molester Olympic gymnasts, Meghan Kelly vs. Ann Curry vs. Hoda Kotb.

Games, Crosswords, and Puzzles

Stars and Stumbles – Best dressed vs. worst dressed women

Health Watch – Easy ways to look younger and feel better, What you can tell from the color of your urine.

Market Place – Penis enlargement, psychics, fake ID

Oddities – Upside down Christmas tree, gravy cocktails

Horoscope – Sign up for newsletter and receive free lucky money pouch

Pet Vet – Tips for caring for your dog or cat

Evaluation of a Food Desert in an Economically Challenged and Hurricane Impacted Community

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Abstract

The aim of this study was to evaluate a food desert in an economically challenged community in Beaumont, Texas, with the important goal of identifying culturally appropriate interventions that can be implemented in this location and similar communities facing health disparities. Using secondary data available on Google Maps, we plotted all the available establishments in the area on a customized map to visualize the interested food desert area. Based on the maps of food accessibility and community assets in an urban food desert, area-specific suggestions were made for health promotion.

Keywords. Food desert, Health promotion, Southeast Texas

Introduction

The term ‘food desert’ usually describes areas where low-income residents do not have access to healthy and affordable foods (Beaulac, Kristjansson, & Cummins, 2009; Walker, Keane, & Burke, 2010). Studies identifying food deserts rely on the concept of accessibility as often operationalized by supermarket accessibility (e.g., Charreire et al., 2010; Jiao, Moudon, Ulmer, Hurvitz, & Drewnowski, 2012; Smoyer-Tomic, Spence, & Amrhein, 2006; Walker et al., 2010). Neighborhood characteristics is another factor that is frequently discussed to define food desert (e.g., Beaulac et al., 2009; Sage, McCracken, & Sage, 2013; Shavers, 2007). The aim of this study was to evaluate the food desert in an economically challenged community in Beaumont, Texas, with the important goal of identifying culturally appropriate interventions that can be implemented in this location and similar communities facing health disparities.

The focus of this research was the area of South Beaumont (south of I-10 and east of highway 69) which includes zip codes of 77701 and 77705. This community is in the city of Beaumont, which is in Jefferson County, Texas. Geographically, Jefferson County is described as being located in Southeast Texas. The decision to select the community of South Beaumont was made based on three criteria. The community 1) shows significant health disparity; 2) has environmental concerns which exacerbate the problem of food insecurity; and 3) meets the definition of an urban food desert.

Significant health disparity

Jefferson County has high rates of chronic diseases including cardiovascular diseases, diabetes and cancer. Most of these are preventable by healthy eating, being physically active and not indulging in substance abuse (alcohol, tobacco and other drugs). The rate of type-II diabetes in Jefferson County was 11.8% (compared to 9.8% nationally) in 2014 (cdc.gov). The mortality rate for cardiovascular diseases in Jefferson County was 230 (per 100,000 population) in 2016 compared to 165.5 nationally. African Americans had a significantly greater mortality rate (269) due to cardiovascular diseases compared to Caucasians (215) (cdc.gov). These chronic diseases and their indicators are especially high among African American and Hispanic populations. Approximately 20% of the county population did not have any kind of health coverage in 2014 and that number is expected to continue to increase. Health behaviors

that contribute to chronic diseases are very high in Jefferson County. About 12.5% of the adult population report excess alcohol consumption and about 33% of the fatal traffic accidents involve alcohol impairment. The rate of physical inactivity (sedentary lifestyle) is 28.7% among the adult population (“Health Facts Profiles (2014 - 2015),” 2019). The Texas Health and Human Services Commission reports obesity rates in Jefferson County at 35.7%, which is higher than obesity prevalence in Texas at 29.9% (Texas Health and Human Services Commission, 2014).

Environmental concerns contributing to food insecurity in the Texas Gulf Coast area

The difficulty is exacerbated in South Beaumont, Jefferson County, due to the extensive impacts of tropical storm disturbances over the last decades. In Southeast Texas, the annual risk of hurricane occurrence is greatest from June 1st to November 30th (“Tropical Cyclone Climatology,” n.d.). However, such formidable storms, having continuous winds reaching a minimum of 74 mph can occur outside of this official season (US Department of Commerce, n.d.). Tremendous amounts of rain, flooding, and destruction can accompany hurricanes (“Hurricane Preparedness - Hazards,” n.d.).

The Beaumont area has been afflicted with three major hurricanes in recent history. Hurricane Rita made landfall in September 2005 while the storm surge of Hurricane Ike immersed parts of the Gulf Coast in September 2008 (Siebert, 2017). More recently, Hurricane Harvey, in August 2017, caused extensive flooding across the region limiting food access (Rojas & Robertson, 2017). Hurricane Harvey produced historic rainfall resulting in massive flooding that damaged over 200,000 homes and businesses and relocated over 30,000 residents (NOAA National Centers for Environmental Information (NCEI), 2019). Over 90% of students in the Beaumont ISD suffered home loss and/or were unable to access safe drinking water for almost 14 days (Webb, 2017). The primary areas noted to be food deserts in our research are some of the same areas most affected by the flooding of Hurricane Harvey and previous storms. The devastation of this hurricane was far reaching with several cities, including Houston in Harris County, being affected. However, of all the areas affected by Hurricane Harvey, the greatest number of applications for housing assistance have been submitted by homeowners in Southeast Texas (“GLO hosting application events for Harvey Homeowner Assistance Program,” 2019). Some of the homes within this area have yet to be remediated while others have been designated as beyond repair.

Urban food desert area

South Beaumont has an ethnic minority composition with low socioeconomic status. According to 2013-2017 American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates, residents in this area are considered to have lower income and education levels than residents of other areas in Beaumont (Table 1). Median household income for the city is \$45,268; however, in zip codes 77701 and 77705, median income is only \$27,309 and \$38,356, respectively. Almost 53% of individuals in these two zip codes fall below the poverty level compared to 20% for the entire city. While approximately 86% of adults in the city hold a minimum educational level of a high school degree or the equivalent, only about 71% in zip code area 77701 and about 78% in zip code area 77705 hold this degree of education.

Consequently, South Beaumont is an ideal location to evaluate an economically challenged community in hopes of identifying culturally appropriate interventions that can be implemented in this location and similar communities facing health disparities.

Methodology: The mapping processes

The current research utilized a mapping service provided by Google to create a food desert map in the area of South Beaumont. Google Maps enables users to view and browse existing businesses. Using the “My Maps” feature available on Google Maps, a customized map was created. The study area was thoroughly examined by two research assistants to identify all point-of-sale (POS) establishments where a consumer could purchase a variety of foods. To ensure intercoder reliability, the assistants worked independently to create the map. The few discrepancies found were resolved by the lead researcher.

In creating the map, the POS establishments were first plotted to visually depict the food availability in the area. Each POS was categorized and designated by a symbol. POS establishments identified in this process included restaurants and grocery stores/mini markets. Next, a second map was created by plotting community assets located in the area; assets included schools, food banks, and churches. All data were collected from February to May in 2019.

Based on the recent literature, our research took into consideration both healthy and unhealthy options when examining the food environment in the study area. Lamichhane et al. (2013) suggest that both healthy (e.g., supermarket) and unhealthy (e.g., fast food outlets) dietary choices should be considered when exploring the association between food environment and dietary health outcomes. They demonstrate that it is because spatial co-occurrence and clustering of fast food outlets around supermarket locations.

Results

Map of point-of-sales in the Beaumont food desert

The mapping process yielded 98 POS establishments in the study area. As illustrated in Figure 1, visually distinct areas indicate some digress of limitations in food availability. Table 2 provides the legend of categories for restaurants and POS establishments on the food desert map. The total number of restaurants was 58 with 29 franchised and 29 independently owned. Examples of franchised restaurants included Subway, Sonic, McDonald's, Whataburger, and Chick-fil-A. Notably, most of the restaurants are located on highway 90, Washington Blvd., and on the university campus located in the area.

Forty grocery stores and mini markets were identified, the majority (70.0%; n = 28) being independently owned businesses. Only two franchise grocery stores offered a wide array of food items: Sam's Club and Market Basket. With Sam's Club being a membership-only retail warehouse, only one full-service grocery store was located in the area: Market Basket. Franchised mini markets were two-fold: two pharmacies (e.g., Walgreens and CVS) and seven Dollar stores (Dollar General, Family Dollar, and Dollar Tree).

Map of community assets in the Beaumont food desert

Figure 2 provides a visual representation of the 79 community assets identified in the area. Table 3 supplies the legend for the map of community assets, which included one food bank, 14 educational institutions, and 64 faith-based institutions.

Discussion and Recommendations

The importance of consumer knowledge in dietary behavior has been demonstrated in the literature (Drichoutis, Lazaridis, & Nayga, 2005; Raby Powers, Struempler, Guarino, & Parmer, 2005; Worsley, 2002). Specifically, according to Wardle et al. (2000), because of its association with healthy eating, nutrition knowledge should be included in health education campaigns. In a study of elementary school-aged children, Raby Power et al. (2005) found dietary behaviors of the children were improved by nutrition education programs. In addition, Cooke and Papadaki (2014) reported nutrition knowledge influences dietary quality.

Healthy eating promotion through consumer education

The concepts of health literacy (Mancuso, 2009; Nutbeam, 2000), food literacy (Vaitkeviciute, Ball, & Harris, 2015), and nutrition literacy (Spronk et al., 2014) have been used to describe consumers' level of competencies upon which healthy dietary behaviors depend. Health literacy represents competencies that increase the awareness, motivation, and ability of individuals as they engage with personal, family, community, and societal health issues (Nutbeam, 2000, 2008). Food literacy is defined as 'a collection of interrelated knowledge, skills and behaviours required to plan, manage, select, prepare and eat foods to meet needs and determine food intake' (Vidgen & Gallegos, 2014, p. 54). The positive relationship between food literacy and dietary intake has been examined (Vaitkeviciute et al., 2015). Velardo (2015) suggests that nutrition literacy is a broad term reflecting key elements of both health literacy and food literacy constructs. The concept of nutrition literacy has gained increasing attention due to its positive influence on health promotion. Although the three terms are similar in some degrees, in this discussion, the phrase nutrition literacy is used to describe the competencies needed to maintain a healthy diet because the expression taps into both health and food aspects.

Considering low education levels are often seen in food deserts, enhancing knowledge acquisition of individuals who reside in the area may be challenging. Residents in the zip code areas representing the food desert in our study had lower income and education levels than the average for the city as a whole. Prior research shows that people with lower levels of education or income are likely to have difficulties in understanding food-related information (Cowburn & Stockley, 2005). Furthermore, repeated interventions

should be followed in order to reinforce their behavior. The use of repeated interventions has been tested for tobacco users (Solberg, Maciosek, Edwards, Khanchandani, & Goodman, 2006), and relapsed smokers (Gourlay, Forbes, Marriner, Pethica, & McNeil, 1995), and has been recommended for obese people (Coté & Edmundowicz, 2009; Dietrich, Pietrobelli, Dämon, & Widhalm, 2008). Thus, two critical issues become apparent: 1) making the content of the intervention appropriate to the residents in the food desert; and, 2) distributing the educational material effectively.

Contents of an intervention can only be appropriate if understood by the recipients. Approximately 50% of adults in this country have inadequate reading skills; this figure increase to 90% when applied to health literacy skills (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Office of Disease Prevention and Health Promotion, 2015). Hansberry et al. (2014) recommended the use of active sentences, briefly written, to improve educational materials with health messages. A number of tools exist to check reading grade level; such instruments should be utilized in the development of nutrition education resources (Boyle & Holben, 2012). Accordingly, we recommend that educational materials targeted for residents of a food desert be designed for those with limited reading proficiency. Helpful resources in developing reader-friendly nutrition education materials, such as *Simply Put: A Guide for Creating Easy-To-Read Materials* ("Simply put; a guide for creating easy-to-understand materials," 2010) and *Health Literacy: A Manual for Clinicians* (Weiss, 2003) should be incorporated to increase comprehension of the reader.

Interventions: retailers and food-service providers

Point-of-sale establishments can serve as settings for educational interventions. In the Beaumont food desert, 98 POS establishments were identified. Considering the high availability of the POS in the area, adopting in-store interventions should be considered. Prior research has tested the effectiveness of in-store interventions in promoting healthy eating. Gittelsohn, Rowan, and Gadhoke (2012) reported in-store intervention strategies such as increasing the availability of healthier food, promotions (shelf labels, posters), and community engagement increased sales of healthy foods. Similarly, Budd et al. (2017) indicated combinations of store-directed price discounts and communication strategies increased sales of healthier snacks. Nevertheless, there are some downsides of in-store interventions. Budd et al. (2017) provided performance-based monetary incentives (10-30% wholesale discounts) to small food store owners making store-directed price discounts of healthy items available to customers. Storeowners expressed concerns about discontinuation of such incentives because customers were extremely price-sensitive.

Franchised establishments may employ nutrition professionals and retail specialists who assist in efforts to educate shoppers about healthy eating on a budget. However, almost 60% of POS establishments in our study were independently owned. It might be beneficial for future studies to determine the willingness of stakeholders and local resources to partner with independently owned establishments thus joining efforts in educating consumers in food deserts regarding healthier menu items when shopping monies are scarce.

Interventions: community assets

Community assets can also serve as educational intervention sites. Prior research has emphasized the importance of community-based interventions. Community-based health promotion programs include a wide range of elements including workplaces, places of worship, health care facilities, and schools, using multiple individual-level interventions strategies, and including contests and competitions (Merzel & D'Afflitti, 2003). Our discussion highlights the role of faith-based and academic institutions as a platform where educational materials can be distributed.

Churches and other faith organizations are gaining popularity as places to conduct health promotion programs (e.g., Ammerman et al., 2002; Campbell et al., 2007; Goldmon & Roberson Jr, 2004; Peterson, Atwood, & Yates, 2002). Typically, such institutions have a variety of resources (human, intellectual, capital, social, and spiritual). In addition, the faith tenets of most religious institutions encourage the promotion of holistic health, healing, and living. More importantly, churches are conveniently situated to facilitate participation of hard-to-reach populations. Of 79 community assets identified in the Beaumont food desert, about 80% were faith-based institutions. In our case, the places of worship were relatively

evenly located in the area, offering easy accessibility to people without personal transportation, which can be a common challenge of residents in food deserts. We agree with Newlin, Dyess, Allard, Chase, and Melkus (2012) that faith-based organizations have potential for health promotion in diverse populations if intervention efforts are carefully designed. In a community-based participatory research (CBPR) study design, Wilcox et al. (2007) addresses the potential of faith-based interventions but offers several “lessons learned” including 1) complexities of a large hierarchic organization, especially when staff turnover occurs; 2) flexibility in planning efforts are needed on the part of researchers since health promotion efforts are not the primary mission of the institution; and 3) the geographic location between faith-based organizations and universities in the CBPR approach can present logistic challenges for the effort. As previously stated, a university campus is located in the Beaumont food desert area; therefore, this may not be a concern should a CBPR approach be used as a design for a future nutrition education intervention in this area.

Only 18% of the 79 community assets were academic institutions in the Beaumont food desert (11 public school campuses, two parochial school campuses, and one university). The presence of the university in the same geographic area as the food desert can be considered fortunate, allowing for better access and communication between the university faculty members and faith-based institutions and schools in the area. Partnering efforts of the university with community stake holders, including those in the school campuses and faith-based organizations within the food desert can be advantages for all entities. The university offers several graduate and undergraduate programs including those where students are pursuing degrees in nutrition, hospitality administration, health, and family studies. Internships and/or field experiences, provide experiential types of learning to these university students. Collaborating with community stakeholders can result in health promotion efforts aimed at alleviating food insecurity and be beneficial for the students, professors, and community members.

Conclusion/implications

The primary objective of this research was to develop a map of food accessibility in an urban food desert, and to make area-specific suggestions for health promotion. Using secondary data available on Google Maps, we plotted all the available establishments in the area on a customized map to visualize the interested food desert area. Then, we identified available community assets such as schools and faith-based organizations on the map. Taking consideration into what is readily available in the area, we provide insightful implications on how to improve the food environment by helping residents to make healthy food choice and by increasing healthy food accessibility in the area. Our research can be considered a case-study model for similar areas; thus it can be beneficial to both researchers and community stakeholders who desire to evaluate food deserts and identify POS establishments, to determine the extent of food scarcity, as well as community assets, to identify platforms for providing nutrition intervention and healthy promotion.

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Table 1. Selected Demographics in Beaumont

	City of Beaumont	77701	77705
Population	118,424	13,216	40,819
Educational Attainment: Percent high school graduate or higher	85.6%	70.6%	77.9%
Median Household Income	\$45,268	\$27,309	\$38,356
Health Insurance Coverage	79.6%	64.8%	79.7%
Individuals below poverty level	19.7%	27.7%	25.0%
Black or African American alone	57,025 (48.2%)	7,085 (53.6%)	17,517 (42.9%)
Hispanic or Latino	17,536 (14.8%)	3,516 (26.6%)	1,724 (17.5%)

Source: 2013-2017 American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates

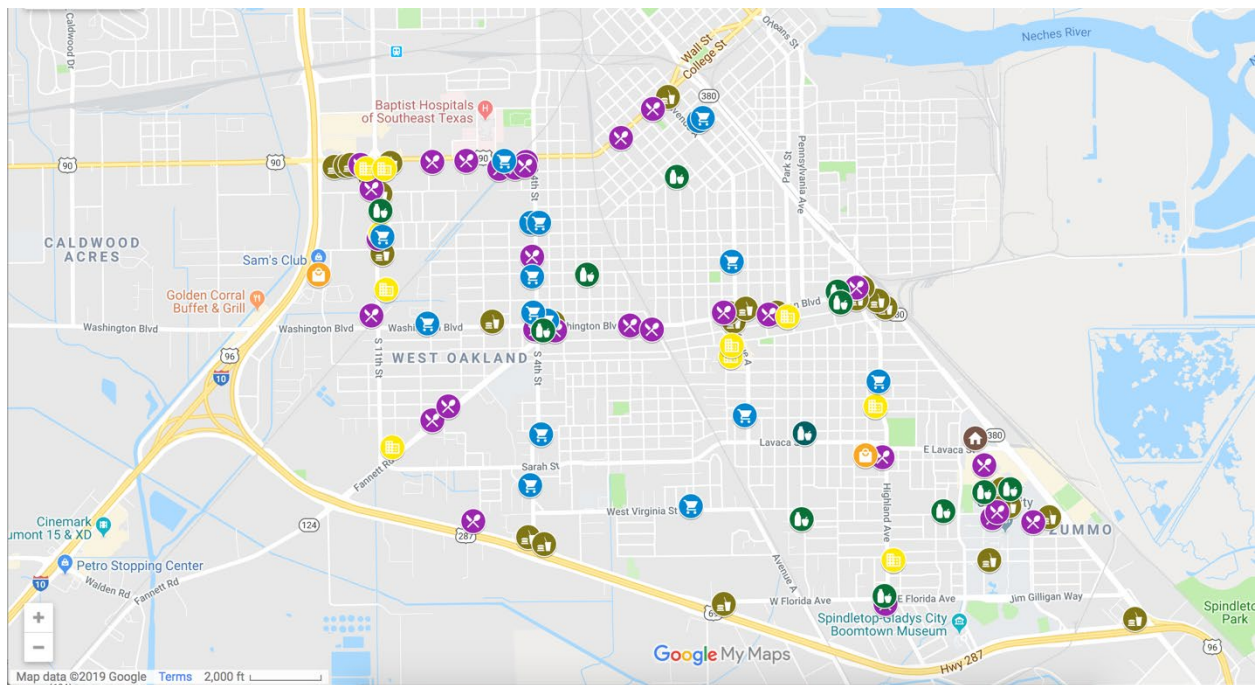


Figure 1. Restaurants and grocery stores/markets in the Beaumont food desert

Table 2. Legend of point-of-sales in the Beaumont food desert

Category	Symbol	n	% in category	% in total
Restaurants		58	100%	60.2%
Franchise Restaurants	Burger and Drink Icon	29	50%	29.6%
Independently Owned Restaurants	Knife and Spoon Icon	29	50%	29.6%
Grocery Stores/Markets		40	100%	40.8%
Franchise Grocery Store	Shopping Bag Icon	2	5.0%	20%
Franchise Mini Market	Building Icon	10	25.0%	10.2%
Independently Owned Grocery Store	Shopping Cart Icon	14	35.0%	14.3%
Independently Owned Mini Market	Bottle and cup Icon	14	35.0%	14.3%
Total		98		

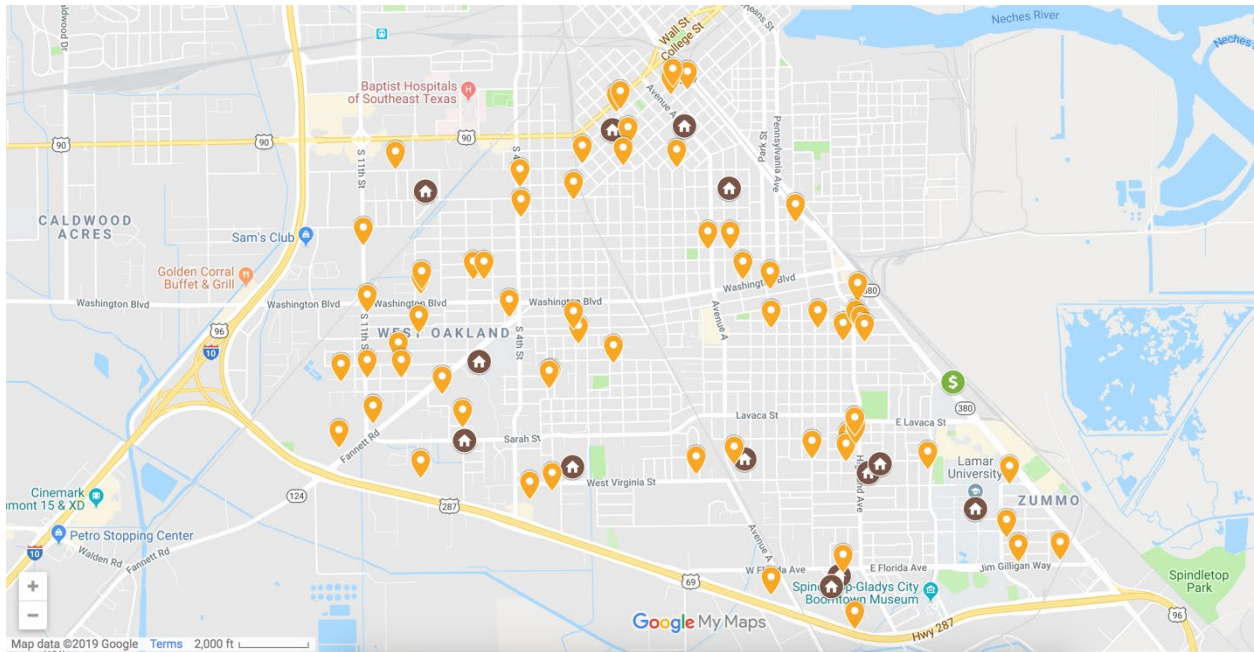


Figure 2. Community assets in the Beaumont food desert

Table 3. Legend of community assets in the Beaumont food desert

Category	Symbol	n	% in total
Food Bank	Dollar	1	1.3%
Schools	Building	14	17.7%
Faith-based institutions	Pin	64	81.0%
Total		79	

Introduction of Panera Bread in Carrollton, Georgia: Analysis of Perceptions

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Carrollton, Georgia lacks healthier fast food options. With the Greenbelt being recently finished, more and more of the community members are focusing on their health. Healthier options for a quick lunch or dinner only include dropping in on Pita Pit, going into a grocery store market, or sitting down at a restaurant such as Corner Café. Panera Bread is one of those fast food options that would provide a high-quality service that meets the needs of those wanting more. Having a Panera Bread in Carrollton will allow the community to choose something to eat that is better for themselves and their children.

Panera Bread offers a variety of soups, sandwiches, salads, breads, and pastries. Their food also varies depending on the time of year, so every different season there is something new for you to try. They also do breakfast in the morning and offer all-day coffee and pastries. This provides a more diverse arrangement of options than most fast food or healthier choices in Carrollton.

Panera Bread forms its brand identity with its slogan, "Food as it should be." The slogan offers the idea that their food is natural, handpicked, and crafted the way it should be. The interior atmosphere of every Panera Bread that you enter provides the feeling of freshness, and when you dine with them, they give you pottery plates and silverware instead of plastics.

Panera Bread bakes its bread and pastries every day, and what is left at the end of the day, they donate to local hunger relief and charitable organizations which they call "Day-End Doughnation." Panera Bread also provides a "Bakers-In-Training" program that according to their website, introduces kids to kitchen essentials and the fundamentals of baking. Having this type of business in town who is also a philanthropist can better the community and surrounding areas. Firms with a strong corporate social conscience can teach the budding youth better values, customer service, and work ethic.

We think that a Panera Bread could be successful in Carrollton. There is demand for a healthy fast food restaurant in Carrollton, but there are not many restaurants in Carrollton that cater to quick, healthy eating. We think that there is an opportunity for Panera Bread in Carrollton, and a marketing research study with a questionnaire may help prove it. Indeed, Regaudie (2019) demonstrated the benefits of marketing research in the restaurant industry, as a useful tool to improve customer experience and gain competitive advantage.

Methodology

Questionnaire

Our questionnaire consists of 11 questions with three questions evaluating several dimensions of a statement. The problems we provided were used to collect information on the type of people that want a healthier option and the qualities that make them up. We began the questionnaire with demographic questions to find out what the ideal customer for Panera Bread.

The next set of questions was numeric data as well. It focused on "how many times a week," that respondents ate out, used a drive-thru, sat down, and exercised. We also included a question about how much they spent on a single meal. The rest of the questionnaire consisted of Likert variables. The first set

focused on different aspects that respondents find essential while choosing a restaurant. Then, we asked if they had ever eaten at Panera Bread. The second set of Likert variables focused on those same aspects that they find essential while eating at Panera Bread. Finally, the last question asked if respondents would like to have Panera Bread in Carrollton, Georgia.

In our questionnaire, we used a 5-point Likert scale (Strongly Disagree, Disagree, Neither Agree Nor Disagree, Agree, and Strongly Agree) for many questions that we used in our analysis. A 5-point Likert scale is very commonly used, though there are some researchers who have examined the use of a 3-point scale rather than a 5-point one. See, for example Lehman and Hulbert's (1972) work on 3-point scales.

Data Collection

To collect the data, we set up our questionnaire on Google survey and emailed it out to our contacts in Carrollton and the surrounding areas. We also used paper surveys on campus by handing them out to our class, standing out around campus and asking people to take it and setting up a questionnaire box in the library for those people who had an extra 5 minutes to take it. We also handed out paper surveys to our colleagues. We had 401 usable responses from our questionnaire.

Analysis

We analyzed the 401 responses using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS). This Analysis section is organized into the following sub-sections: Data Summary and dimension reduction, Hypothesis tests or t-tests of one mean and differences between means, and Tests of association.

Data Summary and Dimension Reduction

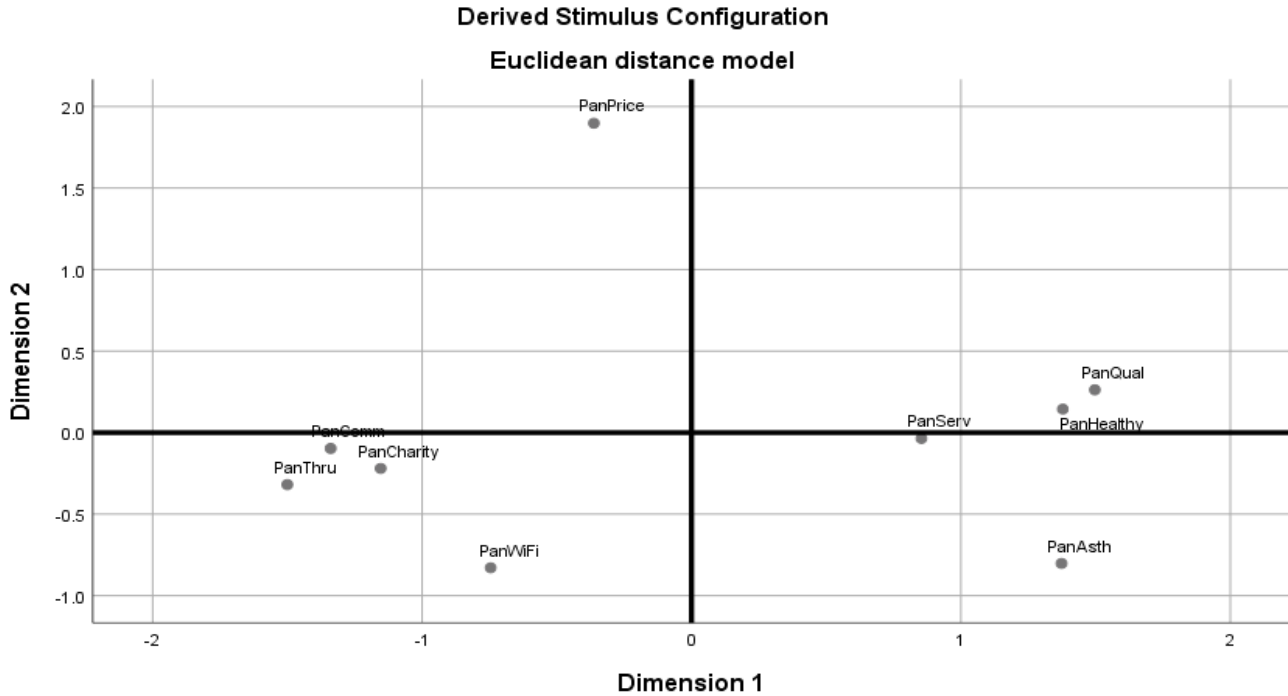
Factor analysis. We ran a Factor Analysis in order to reduce our large number of variables, which are the question of the survey, into fewer numbers of factors. Kamakura and Wedel (2000) demonstrated the benefits of factor analysis as a verification tool to provide direct estimates of factor weights without the replacement of missing data with imputed values.

<u>Attributes</u>	<u>Factor 1</u>	<u>Factor 2</u>
Quality	0.797	0.287
Healthy	0.769	0.183
Service	0.728	0.402
Price	0.698	
Aesthetics	0.519	0.334
Community	0.195	0.826
Charity	0.202	0.811
WiFi	0.183	0.691
Drive-thru	0.307	0.350

Managerial implications. We can note that the Factor Analysis helped group our different variables into two main factors. Indeed, the first factor is directly related to the product and how it is delivered. The second factor is related to the actions that have not directed impact on the product. Thus, the two factors are Product and Community Driven.

Multidimensional Scaling.

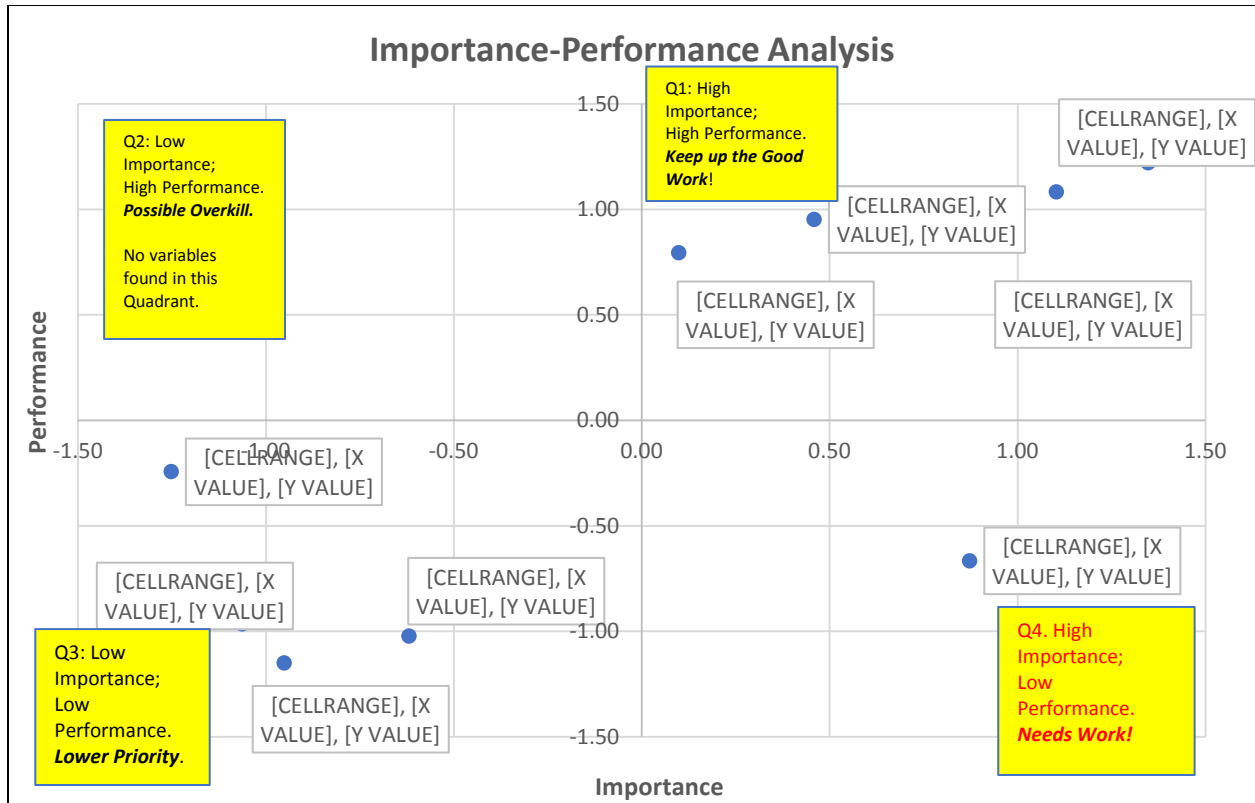
While analyzing each parameter by using a pie chart and determining which parameters are more important in the decision making, we can use a Multidimensional Scaling Technique. After running multidimensional scaling on SPSS (shown on the following page), we obtained a stress of 0.10351 which is between poor and good, and an R^2 of 0.94671 which is acceptable.



Managerial Implications: The interpretation of the variation from the left to the right on the X-axis is increasingly more product driven for Panera Bread, rather than community driven. The interpretation of the variation from the bottom to the top on Y-axis is from the parameter that are less important in the decision making to the parameter that are crucial in the decision making for eating at Panera Bread.

Importance-Performance Analysis. Martilla and James (1977) and Sethna (1977, 1982) in its early years demonstrated the benefits of importance-performance analysis, as a useful managerial tool. Here, we use it to identify which attributes need most attention.

	Raw Scores		Standardized Scores	
	Importance	Performance	Importance	Performance
Healthy Food	3.78	3.79	0.46	0.95
Price	4.09	3.33	0.87	-0.67
Aesthetics	3.52	3.74	0.10	0.79
Drive Thru.	2.67	3.24	-1.06	-0.97
Charitable Donations	2.99	3.23	-0.62	-1.02
Food Quality	4.43	3.86	1.35	1.22
Customer Service	4.25	3.83	1.10	1.08
Free Wi-Fi	2.53	3.45	-1.25	-0.24
Community Outreach	2.75	3.19	-0.95	-1.15
Mean	3.45	3.52	0.00	0.00
Std. Dev.	0.73	0.28	1.00	1.00



Quadrant 1: Keep up the good work. Healthy food, aesthetics, food quality, customer service have high importance and high performance. It indicates that the customers value such attribute as relevant to the service they consumed. There, such characteristic must be maintained and exploited to achieve its maximum benefits as a potential competitive advantage.

Quadrant 2: Possible Overkill: No attributes fell into this quadrant in this case.

Quadrant 3: Lower Priority. Drive thru, Free Wi-Fi, Community Outreach and charitable donations have low importance and low performance. It shows the attribute is underperforming, but it requires no further action since it does little to the betterment of the services in the eyes of customers who consumed it. These attributes have minimum impact to the consumed services.

Quadrant 4: Needs Work. Price has high importance but low performance. Clearly, this attribute needs work in fact and / or in perception.

Hypothesis Tests or T-Tests

We conducted t-tests in order to see what variables were significantly important to those in and around Carrollton when choosing a restaurant and about Panera Bread. We also tested to see if the average income level of our survey participants correlated to the median age of those we were testing. Lastly, we tested the average age of the sample to the median age of those we were testing to see if it were consistent with our findings.

Tests of one mean.

	N	Mean
Panera Bread is Healthy.	393	3.79
Panera Bread's Prices are Fair.	391	3.33
Panera Bread's Atmosphere is Aesthetically Pleasing.	391	3.74
Panera Bread's Drive Thru is Efficient.	388	3.24
Panera Bread is Charitable with Their Donations.	385	3.23
Panera Bread Has High Quality Food.	392	3.86
Panera Bread Provides Great Customer Service.	390	3.83
Panera Bread's Free WiFi Works Well.	387	3.45
Panera Bread Has Good Community Outreach Programs.	384	3.19

	Test Value = 3		
	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
Panera Bread is Healthy.	17.831	392	.000
Panera Bread's Prices are Fair.	6.824	390	.000
Panera Bread's Atmosphere is Aesthetically Pleasing.	16.287	390	.000
Panera Bread's Drive Thru is Efficient.	6.052	387	.000
Panera Bread is Charitable with Their Donations.	5.538	384	.000
Panera Bread Has High Quality Food.	19.051	391	.000
Panera Bread Provides Great Customer Service.	19.078	389	.000
Panera Bread's Free WiFi Works Well.	10.139	386	.000
Panera Bread Has Good Community Outreach Programs.	4.813	383	.000

	Test Value = 4		
	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
Panera Bread is Healthy.	-4.774	392	.000
Panera Bread's Prices are Fair.	-13.860	390	.000
Panera Bread's Atmosphere is Aesthetically Pleasing.	-5.597	390	.000
Panera Bread's Drive Thru is Efficient.	-18.667	387	.000
Panera Bread is Charitable with Their Donations.	-18.689	384	.000
Panera Bread Has High Quality Food.	-2.978	391	.003
Panera Bread Provides Great Customer Service.	-4.029	389	.000
Panera Bread's Free WiFi Works Well.	-12.411	386	.000
Panera Bread Has Good Community Outreach Programs.	-20.164	383	.000

Managerial implications. All the variables had means significantly less than 4, but greater than 3: Healthy, Fair Prices, Atmosphere, Drive Thru, Donations, High Quality Food, Customer Service, Wi-Fi and Outreach Programs. All these variables score higher than the mid-point of the scale, but none of them are at 4 (Agree) or better, so all of them leave some room for improvement.

We tested to see if our sample was representative of the population in terms of income and age.

	N	Mean
Approximately, what is Your Income?	336	\$36,830.1190

	Test Value = 34055		
	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
Approximately, what is Your Income?	1.326	335	.186

Managerial implications. The average income level of our sample was insignificantly different from the median income of Carrollton, GA and its surrounding areas (U.S. Census Bureau, 2017). Thus, our sample was representative of the population in terms of income.

	N	Mean	
Age	403	28.55	
	Test Value = 26		
	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
Age	4.319	402	.000

The average age of our sample was significantly greater than the median age of Carrollton, GA and its surrounding areas. The source for this information (U.S. Census Bureau, 2017) is cited in the References section.

Tests of differences between means.

Tests were done to examine if gender segments exist; in other words, to test for differences between males and females on each of the attributes studied.

	Gender	N	Mean
Panera Bread is Healthy.	Female	225	3.84
	Male	167	3.73
Panera Bread's Prices are Fair.	Female	223	3.39
	Male	167	3.26
Panera Bread's Atmosphere is Aesthetically Pleasing.	Female	225	3.85
	Male	165	3.60
Panera Bread's Drive Thru is Efficient.	Female	220	3.23
	Male	167	3.26
Panera Bread is Charitable with Their Donations.	Female	219	3.19
	Male	165	3.28
Panera Bread Has High Quality Food.	Female	224	3.91
	Male	167	3.81
Panera Bread Provides Great Customer Service.	Female	224	3.86
	Male	165	3.79
Panera Bread's Free WiFi Works Well.	Female	221	3.51
	Male	165	3.38
Panera Bread Has Good Community Outreach Programs.	Female	219	3.17
	Male	164	3.23

		Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
				Lower	Upper
Panera Bread is Healthy.	Equal variances assumed	.242	.105	-.071	.281
	Equal variances not assumed	.238	.105	-.070	.280
Panera Bread's Prices are Fair.	Equal variances assumed	.191	.128	-.064	.321
	Equal variances not assumed	.187	.128	-.062	.319
Panera Bread's Atmosphere is Aesthetically Pleasing.	Equal variances assumed	.006	.253	.073	.434
	Equal variances not assumed	.007	.253	.071	.436
Panera Bread's Drive Thru is Efficient.	Equal variances assumed	.700	-.032	-.193	.130
	Equal variances not assumed	.700	-.032	-.193	.130
Panera Bread is Charitable with Their Donations.	Equal variances assumed	.243	-.098	-.262	.067
	Equal variances not assumed	.237	-.098	-.260	.064
Panera Bread Has High Quality Food.	Equal variances assumed	.318	.092	-.089	.273
	Equal variances not assumed	.309	.092	-.086	.269
Panera Bread Provides Great Customer Service.	Equal variances assumed	.430	.069	-.103	.242
	Equal variances not assumed	.426	.069	-.102	.240
Panera Bread's Free WiFi Works Well.	Equal variances assumed	.145	.131	-.045	.307
	Equal variances not assumed	.143	.131	-.044	.306
Panera Bread Has Good Community Outreach Programs.	Equal variances assumed	.486	-.057	-.216	.103
	Equal variances not assumed	.483	-.057	-.215	.102

Managerial implications. The following variables show no significant differences between females and males: Healthy, Price, Drive Thru, Charitable, High Quality, Customer Service, Wi-Fi, Outreach program.

The following variables show significant higher means for females: Aesthetics. To better please the female demographic, Panera might want to improve the aesthetics of their restaurants.

The following variables show no significance between living in Carrollton and within 5 miles of Carrollton: Healthy, Price, Aesthetic, Charitable, High Quality, Customer Service, Wi-Fi and Outreach program.

The following variables show significant higher means for living in Carrollton: Drive thru. Most variables have no need for improvement in this section. If we want to improve the outlook in Carrollton though, management may want to improve the drive thru time. However, because the food is made fresh at Panera it will take longer to prepare the food for the drive thru.

All the variables we tested show no significant difference between living 5-10 miles of Carrollton and living 10+ miles from Carrollton: Healthy, Price, Aesthetic, Drive thru, Charitable, High Quality, Customer Service, Wi-Fi, Outreach program. Management just needs to make sure that they are able to sustain this level of success.

The following variables show no significant difference between students and non-students: Healthy, Price, Aesthetic, Charitable, High Quality, Customer Service, Wi-Fi, Outreach program.

The following variables show significant higher means for students: Drive thru. In all areas but the drive thru, management needs to make no changes. However, if Panera wants to further appeal to the student demographic, they need to make improvements to the drive thru. However, because Panera makes their food fresh it will take longer to prepare the food for the drive thru.

Tests of Association

Chi Square tests, correlations, and step-wise regressions were performed in order to determine some of the most statistically significant associations between the key variables in our study.

Chi Square. We note that the Importance of Free Wi-Fi shows a significant difference between those who live in or close to Carrollton than those who live more than 5 miles away; those who live in Carrollton find it to more important. The other questions we tested such as importance of healthiness, aesthetics, price, and customer service show no significant difference between those who in, or father away from, Carrollton.

Correlations. Space limitations prevent us from including the table of correlations. Correlation analysis was done between all the variables shown in the next section on regression analysis. Significant correlations were found between some of the independent variables to be used in the regression because of the halo effect, which could lead to multicollinearity, a problem that arises when independent variables are not fully independent of one another. This would be a problem in a linear regression, but the stepwise regression used in the next section ameliorates that concern.

Regressions. In the regression shown below, the dependent variable is: Overall, I Would Like To Have Panera Bread in Carrollton. In this regression, we have explained 9.4% of the variance of the dependent variable, I Believe that Panera Bread Would Be a Great Restaurant to Have in Carrollton. Note that we used the Adjusted R-square. Based on the ANOVA, the regression as a whole is significant at the 0.000 level.

Coefficients						
Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
4	(Constant)	.340	.288		1.180	.239
	Panera Bread Has High Quality Food.	.352	.088	.290	4.002	.000
	Panera Bread's Atmosphere is Aesthetically Pleasing.	.271	.063	.230	4.265	.000
	How Much Money Do You Normally Spend on a Single Meal When Eating Out?	.024	.006	.191	3.987	.000
	Panera Bread Provides Great Customer Service.	.253	.090	.202	2.800	.005

a. Dependent Variable: Overall, I Would Like To Have Panera Bread in Carrollton.

The final regression equation is: Overall, I Would Like to Have a Panera Bread in Carrollton = 0.290 * Panera Bread Has High Quality Food + 0.230 * Panera Bread's Atmosphere is Aesthetically Pleasing + 0.191 * How Much Money Do You Normally Spend on a Single Meal When Eating Out + 0.202 * Panera Bread Provides Great Customer Service.

Managerial implications. Based on the regression analysis above, our respondents' opinions on Panera Bread's high-quality food, aesthetically pleasing atmosphere, and great customer service were three of the four important variables that affected our respondent's opinion that they would like to have Panera Bread in Carrollton. The fourth important variable was how much money they normally spent on a single meal when eating out. Therefore, if there was Panera Bread in Carrollton, the managers should take these opinions into consideration when marketing towards people in Carrollton and operating their restaurant.

It is worth noting that the first, second, and fourth variable are controllable by Panera Bread. The third variable (How Much Money Do You Normally Spend on a Single Meal When Eating Out) is not controllable but could be used by a regional manager to determine if the spending habits of people in Carrollton are in line with Panera Bread's pricing.

Conclusions

In conclusion, when looking at the data that we have collected we can determine that we should bring a Panera Bread location to Carrollton. When looking at the data collected and running it through our regression, we can note that the most important variables to consider are of healthy food, better quality food, charitable donations, aesthetically pleasing atmosphere, great customer service, and how much money customers normally spent on a single meal when eating out. Of these variables all of them except for the money the customer spends on a single meal are controllable by Panera. When looking at these qualities we can see that Panera does a good job at controlling the quality of their food, and customer service. It was a surprise to see that charitable donations were an important variable when earlier on in the data, we saw that charitable donations were not important. About charitable donations, we calculated that about 63% of the people that we surveyed did not agree or disagree that that Panera Bread was charitable with their donations. Also, we see that the importance of charitable donations is a 3.23 on a scale of 1 to 5. This shows that when it comes to the regression, charitable donations are only significant when looking at the dependent variable I believe that Panera Bread would be a great restaurant to have in Carrollton. Overall though, charitable donations do not play a very important role in all our other statistics.

When it comes to the aesthetics, and how healthy the food a few different demographics think these areas need to be improved. We see that on the test of two means that the variables are more

important to one demographic more than another, but overall there is a lot of importance placed on these variables. Looking at the Importance-Performance table again, we see a score for aesthetics at 3.74 and for healthy food at 3.79. These scores show that the variables are very important for Panera to look at. While for the individual demographics these categories might need some work, in the overall scheme of the project these are categories that the survey population thought Panera Bread did well on. This consensus once again shows itself in the regression, since these two variables were stated to be important variables for Panera Bread.

One variable that we can see that has done poorly throughout the statistics is the efficiency of the drive thru. On our Likert scale, we note that the efficiency of Panera Bread's drive thru scored a 3.24 out of 5. This is a low score on the performance graph. This suggests that management really needs to focus on the drive thru and try and make it more efficient. We can also see that about 61% of the survey population neither agree nor disagree that the Panera Bread drive thru is efficient. While this variable shows up as a low number and is something that needs to be improved upon, there are not really many effective ways to do that. Panera Bread prepares their food fresh for the customer, this means that it will take a little longer on average to make the meal than it would at a fast food restaurant such as Burger King or McDonalds. If Panera attempts to make their drive thru faster and more efficient, there is a chance that they could sacrifice the quality of their food, a category that they did extremely well on, for a category that they are not doing as well in. While this would help increase the score for the efficiency of the drive thru, this would hurt the quality of the food, which is a category that separates Panera Bread from its competition. So, while the performance graph says that this variable is low, we can expect it to be lower than normal because of the quality of the food. With all this data in mind, we conclude that Panera Bread would be a great restaurant to have in Carrollton, Georgia.

Recommendations

Based on the analysis done for Panera Bread, it is overall perceived that the restaurant would bring good benefits to Carrollton based on the outcome of the respondents. Most would say that the restaurant succeeds in having high quality food, pleasing aesthetics, etc. Our respondents feel that introducing a Panera Bread into Carrollton would make a difference as to being able to have a healthy food alternative to choose among other fast food restaurants that the city has already. The majority put more importance on the quality/healthiness of food, atmosphere, and customer service. Remarkably, most of the respondents that did not agree or disagree with Panera's charitable donations are not fully aware of how charitable Panera Bread is. What we notice is that Panera Bread does not fully promote this aspect of the restaurant. We feel that if Panera were to exhibit this point of their donations, more attention would draw to the generosity they give.

With the aesthetics part of Panera, customers placed importance on how pleasing the appearance is for them. While Panera Bread presents a nice setting, we would recommend for Panera Bread to ensure that they convey a setting that gives an atmosphere that is different from what customers see at other restaurants. This could include the décor used, cleanliness, layout, plating of food, etc. The type of setting a restaurant presents takes a big part in the success of the business. What Panera Bread should do to enhance more of the aesthetics of the restaurant is to appeal to the senses of the customers, those being sight, hearing, smell, taste, and touch. This would be Panera's way of getting the most of customer's reactions thus increasing the enjoyment and experience of visiting the restaurant. It would be a good idea for Panera to always stay on top of trends by using research and analyses tools so that they can incorporate those trends into the restaurants.

The efficiency of the drive thru did not demonstrate that it is very effective among customers and some would say that some improvement would make it more efficient. As stated in the conclusions section, increasing the efficiency of the drive thru could potentially harm the quality of their best attribute, the food of Panera Bread. With the emergence of demand for more health-conscious food, competition would most likely increase for Panera Bread. Panera Bread very well demonstrates that they differentiate with the quality/healthiness of their food with the natural ingredients and using food items that are chemical free with no additives. It would be recommended that the restaurant continue to maintain that image of providing food that falls more into more of the nutritious or high-quality category. It is

important to keep in mind that though the drive-thru scored low on the Likert Scale, it does not mean that the food itself is not worth waiting for while being in the drive thru. With, Panera bread does offer other alternatives for those who are in need to get food quicker than what you would get through the drive thru, thus helping to minimize wait time. Panera Bread offers the service of either ordering online or having your food delivered to you. We don't often see the restaurant promote this service a lot so it would be recommended that they better promote these services, so they don't have to sacrifice the quality of the food through the drive thru. Overall, since they are most differentiated based on their good customer service and unique customer experience, we would suggest that the restaurant keep providing such services and investigate other ways to help keep differentiating their restaurant using analytics.

Limitations

There are a couple of limitations regarding this research project that we are aware of which are worth noting. First, our sample was a convenience sample rather than a random sample. A random sample is more likely to be representative of the population. A true random sample is the best way of conducting a survey, because there is a known probability of any one person being selected to be in the sample. It helps provide a reasonably representative selection of people in the population. When doing a convenience sample, we sample people who are easy to reach instead of including representative sections of the population. A convenience sample does not give everyone that is being surveyed an equal or known probability of being selected, compared to a random sample where individuals in the population have an equal or known probability of being selected. This limitation is slightly ameliorated by the finding that our sample was consistent with that of the population in terms of gender. The percentage of females in our sample was not significantly different from that of the population at a level of significance (alpha) of 0.01.

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