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An examination of perceptions of ethnoviolence among urban middle and high school students

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AN EXAMINATION OF PERCEPTIONS OF ETHNOVIOLENCE AMONG URBAN MIDDLE AND HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS

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Marc Lo. Rosa

Dedication

In grateful memory of my mother

Zakeya Hamdan

(1933-1996)

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Background

The increasing number of violent crimes committed by young people under the age of 18 have made violence an issue of epidemic proportions (American Psychological Association [APA], 1993; Spivak, Hausman & Prothrow-Stith, 1989). Consequently, researchers took on the study of youth violence, focusing their efforts on explaining causes of violent behaviors, and devising intervention and prevention strategies (Noguera, 1998). However, one area that has not been researched extensively is the problem of bias-based violence among middle and high school students. This type of violence, often referred to as hate crimes, or ethnoviolence, is rarely acknowledged by school systems.

Ethnoviolence represents a peculiar form of violent conflict rooted in the dynamics of minority-majority relations. Furthermore, this conflict has often been characterized as intractable and deep rooted, with psychological dimensions of the tension often prevailing over political and economic reasons (Ross, 1995). Conflicts that could be resolved easily in the rational realm have become complicated due to the way ethnic groups identify and perceive themselves: 'us' versus 'them' (outsiders). The way both cultures perceive their individual cultures and histories, as well as covert and overt threats directed toward their existence contribute to the ethnic conflict that is occurring.

While schools generally include a nondiscriminatory clause in their literature, most do not address problems associated with ethnoviolence in either their school handbooks or school policies. Incidents of this nature generally are defined and reported as harassment.

Ethnoviolence is manifested by acts ranging from everyday expressions of ethnic intimidation, verbal insults, harassment, graffiti, and other displays of commonly identified symbols of prejudice or group hatred to brutal forms of physical assaults and arson (Ehrlich, 1995). According to the National Institute Against Prejudice and Violence, ethnoviolence rates have increased since the mid-1980s, and surged by 24% in 1991-92 (Pincus & Ehrlich, 1994). In addition, the Uniform Crime Report (UCR) of 1995 indicated that 7,947 hate crimes were reported nationally; 60% of these hate crimes were inspired by racial bias. Religious bias was the second most frequently reported motivation for hate crimes (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 1996).

America's school systems should address the needs of diverse student populations for a safe and orderly environment that is conducive to learning and development of positive relations between students of different cultures. Therefore, schools should be concerned with the problem of ethnoviolence. As this type of violence expands to schools, it diverts valuable resources and energy from learning. Furthermore, since schools are a reflection of the general society, they may bear the brunt of ethnic and racial animosities and become a fertile ground for the development of ethnic conflict and violence. The proliferation of ethnic conflict and violence proliferate renders school climates as unsafe and counterproductive to teaching, learning, and positive inter-ethnic relations. Furthermore, teachers and students may begin to feel unsafe as they become witnesses to, or victims of, this and other forms of conflict and violence.

Ethnoviolent acts should not be underestimated, or thought of as distant, surreal occurrences. Contrary to social myths that deny the existence of school ethnoviolence, or minimize its impact, minority students are becoming potential victims of

ethnoviolence. As in most cultures, certain people who belong to minority groups often are treated differently than the majority population. These minorities may be exposed to negative stereotypes, prejudice, frustration, and even physical and verbal abuse. Frequently, victims of ethnoviolence or hate crimes are members of negatively stereotyped groups (Craig & Waldo, 1996).

The lack of attention by schools to the issue of ethnoviolence is a result of the outgrowth of the sense of denial, or the gap between the reality and myth surrounding ethnoviolence. Few resources, other than standard violence prevention or anger/conflict management curricula, have been made available to students to assist them in dealing with rising problems of ethnoviolence.

Denying ethnoviolence and minimizing its impact could be a reflection of an educational system that has been rigid and relatively ethnocentric throughout America's history. America's school system has been described by Rogers (1983) as the most traditional, conservative, rigid, bureaucratic institution in history, and most resistant to change. This tendency to preserve the status quo serves as an impediment to creating a school system that is responsive and sensitive to the various educational, cultural, and emotional needs of school children. These needs include a safe and positive school climate that is free of hate, violence and ethnic animosities.

Furthermore, the educational system's emphasis on majority cultural values, beliefs, and ethnocentricity defy the notion of an equitable learning environment which is considered essential to improving intergroup relations and dealing effectively with prejudices and stereotypes. The educational system has failed both minority and majority students by providing unrealistic views of society in general, as well as distorted views of ethnic minorities (Lehman, 1992).

In a rapidly changing world that includes increased ethnic and cultural diversity, individuals must be able to work, play, and live side-by-side with people of different cultures, ethnicity, religions, gender, race, etc. As today's students are tomorrow's potential leaders, they should be provided with opportunities and experiences to teach them to respect and value each others' differences and human universality, while cherishing their unique backgrounds.

The nation's racial and ethnic makeup has been gradually changing since the mid-1960s, due partly to a greater influx of immigrants who were once barred by discriminatory and restrictive immigration policies, as well as a natural population growth. According to a report by the American Association of School Administrators and the National School Boards Association (1991), the noted demographer Hodgkinson suggested that population growth between 1980-1990 has been unprecedented. He reported that during this period, White population grew by almost 16 million or 8%, Blacks increased by 4 million or 16%, Hispanics grew by 6 million or 44%, and Asians and others grew by 3 million or 65% . One in four Americans has African, Hispanic or Native American ancestry. By year 2050, that number is expected to be one in three (Duvall, 1994).

This increasing diversity is reflected within American classrooms. It is estimated that by the year 2000, non-Whites will occupy up to 40% of American K-12 classrooms (Cox, 1998). This change in ethnic demographics makes it important for American schools to devote more time and energy to address the needs of their current and new enrollees. These needs include a school climate that is conducive to learning and excellence which requires a safe, violence-free environment. This goal can be partially achieved by promoting positive problem solving, and implementing a value

system that appreciates America's diversity and respect for different cultures. Schools continue to be vital institutions that can provide well-managed and organized opportunities for learning, and help develop positive social relations among students, faculty, and staff.

Statement of the Problem

Various social institutions, including schools, have made attempts at managing and understanding increasing forms of violence. However, schools' efforts failed to focus on the distinct nature of ethnoviolence and its prevalence. This type of violence linked to prejudice and intolerance victimized entire communities, leading to more violence and discrimination. There is a need to understand the magnitude of the problem of ethnoviolence and the motives behind it. According to Pincus & Ehrlich (1994), several reasons that contributed to the increase in ethnoviolence included:

- An increase in competition
- Desire for group acceptance
- Racism, and
- Prejudice

Understanding these motives is essential for the development of effective and proactive educational programs, and implementation of intervention designs to enhance learning, and creation of a positive school climate. This study should help broaden the understanding of the phenomena and magnitude of school ethnoviolence, and foster interest in the design of programs to reduce the occurrence of adolescent ethnoviolence.

It is important to recognize the importance of affective factors (i.e., safe environment) that have a significant impact on students learning. This relationship was

recognized by the seventh National Education Goal which promoted safe learning environments. The seventh National Education Goal provided that by the year 2000, America's schools will offer a disciplined environment that is conducive to learning, and that is free of drugs, violence, unauthorized firearms, and alcohol (Gronlund, 1993). Maslow (1954) discussed this relationship in his well-known theory on human motivation. He suggested that before individuals can feel motivated to work toward satisfying their higher growth needs (i.e., desire to know and understand), their lower deficiency needs (i.e., safety, belonging, love) have to be satisfied. Safety is a fundamental, basic psycho-biological organizing system that guides the development of interpersonal schemata and strategies; it has a major effect on the internal maturation and organization of psychological competencies, learning functions, and motivations (Gilbert, 1993). Safe environments enhance creativity, cooperative behavior, affiliative behavior, exploration, and risk-taking. Thus, safety needs are related to a broad set of needs that have traditionally received attention from educators.

The importance of attending to such non-cognitive factors is reflected by the increasing realization that cognitive development is complemented by development in the personal and social arenas. If schools are to achieve their educational mission and produce productive citizens, then it is necessary to provide education in personal, social, and vocational domains as part of the curriculum (Linney & Seidman, 1989; Morrison, 1989). While the focus of these efforts is usually on academic learning, the development of socially and personally competent citizens is receiving more attention as a target for direct intervention. In this regard, Hyman (1979) distinguishes between education and schooling: "Education has to do with the processes of learning; schooling is the means by which social, political and economic factors shape the learning environment" (p.

1025). The success in providing a safe school environment will affect the extent to which students are provided the crucial human right of fair treatment and supportive social circumstances that allow one's development to full capacity.

Children who become exposed to repetitive violent experiences may suffer in their cognitive development and their ability to form close attachments, causing them psychological and physiological harm. As a result, children become occupied by their fears while developing defenses to deal with their traumatic experiences. Energy that is spent on developing defense mechanisms is energy that is not available for their learning and academic achievement (Prothrow-Stith & Quaday, 1995).

Moreover, children who are witnesses to chronic violence may also exhibit additional learning problems such as poor concentration, short attention span, and a general decline in academic performance (Lorion & Saltzman, 1993). Recurrent trauma may cause denial in children. As a result, their memories may become fragmented. When asked a specific question, these children may demonstrate difficulty remembering. However, if you remind them of what happened, they may remember. This behavior is not an act of defiance or uncooperativeness, but rather an act of emotional "numbing" meant to protect them from fear and feelings of helplessness. Serious trauma, whether a single episode or recurring events, hinders children's abilities to assimilate skills and transfer them from one area of experience or interest to another (Prothrow-Stith & Quaday, 1995).

This study has important implications not only on the development of adequate programming in the area of a positive school climate, but also in terms of addressing students' mental and emotional wellness. Ethnoviolence research shows that persons victimized for reasons of prejudice often suffer more psychologically than those

victimized by other types of crimes. Pincus & Ehrlich (1994) found that White and Black victims of ethnoviolence reported more symptoms of psycho-physiological stress than Black and White victims of other crimes. They also reported research findings that showed that some victims of ethnoviolence withdrew from social relationships or complained of having difficult relations with family, friends, and significant others. Furthermore, children who are exposed to violent environments may exhibit school behaviors that reflect opposite ends of a behavior continuum. On one hand, they may be aggressive and disruptive. On the other hand they may be withdrawn and depressed. Regardless of the behavior, neither present an emotional state of mind that is conducive to learning (Council of Chief State School Officers, 1991).

Finally, school age children who live in violent and neglectful environments often manifest a number of physical health problems such as sleep disorders, headaches, stomach aches, and asthma attacks that can ultimately interfere with school attendance and learning (Prothrow-Stith & Quaday, 1995).

This study examined male and female middle and high school students with multicultural backgrounds perceptions of ethnoviolence, as well as personal experiences relating to their involvement with ethnoviolence either personally or peripherally through their peers.

Research Questions

This study addressed the following research questions:

1. Is there a difference among middle and high school students' perceived experiences with ethnoviolence in school relative to their ethnicity/racial backgrounds?

2. Is there a difference among middle and high school students' perceived experiences with ethnoviolence relative to their grade level?

3. Is there a difference between middle and high school students' perceived

experiences with ethnoviolence relative to their gender?

4. Is there a relationship between perceived experiences with ethnoviolence and the length of time students have lived in the United States?

5. Is there a difference among students with different ethnic/racial backgrounds in the strategies used to manage conflict related to ethnoviolence?

6. Is there a difference among students from different ethnic/racial backgrounds manifestations of stress symptoms related to ethnoviolence experiences?

Significance of Study

Communities demand that schools provide an environment conducive to learning. In addition, students require a safe environment in order to learn effectively. To respond to demands of communities and needs of students for safety, local school administrators and teachers must be aware of and understand their students' perceptions of experiences with ethnoviolence at school.

This study sought to contribute to existing knowledge on school ethnoviolence by providing empirical evidence of students' perceived experience with ethnoviolence. Knowledge of students' perceived experiences is important as it may help schools generate programs and policy implications to address problems associated with ethnoviolence. The results of this study may also be helpful in defining what constitutes ethnoviolence, and what is needed to make the transition to an ethnoviolence-free school. A study of this type is important as young adults are as likely to be victims of hate motivated assault and assault in general as they are to be perpetrators of hate crime (Craig & Waldo, 1996).

Furthermore, schools need to understand students' mode of conflict management styles while dealing with ethnoviolence. This study sought to identify students' mode of managing ethnoviolent conflicts, as identifying students' conflict management styles may assist schools in designing and facilitating effective ethnoviolence prevention

programs and curricula. Students may also benefit by being able to identify effective ethnic conflict management styles and strategies.

Finally, this study attempted to create an understanding of stress symptoms associated with ethnoviolent experiences. School personnel need to be cognizant of such symptoms in order to develop effective student assistance and counseling programs with specific emphasis on ethnoviolence prevention. All students, whether perpetrators, victims, or spectators, need such programs to create a safe and orderly environment within school.

Definition of Terms

The terms below have the following operational definitions for this study:

African-American. The term African-American pertains to American Blacks, or American Blacks of African decent.

Arab-Americans. Arab Americans are defined as immigrants to the United States and their offspring who have immigrated from any of the Arab League countries, and/or identify themselves as being of Arabic-speaking origin and ancestry (Abraham & Abraham, 1982).

Aggravated assault. An unlawful attack by one person upon another wherein the offender uses a weapon or displays it in a threatening manner, or the victim suffers obvious severe or aggravated broken bones, loss of teeth, possible internal injury, severe laceration, or loss of consciousness (Michigan State Board of Education [MSBE], 1996).

Assault. An unlawful attack by one person upon another (MSBE, 1996).

Culture. Culture is the totality of socially transmitted behavior patterns, arts, beliefs, and all other products of human work and thought (American Heritage Dictionary, 1995).

Discrimination. A corollary of prejudice that constitutes actions that deny equal treatment to a category of people and results in the restriction of opportunities or social rewards available to others (Ehrlich, 1995).

Ethnic. The term ethnic refers to sizable groups of people sharing a common and distinctive racial, national, religious, linguistic, or cultural heritage. This includes being a member of a particular ethnic group (American heritage Dictionary, 1995).

Ethnicity. Ethnicity refers to identity with or membership in a particular racial, national, or cultural group, and observance of that group's customs, beliefs, and language (American Heritage Dictionary, 1995).

Ethnocentrism. Ethnocentrism is the belief that one's own group, race, or culture is superior to all others (American Heritage Dictionary, 1995).

Ethnoviolence. Ethnoviolence is violence that is motivated by prejudice, and includes all manifestation of violence, such as racial or ethnic slurs, name calling, physical violence, intimidation, harassment, property damage, and arson (Pincus & Ehrlich, 1994).

Hate crime. Any act or attempted act (often used interchangeably with ethnoviolence) that is intended to cause physical injury, emotional suffering, or property damage through intimidation, harassment, racial/ethnic slurs and other crimes motivated by hostility to the victims real or perceived race, ethnicity, religion, or sexual orientation (Bodinger-deUriarte & Sancho, 1991).

Hispanic. A broad term that encompasses all Spanish-speaking people in North and South America. This term emphasizes language as the common denominator of language between communities that sometimes have little else in common (American Heritage Dictionary, 1995).

Intimidation. Intimidation is placing another person in reasonable fear of bodily harm through the use of threatening words and or/ conduct, but without displaying a weapon or without subjecting the victim to actual physical attack (MSBE, 1996).

Minority group. A minority group can be defined as a group of people, who firmly believe that they are ethnically and/or culturally distinct from the rest of the population. In addition, the group perceives itself as numerically smaller and politically less powerful than the dominant group in a country's population. The term is relative, that is, it is meaningful in relation to the "majority." Furthermore,

	minority status is not a permanent characterization of an ethnic or racial group: demographic changes, border changes, mass migration, and radical social changes leading to redefinition of social boundaries can make a minority majority and vice versa (Eriksen, 1993).
Minority students.	Students identifying with a minority group.
Non-aggravated assault.	An unlawful attack by one person upon another where neither the offender displays a weapon, nor the victim suffers obvious severe or aggravated bodily injury involving apparent broken bones, loss of teeth, possible internal injury, severe laceration, or loss of consciousness (MSBE, 1996).
Prejudice.	A set of interrelated beliefs, feelings, and motivations that are negative and unfavorable (Ehrlich, 1995).
Stereotypes.	A set of cognitive generalizations that summarize, organize, and guide the processing of information about members of a particular group (Johnson & Johnson, 1994).
Verbal abuse.	Name-calling, racial or ethnic slurs or derogatory statements directed at others, and designed to precipitate disruption, incite violence or impede the school program. It includes profanity which is vulgar, abusive, irreverent language (MSBE, 1996).
Violence.	A unjust or unwarranted exercise of force, usually with the accompaniment of vehemence, outrage or fury (MSBE, 1996).
Violent act.	Moving or acting that is characterized by physical force, especially by extreme or sudden or by unjust or improper force (Black's Law Dictionary, 1991).

Assumptions of the Study

The following assumptions are acknowledged for this study:

- There are incidents of violence against minority American students for reasons related to their race and ethnicity.
- Students will be truthful in providing responses to questions asked on the survey.

Limitations of the Study

The limitation of this study included:

- This study involved students from six districts with large minority population within the Metropolitan Detroit area. Therefore, findings may not be generalizable to districts with small minority populations.

- The study was limited to students in middle and high school students. Therefore, the results may not be generalizable to students in the elementary grade level.

- The study was limited in its scope to students' perceptions of ethnoviolent experiences at school. Therefore, the results may not constitute a reflection of students' perceptions of ethnoviolent experiences outside school.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF LITERATURE AND RELATED RESEARCH

Purpose of Review

This review of literature and related research is intended to provide an understanding of the phenomena of ethnoviolence in addition to the following related topics: magnitude of youth violence, historical background of ethnic violence in the United States, demographics and characteristics of ethnic violence, ethnic groups experiences in the Detroit Metropolitan area, hate crimes, contributing factors to ethnic violence, and theoretical explanations of ethnic conflict and group relations.

Violence

According to the American Psychological Association (APA) Commission on Violence and Youth (1993), violence refers to immediate or chronic situations that result in injury to the psychological, social, or physical well-being of individuals or groups. While several settings exist where violence in various forms often occurs (i.e., workplaces, school, home), this study focuses on one type of violence known as ethnoviolence as experienced by school-age youth in the Detroit Metropolitan area.

Violence has far-reaching effects for both the victim and the perpetrator. As the threat of such violence increases so does the need for security in a variety of settings such as schools, employment sites, public transportation and recreational facilities. (Spivak, Hausman, & Prothrow-Stith, 1989; Whitman, 1988). Furthermore, violence overwhelms communities through costs associated with emotional and physical care for victims and witnesses of violence (Whitman, 1988).

The problem of violence in the United States has reached unprecedented

proportions. Koop and Lundberg (1992) reported that approximately 50,000 Americans die as a result of suicide and homicide. Furthermore, in 1992 alone, approximately 26,000 Americans – an average of 73 per day – died as the result of interpersonal violence that year (Michigan Department of Public Health [MDPH], 1994). A growing number of these individuals are children and adolescents. The magnitude of the violence problem prompted a United States Surgeon General to declare that "violence in the United States is a public health emergency" (Novello, Shoskey & Froehlke, 1992, p. 3007). In Michigan, the toll was over 1,000 deaths as a result of violence (MDPH, 1994).

Child and Adolescent Violence

During the 1990s, the nation continued to experience an increased rate of juvenile crimes committed by juveniles or against juveniles. According to a 1993 study by the National School Boards Association (NSBA):

- Firearms are the leading cause of death of African-American males aged 15-24. They are the second leading cause of death for all American teens.
- About 135,000 guns are brought into school daily.
- An estimated 3 million crimes occur on or near schools each year.
- Sixty-three percent of incidents involving guns on school property involved high school students; 12% involved elementary students; and 1% involved preschoolers.
- Juvenile arrests for murder increased by 85% between 1987 and 1991.
- Three of every 10 juvenile murder arrests involved a victim under the age of 18 in 1991 (NSBA, 1993).

According to MDPH (1994), an analysis of The National Crime Victimization Survey of 1989 found that more than 1 in 5 students feared being attacked while going to or from school. Other findings of the survey revealed that approximately 9% of students ages 12-19 years had been victims of crime in or around their school over a six-month

period during 1988-89; 2% of the students reported being the victim of one or more violent crime incidents, usually simple assault(MDPH, 1994). Other violent crimes experienced by students included aggravated assault, robberies, and rapes. Sixth and ninth grade respondents reported the highest proportion of violent crime victimization at 3% each.

According to the APA Commission on Youth and Violence (1993), teenagers are more than twice as likely to be victims of violent crimes than people over 20. In addition, thousands of children are injured each year through non-fatal assault (Mercy & O'Connell, 1988).

The findings of the national survey by the NSBA (1993) showed that during the 1992-93 school year, 80% of all districts – from urban, suburban, and rural areas – believed that the problem of school violence was worse than it was five years ago. This survey also found that 35% of respondents believed that school violence has increased significantly. Further outcomes from the survey revealed that 78% of responding districts reported that they had experienced student assaults on other students, making this type of violence the leading cause of violence across all types of school districts. In all, 93% of responding urban districts, 81% of responding suburban districts, and 69% of responding rural districts had experienced these assaults in the last year. Students carrying weapons in schools were reported by 61% of all the surveyed districts. This problem was the second most frequently reported, and perhaps the most terrifying aspect of violence. Student vs. teacher violence (28%) and race/ethnic violence (28%) were also pervasive within schools. Gangs violence (24%), shooting/knifing (13%), and drive-by-shooting incidents (9%) were also frequently reported types of school violence.

School violence in Michigan reflected the national patterns of school violence. In

the 1995 Michigan Youth Risk Behavior Survey, which was administered to a nonrepresentative sample of Michigan high school students, a significant number of students were found to have had engaged in risky behaviors, including violence (Michigan Department of Education [MDE], 1996). The results showed:

- 33% of students had engaged in property damage or property theft.
- 24% of males indicated they had engaged in physical fights on school property.
- 9% had carried a weapon on school property.
- 9% were threatened or injured with a weapon on school property.
- 5 % had missed at least one day of school during the previous 30 days because they felt unsafe at school or traveling to or from school.
- Additional findings of the survey point out that approximately one quarter of students (22 %) seriously considered attempting suicide, 16 % made plans to commit suicide, and 8 % had actually attempted suicide (MDE, 1996).

The Michigan Youth Risk Behavior Survey of 1997 showed an increase in a multitude of risk behaviors. Table 1 shows a comparison between the findings of the 1995 and 1997 Michigan Youth Risk Behavior Surveys (see Table 1).

Table 1

Youth Risk Behaviors in Michigan

Behavior	Percent of Students		Percent Increase
	1995	1997	
Carried a Weapon on School Property	9	8	-11.1
Fought Physically on School Property (Within the Last Year)	24	36	50.0
Theft or Destruction of Property	33	35	6.1
Missed school in the last month for feeling unsafe	5	5	0.0
Considered suicide (last year)	22	24	9.1
Made suicide plans	15	19	26.7
Attempted suicide	8	10	25.0

Note. From 1995 Michigan Youth Risk Behavior Survey: Interpretive Report. Michigan Department of Education (1996), Lansing, MI. & 1997 Michigan Youth Risk Behavior Survey: Interpretive Report. Michigan Department of Education (1998), Lansing, MI.

During 1995-96, The Wayne County Regional Educational Service Agency (WCRESA) conducted a study of school violence as part of an anti-violence project funded by the U.S. Department of Education. Twenty-two Wayne County school districts participated in this study. As shown in Table 2, 12,151 students were referred for disciplinary action, with 5,556 students referred to administrators as a result of involvement in physical fights. In addition, 2,428 students were referred for disciplinary action for verbal abuse and profanities, and 121 students were referred for discriminatory harassment violations (see Table 2).

Table 2

Wayne County Schools Data, 1995-1996
Students (N= 12,151)

Reason for referral	Number of students
Alcohol/drugs/narcotics	837
Arson	26
Assault	1,121
Discriminatory harassment	121
Extortion/coercion	15
False alarms/bomb threats	45
Fighting	5,556
Homicide	0
Intimidation/personal threats	972
Larceny, robbery, theft	269
Sexual assault	8
Sexual harassment	202
Suicide	1
Vandalism/damage to property	334
Verbal abuse/ profanity	2,428
Weapons & look-a likes	187

Note. The data in column 2 are from Project SAVE; Wayne County Regional Educational Service Agency (1996), Wayne, MI. Adapted by permission.

Violence perpetrated against or caused by school age-youth is clearly a crisis. According to the U.S. Department of Justice, in 1991 over 640,000 violent crimes occurred within schools or on school property, an increase of 16% from 1989 (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 1991; 1992). More than 1 in 5 students feared being attacked while going to or from school. Other findings of the survey revealed that approximately 9% of students ages 12-19 years had been victims of crime in or around their school over a six-month period during 1988-89; and 2% of the students reported they had been victims of one or more violent crime incidents, usually simple assault (Bastian & Taylor, 1991).

The causes of school violence are complex. They can be related to the individuals involved, the school, or the community. Violent conflicts that begin elsewhere may result in violent incidents on school property (Guetzlor, 1989).

The 1993 National School Boards Association (NSBA) survey identified a number of other factors that school leaders believed have led to increases in youth

violence. When asked to identify the primary causes of violence, 77% of respondents noted "changing family situations." Respondents also noted the following key familial factors that led to increased violence:

- An increasingly inhuman society- children without loving care; children in poverty with no hope and living with addicted, abusive and violent parents.
- The elderly assuming the responsibility for raising, educating, and disciplining children and less parental care and supervision.
- Lack of connectivity with the extended family.
- Students' lack of problem solving skills (NSBA, 1993, p. 5).

There is a strong belief held by educators, as suggested by the findings of the 1993 NSBA survey, that violence is a problem that begins at home. Although parents do not necessarily place guns into their children's hands, the actions of some can lead to violence (Prothrow-Stith, 1991). She argued that parents, who are psychologically and physically abusive to their children, indirectly contribute to their children's psychological and physical abuse of others. This cycle becomes a volatile situation when an abusive relationship is combined with the drug culture, media glorifying of violence, and availability of guns (Prothrow-Stith, 1991; Spivak et al., 1989; Widom, 1989).

The community environment is another setting where children may be exposed to violence. Individuals who come from communities where violence, unemployment, and poverty are prevalent may be at greater risk for violence than individuals who come from communities without these characteristics (DuRant, Cadenced, Pendergrass, Slavens, & Linder, 1994). In addition, studies suggest that witnessing violence can be as traumatic as experiencing violence (Fitzpatrick & Boldizar, 1993).

Ethnoviolence

Background

Ethnoviolence is often referred to as hate crimes or bias-related crimes. These crimes include any act, or attempted act, that causes physical injury, emotional suffering, or property damage through intimidation, harassment, racial, ethnic slurs and bigoted epithets, vandalism, force, or the threat of force that are motivated all or in part by hostility to the victim's perceived or real race, ethnicity, religion, or sexual orientation (Bodinger-deUriarte & Sancho, 1991). Based on this definition, Bodinger-deUriarte and Sancho offered a checklist to further an understanding of the definition (see Table 3).

Table 3

Hate Crimes Definition Checklist

Definition of Hate (Ethnic/Racial) Crimes
• Hate symbols or words. • Threatening activities (i.e., cross burning, swastikas). • Jokes based on negative stereotypes. • Defacing, removing materials belonging to others. • Prior history of similar crimes against the same group. • Acts around significant occasions (i.e., holidays). • Victims' belief that the incident is bias-related. • Perpetrator exalting his or her own group. • Perpetrator demeaning the victim's group. • No apparent motive. • Presence of hate literature. • Documented/suspected hate group activity. • Destruction of places associated with other groups.

Note. From Hate Crime: A Sourcebook for schools confronting bigotry, harassment, vandalism and violence (p.66) by C. Bodinger-deUriarte and A. Sancho (1991), Southwest Regional Laboratory (SWRL).

The Hate Crimes Statistics Act of 1990 defines hate crimes as acts in which individuals are victimized because of their:

> Race, religion, sexual orientation, or ethnicity, including where appropriate the crimes of murder, non-negligent manslaughter, forcible rape, aggravated assault, simple assault, intimidation, arson and destruction, damage or vandalism of property (Hate Crimes Statistics Act, 1990).

The definition in the Federal Hate Crimes Sentencing Enhancement Act of 1994 included women and persons with disabilities in its categories of victimization. In this statute, hate crimes include those in which "the defendant intentionally selects a victim, or in the case of property crime, the property that is the object of the crime, because of the actual or perceived race, color, religion, national origin, ethnicity, gender, disability, or sexual orientation of any person" ("Hate Crimes in America," 1998, p. 6).

In 1993, the U.S. Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of Wisconsin's hate crime statute in Wisconsin v. Mitchell of 1993, which enhances the sentence of crimes in which the perpetrator intentionally selects "the victim" because of "his or her characteristics." The Wisconsin law was written to allow punishment for intent and conduct, rather than a person's prejudicial opinions ("Hate Crimes in America," 1998).

In Michigan, ethnic violence and hate crime have been defined within the context of the Michigan Ethnic Intimidation Act of 1988. The act made ethnic intimidation a felony punishable by imprisonment, fines or both. It stated that:

> . . . a person is guilty of ethnic intimidation if that person maliciously, and with specific intent to intimidate or harass another person because of that person's race, color, religion, gender, or national origin, does any of the following:
>
> - Causes physical contact with another person.
> - Damages, destroys, or defaces any real or personal property of another person.
> - Threatens, by word or act.

Although these definitions are relatively new to the American lexicon, America's history with ethnoviolence is not a recent phenomenon. From the time when Columbus landed in America and massacred hundreds of the Arawak Indians to the present time, America's history has been replete with grotesque manifestations of ethnoviolence. In

1876, Mark Twain described an attack on a Chinese immigrant:

> I have many such memories in mind, but am thinking just at present of one particular one, where the Brannan Street butchers set their dogs on a Chinaman who was quietly passing with a basket of clothes on his head; and while the dogs mutilated his flesh, a butcher increased the hilarity of the occasion by knocking some of the Chinaman's teeth down his throat with half a brick (Standart, 1977, p. 172).

In 1882, ethnic resentment in America led to the Chinese Exclusion Act, which virtually halted Chinese immigration until 1965. In 1907, a bill (H.R. 9177) was introduced in Congress by Alabama Representative John Burnett, a member of the House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization. The bill sought to exclude Asian, Mediterranean, and Middle Eastern peoples by requiring a literacy test before admission to the United States (Dehmer, 1984). Later, during World War II more than 100,000 Japanese-Americans were held in internment camps. After a fact-finding mission throughout Europe and the Mediterranean, Burnett reported to the Congress that "God made only the Caucasian to rule this country; and I, for one, look with apprehension upon any effort to introduce . . . those through whose veins flow the blood of any other than the Caucasian race" (Dehmer, 1984, p.36).

Several factors, including discrimination, worked to impede the flow of non-European immigrants around the 1900s (Haddad, 1984). For example, one court found that persons from the Arab world were ineligible for citizenship because they were neither Caucasian nor African. A higher court overturned that decision, but the debate continued about the size of nose and head as determinants of race.

While resentment and prejudice were directed specifically against non-Europeans, some Europeans themselves became targets of discrimination as they differed in their religious beliefs or their country of origin. In 1909, the Farmer's Educational and

Cooperative Union (FECU), which claimed a membership of 1.5 million throughout the Southern states, advocated the exclusion of Europeans, such as Sicilians, Southern Italians and Greeks, along with non-Europeans like the Syrians, Mongolians and Hindus (Dehmer, 1984). The preferred citizens of the United States, particularly in the South, were White and from English-speaking and Germanic countries, as well as France, Belgium, and Scandinavian countries (Dehmer, 1984).

The prejudice by the dominant cultural group, Protestants, led to many acts of harassment, intimidation, and even genocide. Beginning in the 19th century and well into the 20th century, anti-Catholicism feelings emerged. During the years 1854 to 1859, the Know Nothing Party, which opposed immigration, especially that of Roman Catholics, and supported slavery, flourished (The New Lexicon Webster's Dictionary of the English Language, 1988). The 1920s witnessed the heyday of the Ku Klux Klan and the passage of the National Origins Act where Catholics became a major target of ethnic harassment (Miller, 1990). The act helped stem the immigration of Catholics, in particular those from Southern Europe.

This anti-Catholicism sentiment, put Lebanese Catholics in the South, who were referred to as the 'yellow race," and often called "dagos," in the category of targeted populations (Dehmer, 1987, p. 39). As one Lebanese-American Catholic explained, "people here were even afraid to say they were Catholic at one time. Down South, you know, that is Baptist country. If you said you were Catholic you got it" (Dehmer, 1984, p.39). Arab historian and philosopher, Philip Hitti, who wrote about the Syrians in America, quoted the text of a handbill that circulated during a 1920 political campaign. The handbill trumpeted, "For Coroner, Vote for J.D. Goss, The White Man's Candidate." And it went onto say:

> They have disqualified the Negro, an American citizen from voting in the white primary. The Greek and Syrian should also be disqualified. I DON'T WANT THEIR VOTES. If I can't be elected by white men, I don't want the office (Dehmer, 1987, p.39).

Catholics were not the only endangered group during that period. According to Dehmer (1987) the anti-Catholic movement harbored psychopathic concern for many other cultural and ethnic groups, including Jews, drinkers, friends of Catholics, and immigrants.

In 1940 following a Supreme Court decision that Jehovah Witnesses could not exempt themselves from saluting the flag, mobs physically attacked hundreds of Jehovah Witnesses. These groups burned their meeting places and drove their leaders out of town (Miller, 1990).

Demographics of Ethnoviolence

Official data on ethnoviolence illuminates, but greatly understates, the scope of the problem. Ethnoviolence, or hate crimes, appears to be increasing; both in organized, directed activities, and in spontaneous and unorganized fashion. Zeskind (in Pasternak, 1990), research director for the Center for Democratic Renewal, stated:

> Wherever such statistics are kept across the United States, bigotry cases have become more commonplace. The incidents have ranged from anonymous spray-painting of slurs to cross burnings or murder. What they have in common is their motivation: fury directed at those that are different because of their race, their religion, or their sexual orientation. (p.a1)

According to the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC), violent extremist groups have grown in number and severity since the Oklahoma City bombing. Hate groups increased in numbers from 395 to 474 in 1997, reflecting a 20% increase ("Intelligence Project," 1998). The SPLC attributed this increase to the growth of racially-based separatism, religion and hate, along with fervor produced by the approaching millennium

("Intelligence Project," 1998). According to Joe Roy, Director of the Intelligence Project of the Southern Poverty Law Center, "The tentacles of the movement are reaching places where they have never before ....mainstream America is being targeted in a way that this country has not seen in decades" ("Intelligence Project," 1998, p.1).

The Uniform Crime Report (UCR) of 1995, published by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), showed that 7,947 hate crimes were reported nationally (Federal Bureau of Investigation [FBI], 1996). Further findings of the report are presented within Table 4.

Table 4

Hate Crimes by Motivation Category, 1995

Motivation	Incidents	Offenses	Victims	Known Offenders
Race	**4,831**	**6,170**	**6,438**	**5,751**
Anti-White	1,226	1,511	1,554	2,032
Anti-Black	2,988	3,805	3,945	3,099
Anti-American Indian/Alaskan Native	41	59	59	38
Anti-Asian/ Pacific Islander	355	484	496	380
Anti-Multi-racial group	221	311	384	202
Ethnicity and national origin	814	1,022	1,044	958
Anti-Hispanic	516	680	698	685
Anti-other ethnicity/national origin	298	342	346	273
Religion	**1,277**	**1,414**	**1,617**	**437**
Anti-Jewish	1,058	1,145	1,236	350
Anti-Catholic	31	35	53	8
Anti-Protestant	36	47	65	12
Anti-Islamic	29	39	41	26
Anti-other religious group	102	122	196	36
Anti-multi-religious group	20	25	25	4
Anti-atheism/agnosticism/etc.	1	1	1	1
Sexual orientation	**1,019**	**1,266**	**1,347**	**1,273**
Anti-male homosexual	735	915	937	1,031
Anti-female homosexual	146	189	191	131
Anti-homosexual	103	125	182	80
Anti-heterosexual	17	19	19	13
Anti-bisexual	18	18	18	18
Multiple bias	**6**	**23**	**23**	**14**
Total	**7,947**	**9,895**	**10,469**	**7475**

NOTE. From Crimes in the United States, 1995. Federal Bureau of Investigation, 1996, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Justice.

The statistics reported showed that more than three out of every five hate crimes in 1995 were motivated by race, and Blacks were targets in three out of five racial

attacks. Religious bias was the second most frequent motivation, with Jews the most frequent target, and reported incidents of anti-Islamic bias the lowest amongst the category of religious groups. The Uniform Crime Report of 1995 showed also that 10% of all hate crimes were related to ethnicity and national origin. Sixty percent of the reported incidents were motivated by racial bias, with Hispanics the targets of 63% of these crimes. The 1995 FBI report did not collect data on gender-based hate crimes, and its definition excluded other forms of bias crimes such as crimes committed against Arab-Americans and persons with disabilities.

As in previous years, hate crimes in 1995 were most frequently directed at individuals. Table 5 presents information on the types of hate crimes that were committed.

Table 5

Hate-Motivated Crimes, 1995

Crime category	Offenses	Victims	Known offenders
Crimes against persons	**7,144**	**7,144**	**7,708**
Murder	20	20	26
Forcible rape	12	12	12
Aggravated assault	1,268	1,268	2,045
Simple assault	1,796	1,796	2,537
Intimidation	4,048	4,048	3,088
Crimes against property	**2,725**	**3,299**	**1,524**
Robbery	168	225	447
Burglary	96	131	57
Larceny-theft	53	53	39
Motor vehicle theft	5	5	3
Arson	62	81	40
Destruction/vandalism	2,315	2,804	938
Other	26	26	39

Note. From Crimes in the United States, 1995. Federal Bureau of Investigation, 1996, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Justice.

The Uniform Crime Report data showed that individuals comprised 72% of all reported bias victims. Intimidation was the most frequently reported hate crime, accounting for 41% of the total. Destruction and vandalism of property accounted for 23% of the offenses, assaults and aggravated assault at 18% and 13% respectively (FBI, 1996).

An increase in hate crimes was reported in 1996 as the Uniform Crimes Report indicated that 10,702 hate crimes were reported to law enforcement agencies. According to the report, crimes against persons comprised 69% of the offenses. The breakdown of these offenses was: intimidation (56%), simple assault (24%), aggravated assault (20%), and murder and rape comprised less than one percent each (Federal Bureau of

Investigation (FBI), 1997). The report also showed that the most common bias motivation behind hate crime in 1996 was race (63%), followed by religion (14%), sexual orientation (12%), and ethnicity (11%) (FBI, 1997).

The Uniform Crimes Report of 1997 showed a small decline in the reported hate crime incidents. A total of 8,049 bias motivated criminal incidents were reported to the FBI by 11,211 law enforcement agencies in 48 states and the District of Columbia. Of the 8,049 incidents, 4,710 cases were motivated by racial bias, 1385 cases by religious bias, 1,102 cases by sexual orientation bias, 836 cases by ethnicity/national origin bias, 12 cases by disability bias, and 4 cases by multiple biases (FBI, 1998).

The 8,049 incidents involved 9,861 separate offenses, 10,255 victims, and 8,474 known offenders. These findings are presented in Table 6.

Table 6

Hate Crimes by Motivation Category, 1997

Motivation	Incidents	Offenses	Victims	Known Offenders
Race	**4,710**	**5898**	**6,084**	**5,444**
Anti-White	993	1,267	1,293	1,520
Anti-Black	3,120	3,838	3,951	3,301
Anti-American Indian/Alaskan Native	36	44	46	45
Anti-Asian/ Pacific Islander	347	437	466	351
Anti-Multi-racial group	214	312	328	227
Ethnicity and national origin	836	1,083	1,132	906
Anti-Hispanic	491	636	649	614
Anti-other ethnicity/national origin	345	447	483	292
Religion	**1,385**	**1,483**	**1,586**	**792**
Anti-Jewish	1,087	1,159	1,247	598
Anti-Catholic	31	32	32	19
Anti-Protestant	53	59	61	12
Anti-Islamic	28	31	32	22
Anti-other religious group	159	173	184	120
Anti-multi-religious group	24	26	27	11
Anti-atheism/agnosticism/etc.	3	3	3	6
Sexual Orientation	**1,102**	**1,375**	**1,401**	**1,315**
Anti-male homosexual	760	912	927	1,032
Anti-female homosexual	188	229	236	158
Anti-homosexual	133	210	214	103
Anti-heterosexual	12	14	14	14
Anti-bisexual	9	10	10	8
Disability	**12**	**12**	**12**	**14**
Multiple bias	**6**	**23**	**23**	**14**
Total	**8,049**	**9,861**	**10,255**	**8474**

NOTE. From Crimes in the United States, 1997. Federal Bureau of Investigation, 1998, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Justice.

The Uniform Crime Report of 1997 showed that crimes against persons composed

70 % of the 9,861 reported offenses. Of all offenses measured, intimidation was the most frequently reported hate crime, accounting for 39% of the total. Destruction/damage/vandalism of property accounted for 26 % of all reported offenses, while simple assault and aggravated assault accounted for 18% and 13%, respectively. The findings are reported in Table 7.

Table 7

Hate-Motivated Crimes, 1997

Crime category	Offenses	Victims	Known offenders
Crimes against persons	**6,873**	**6,873**	**7,388**
Murder and nonnegligent manslaughter	8	8	24
Forcible rape	9	9	14
Aggravated assault	1,237	1,237	1,891
Simple assault	1,800	1,800	2,349
Intimidation	3,814	3,814	3,100
Crimes against property	**2,973**	**3,367**	**1,766**
Robbery	144	160	374
Burglary	111	131	84
Larceny-theft	95	103	70
Motor vehicle theft	7	7	7
Arson	60	71	42
Destruction/vandalism	2,549	2,888	1,179
Other	7	7	10
Crimes against society	**15**	**15**	**18**

Note. From Crimes in the United States, 1997. Federal Bureau of Investigation, 1998, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Justice.

Further findings of the 1997 report showed that 30% of reported hate crime incidents occurred in/on residential properties. Incidents that took place on highways, streets, roads or alleys accounted for 21%, while 11% of reported incidents occurred at

schools and colleges. The remaining incidents were widely distributed among various locations (FBI, 1998).

In Michigan, as in many other parts of the United States, the threat of ethnoviolence is a reality. According to the Michigan State Police, 31 incidents of ethnoviolence on school or college campuses were reported in the period from July 1, 1992 to September 30, 1993. In addition, the Michigan Department of Civil Rights had to intervene in ethnoviolent incidents at schools and colleges. These incidents involved some various manifestations of ethnoviolence, including death threats, circulation of hate literature and fliers, racial slurs, and unequal institutional treatment (Michigan Department of Public Health [MDPH], 1994) . Reported ethnoviolent crimes were found to be rooted in prejudice and discrimination, and involved intimidation, simple or aggravated assault, and/or property damage or destruction (MDPH, 1994). The 1995 Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) statistics indicated that bias against minorities in Michigan was increasing. According to the FBI's 1995 Uniform Crime Report, the number of hate crimes jumped substantially, increasing from 252 in 1994 to 405 in 1995. The increase in hate crimes in Michigan was also reflected in the 1997 Uniform Crime Report where 498 offenses were reported (FBI, 1998). However, such comparison may not provide an accurate picture of the increase in hate crimes as more police agencies are becoming involved reporting those crimes (Heinlein & Lopez, 1996). The following are examples of ethnoviolence incidents in Michigan as reported by Ehrlich (1995, p.5):

- Five pages of racist poems and jokes were sent to about 30 bulletin boards on the Internet computer network by someone using a stolen password at the University of Michigan.
- Five Black students walking on campus were the subject of racial slurs yelled from a passing car around Michigan State University. When the car stopped, its three White student occupants and the Black students became involved in a

brawl.

- One hundred racist fliers were posted at the University of Michigan by a group claiming to be a student white supremacist organization. The fliers included "Niggers get off campus," and "Darkies don't belong in classrooms—they belong hanging from the trees."

- A bomb was thrown at a group of Black students from a dormitory window at Eastern Michigan University. The bomb didn't explode.

The Arab-American Experience

For many years, Arab-Americans continued to experience ethnic intimidation, harassment, and ethnic violence. However, the information on Arab-American victimization is sparse, and most documented cases come from special media reports or through dissemination by Arab-American organizations, like the American Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC).

The American Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee publishes a monthly report known as the *ADC Times*. This report documents many Arab-American encounters with ethnic violence and biases of the media. The following are few of the ethnoviolent incidents reported by the American Arab Anti-discrimination Committee (ADC) and other sources:

- [Detroit, MI, January 1991] A Chaldean party store owner reported that two individuals in combat fatigues opened fire on him as he approached his business (ADC, 1991).

- [Los Angeles, CA, January 1991] A delicatessen owned by an Arab-American was set a blaze . . . .Graffiti scrawled on the wall of the deli read: 'Arab, go home!' (ADC, 1991).

- [North Bergen, NJ, January 1991] A Muslim woman wearing the traditional headdress was physically attacked by three other women in a department store (ADC, 1991).

- [Canton, MI, September 1996] Ethnic slurs were spray-painted at an Islamic school ("Bias Incidents Reported," 1997).

- [East Lansing, MI, May 1996] A letter threatening Jews, Muslims, and Russians was sent to a campus newspaper at Michigan State University ("Bias Incidents Reported," 1997).

- [Washington, D.C., December 1997] An Islamic display of the star and crescent in front of the White House was found desecrated with a Nazi swastika ("Vandalism of First-ever Muslim Symbol," 1998).

- [Detroit, MI, October 1998] Two Arab American students were assaulted in two separate incidents at Chadsey High School in Detroit. The first incident involved a 14-year-old Iraqi student who was beaten by fellow students who wanted to force her to remove her head scarf. The second incident involved a 14-year-old Yemeni student who was assaulted by fellow students who broke his jaw and hurled racial slurs ("Arab Students Assaulted," 1999).

During 1987, the Detroit Free Press conducted a study of 1,000 people in Wayne, Oakland, and Macomb counties, targeting area groups, who had encounters with discriminatory incidents. Of the 1,000 participants, 77 % said that Blacks were the most frequent victims of discrimination, followed by Arabs at 48%, and Hispanics at 18%. Arab respondents were the only ethnic group who felt that they suffered more than Blacks, although they were the most likely, along with Hispanics to deny or minimize the existence of racial discrimination. In addition, Arab respondents were the least likely of all groups surveyed to admit being prejudiced, with only 11% indicating they were prejudiced (Hundley, 1987). The major results of this study are presented in Table 8.

Table 8

Metropolitan Detroit Area Groups' Experience with Discrimination

Group	Percentage of Responses				
	Buying/renting a House/apartment	Getting a Job	Getting a Promotion	Target of Ethnic Racial Slurs	By Police
Detroit Whites	7	13	9	30	7
Suburban Whites	4	7	6	25	2
Detroit Blacks	11	20	27	40	10
Suburban Blacks	9	23	28	48	18
Hispanics	6	12	12	35	20
Arabs	10	9	11	38	12
Asian	11	11	14	37	5
Jews	1	15	4	60	5

Note: "Arabs, Jews feel Discrimination" by T. Hundley, 1987, Detroit Free Press, July 6, 1987, p.22)

The incidents ranged from employment discrimination to getting a promotion and being a target of ethnic and racial slurs. Arabs (38%) indicated that they felt they were targets of racial and ethnic slurs, with 12% perceiving they were being discriminated against by the police, and 10% believing they had encountered discrimination in buying or renting a house (Hundley, 1987). In addition, 28% of the 1,000 people surveyed in Wayne, Oakland, and Macomb Counties indicated they believed they personally had racial and ethnic prejudices toward other groups. Furthermore, 34% of the 280 people who said that they felt they were racially or ethnically prejudiced, indicated they had also been the victims of an ethnic joke (Hundley, 1987).

Saidi, an Arab-American from Dearborn, was a participant in the 1987 survey. Saidi, an immigrant from Yemen who worked at an auto plant in Detroit discussed his encounters with the anti-Arab biases and stereotypes with a Detroit Free Press reporter. He stated:

> When I came here, people called me sand nigger or camel jockey . . . they tell me to go home, you know camels go where cars can't go . . . when the Arab world was dominating the news, I hear a lot of racial names on CB radio, things like terrorist, hijacker. I was on a plane going to London and people were staring at me like I might hijack the plane (West, 1987, p. 13A).

Similar incidents were reported frequently by Arab Americans. The story of another Yemeni American worker demonstrated how endemic were anti-Arab attitudes. When the Yemeni worker reported to his supervisor that his foreman regularly insulted him, the foreman declared, "you think you scare me going to the supervisor, camel jockey?" (Zogby, 1984, p.59).

West (1987), in a Detroit Free Press study of ethnic jokes and race relations in the Detroit metropolitan area, discovered that 75% of Arabs surveyed encountered some sort of discriminatory practices, mostly within the areas of employment and police/ community relations. Schrupp, Director of the Fair Housing Center of Metropolitan Detroit, indicated that his department gets more complaints from individuals about unfair housing practices than the Civil Rights Department (West, 1987, p.13A).

The Warahs, an Arab-American family from Westland who were among those selected for West's Detroit Free Press survey, acknowledged that they encountered problems in the neighborhood shortly after they moved into their new house in Westland. Their house windows were shattered, the mail box was broken, eggs were thrown on their porch, kids from the neighborhood sporadically hurled rocks and human feces at their house and car, and their new Cadillac was scratched frequently. Unable to live under these circumstances, the Warahs finally decided to sell their house and moved to a different community (Hundley, 1987).

Although Arab-Americans may not have experienced the same level of strong

ethnic prejudice as other groups, they continue to be objects of overt hostility and discrimination. In 1987, James Zogby, Director of the Arab American Institute, remarked in a newspaper article that he believed that Arab-Americans have not experienced the same kind of prejudice that Poles, Italians, Irish, Hispanic, and African-Americans have, because Arabs tend to assimilate quickly and are relatively affluent. He argued that anti-Arab attitudes are rooted in politics, with one exception, that is, "the conspicuous ethnicity of the Arab community made it a target of hostility, and occasionally, violence" (West, July 5, 1987, p. 12A).

West (July 5, 1987) reported the Wayne County authorities found several Lebanese gas station owners guilty of a variety of scams in 1986 involving their businesses. The prosecutor speculated that the scam was controlled by the Lebanese politician, Nabih Berry, and that proceeds were being used to fund terrorist activities, although no link was established. Findley (1985) noted similar examples of anti-Arab prejudice as reported by the American Arab Anti-discrimination Committee (ADC). He wrote that a senior customs official in the Detroit area declared in a meeting with airline officials in 1983 concerning the processing of luggage, that the majority of Arabs in the Detroit Metro area are terrorists and that the rest are terrorist sympathizers (Findley, 1983).

The African-American Experience

The greatest number of hate crimes reported in the 1995 Uniform Crimes Report was committed against African-Americans. African-Americans have a long history of experiences with racial violence that include lynching, cross-burning, and arson of Black churches. Historian C. Eric Lincoln wrote that the first recorded arson of a Black church took place in South Carolina in 1822. And in 1829, White mobs torched Black churches

in Cincinnati and Philadelphia during the 1830s ("Hate Crimes in America," 1998).

An example of continuity of attacks on Black churches is illustrated in the troubled history of St. John the Baptist in Dixana, South Carolina. Founded in 1765, the church has been the target of attacks throughout history, spanning the era of slavery, the civil war, reconstruction, segregation, and civil rights (Butterfield, 1996). In 1983, while Sunday services were being conducted, a group of Whites shot out the church's windows. The group came back later, and scrawled "KKK" on the door, destroyed the piano, smashed the crucifix, tore up copies of the Bible, scattered beer cans on the pews, and defecated on the sacrament cloth. In 1995, the church was burned down ("Hate Crimes in America," 1998).

African-Americans, like any other racial or ethnic group, are also exposed to lesser forms of violence, such as verbal attacks and intimidation. An African American sophomore at the National Cathedral School in Washington, D.C. said:

> My school is predominantly white, and when I first got to middle school, there was graffiti written on our lockers. Our lockers go alphabetically and it just happened that there were four blacks and two Jews next to each other, and on the lockers were written derogatory words: "Go home, Jew," and swastikas and stuff like that ("As Girls See It," 1998, p. 14).

Additional acts of hate against African-Americans included:

- An African-American family was threatened after moving into Bridesburg, Philadelphia. The family announced their intention of moving out because of constant threats and harassment. The acts of racial hostility against this family are typical of hate crimes intended to keep members of racial, ethnic or religious minorities out of many neighborhoods (Sitton, 1996).

- In Fairfax County, Virginia, an affluent community near Washington, D.C., in 1993, a 41- year-old Black woman heard the doorbell ring at the home where she was house sitting. When she looked out the window, she saw a cross burning 10 feet from the front door ("Hate Crimes in America," 1998).

- In 1994, in the Los Angeles suburb of South Gate, the White neighbors of a Black woman burned a cross on her lawn, kicked her children, hanged and

gassed her puppies, and placed "White Power" signs on her property (LA County Commission on Human Relations, 1995).

- In Orland Park, Illinois in 1995, a Black man who was talking with a White woman was attacked by a 25-year-old White male, who yelled racial slurs during the attack ("Bias Incidents Reported," 1995).

- In Harper Woods, Michigan, a Black couple was threatened by a White man who said he would kill and dismember them if they moved into his neighborhood. He also threatened their White real estate agent (Bias Incidents Reported," 1995).

- In 1996, a 14-year-old boy in Jupiter, Florida, allegedly set a wooden sign afire at a middle school after spray-painting racial slurs on it in an effort to intimidate some of his Black classmates ("Bias Incidents Reported," 1997).

- A Black family's residence in Alma, Michigan was set afire and a cross was left in the backyard ("Bias Incidents Reported," 1997).

The Hispanic-American Experience

As with attacks upon African-Americans, Arabs, Asians, and Jews; attacks upon Hispanics are part of a history of hatred in the United States. In California and throughout the Southwest, there have been recurring periods of "nativism," when not only newcomers, but longtime United States citizens of Mexican decent were blamed for social and economic problems ("Hate Crimes in America," 1998). During the depression of the 1930s, citizens and non-citizens of Mexican decent were targets of mass deportations, with approximately 500,000 sent across the border to Mexico. In the 1950s, a paramilitary effort, named "Operation Wetback" was responsible for the deportation of tens of thousands of Mexicans from California and other Southwestern states. The historian, Juan Ramon Garcia, described the climate of fear and hatred that existed from the 1930s through the 1950s:

> The image of the mysterious, sneaky, faceless "illegal" was once again stamped into the minds of many. Once this was accomplished, "illegals" became something less than human, with their arbitrary removal being much easier to justify and accomplish ("Hate Crimes in America," 1998,

p.3).

While illegal immigration may be a concern, the rhetoric of anti-immigrants goes beyond that concern. Ruth Coffey, founder of Stop Immigration Now, an anti-immigration group, told the Los Angeles Times that "I have no intention of being the object of 'conquest,' peaceful or otherwise, by Latinos, Asians, Blacks, Arabs, or any other group of individuals who have claimed my country" ("Hate Crimes in America," 1998, p. 3).

According to the 1988 report, "Hate Crimes in America," a president of an anti-immigrant group, Voices of Citizens Together, which collected 40,000 signatures to qualify Proposition 187 for the ballot said that "we have to take direct and immediate action to preserve this culture and this nation we have spent two centuries building up" ("Hate Crimes in America," 1998, p.3). In 1994, 59% of California voters approved a statewide referendum proposal, Proposition 187, which declared undocumented immigrants ineligible for most public services including public education and non-emergency health care ("Hate Crimes in America," 1988).

According to the Los Angeles County Commission on Human Rights, hate speech and violent acts against Latinos increased by 11.9% in 1994. Most of the cases involved Latinos with United States citizenship or permanent residency status (L.A. County Commission on Human Rights, 1994). Anti-Hispanic activities in Michigan appear to be less polarized than in the Southwestern states. The Michigan State Police records showed that 18 anti-Hispanic offenses out of 976 bias offenses were reported in 1995 ("Hate Crimes: Big Gaps," 1997). Intimidation may occur on school grounds amongst students of different and ethnic racial backgrounds. Alvarenga, a female Latina junior high student in Washington, D.C. described her experience at school:

> Well, I've been called a spic, a stupid Latina. . . .At my school, they won't call you that unless you do something to them or look at them wrong-that look thing always bothers them - or bump into them in the hall. You could be the nicest person, you could be friends with everybody, but the minute you do something wrong, it's like: "You spic, you nigger" ("As Girls See It," 1998, p.14).

Additional examples of ethnoviolence against Hispanics included:

- In November, 1994, a Hispanic woman was taking her daily walk through the suburban San Fernando Valley, when eight young males shouted at her that now Proposition 187 has passed, she should go back to Mexico. After calling here "wetback" and other names, they threw rocks at her, causing her injury (Elias, 1994).

- In 1995, Allen Adams and Tad Page were sentenced 88 and 70 months, respectively in the shooting of four Latino migrant workers in Livermore, Maine. The victims were at a store making a purchase when they were attacked by Adams and Page. The assailants taunted the victims with ethnic epithets, telling them to go back to Mexico, or they would be sent in "bodybags." The victims were attacked even as they drove off. Adams and Page chased them firing 11 rounds from a nine-millimeter handgun at their car ("Hate Crimes in America," 1998).

- In 1995, arsonists burned down the home of a Latino family in the Antelope Valley, California, city of Palmdale. They sprayed this message on the wall: "White power. Your family dies" ("Hate Crimes in America," 1998).

Characteristics of Ethnoviolence

Although ethnoviolence is similar in some instances to other forms of violence, it has unique characteristics that are relatively rare in other forms of violence. Hate crimes are much more likely than other crimes to be acts of senseless violence. In comparison to other crimes, targets of hate violence are singled out because of their membership in a social group. Perpetrators are more likely to be marauding groups of predators looking for targets of their hate. However, they can also be acquaintances, intimate partners, or family members (Northwest Women's Law Center, 1994). Because the intention is to hurt, maim, or kill, hate-motivated crimes are five times as likely as other crimes to involve assault. These assaults are twice as likely as other assaults to cause injury and to

result in hospitalization (Levin, 1993). The following categories describe the unique characteristics of ethnoviolence:

1. *Perpetrator-victim relationships*: According to Berk (1990), most assaults involve two individuals who often know each other well (i.e., wife abuse, rape). Mann (1990) found that in 50 to 75 % of rape cases, the victim knew her attacker. In their 14-year study of male and female homicide, Clayton and Webb (1991) found that only 18% of the homicide victims were unknown to each other. In cases of ethnoviolence the opposite is true. According to Berk (1990) it is highly likely that ethnoviolent assaults and victimization were part of 'strangers' crimes. According to Bodinger-deUriarte and Sancho (1991) ethnoviolence is a form of depersonalized vengeance where strangers are targeted as scapegoats by virtue of their membership in racial, ethnic and religious groups.

2. *Number of perpetrators*: In many cases of violent conflicts usually there are two individuals involved. A victim and a perpetrator, or two "mutual combatants." (Berk, 1990). However, the case is different with ethnoviolence where there are more than two "combatants" involved. Criminologist John McDevitt in a study of 450 ethnoviolent crimes found that there is an average of four assailants for each victim (Pierce, 1990).

3. *Balance of power*: Ethnoviolent crime is often conducted on the basis of unfair balance of power, and includes 'ganging up' on the unarmed victims (Bodinger-deUriarte & Sancho, 1991). Weapons used include acid, baseball bats, and guns.

4. *Physical assault*: Ethnoviolent assaults are more likely to be very violent. Pierce (1990) suggests that crimes of ethnoviolent nature are extraordinarily violent where the victims are three times more likely than 'normal' assault victims to require hospitalization.

5. *Property damage*: While in other crimes, property is taken or stolen, ethnoviolent crime may result in property being damaged or destroyed (Berk, 1990).

6. *Absence of economic gain*: Ethnoviolent crime does not generally involve personal economic gain or profits resulting from the violent act (Bodinger-deUriarte & Sancho, 1991).

7. *Places of ethnoviolence*: Ethnoviolent acts, unlike other crimes, are committed against people and property at places like churches, mosques, temples, synagogues, monuments, cemeteries, camps, schools, or the targeted persons' homes and the places they frequent (Bodinger-deUriarte & Sancho, 1991).

8. *Dehumanizing the targeted group*: Ethnoviolent assaults often involve

dehumanization of the targeted group. For example, Joanna Kadi, an Arab-American writer described her experience with the sexual abuse and stereotype. She wrote that:

> White men who abused me referred to my Arab features, remarked on my skin color, told me Lebanese girls enjoyed it, forced me to "belly dance," and repeatedly threw epithets such as "Arab slut" at me (Kadi, 1996, p.77).

Alvarenga, a junior female Latina student at Woodrow Wilson High school in Washington, D.C. described her experience with humiliating stereotypes:

> I was once asked how many kids I have . . . by an African-American student. I guess he was trying to be cute..I got really upset. I guess he thought Spanish girls have like 50 million kids . . . but the way he said it was looking down on me like I was dirty or something ("As Girls See It," 1998, p.14).

9. *Groups as a target*: Ethnoviolent assaults are not directed at individuals solely, but also at the group as a whole of which the victim is perceived to be a member. Often, perpetrators want to "make an example of" the group attacked (Bodinger-deUriarte & Sancho, 1991). The following example clearly demonstrates this characteristic of ethnoviolence:

   [Gaithersburg, MD, August 15, 1990] An Iranian-American family mistaken for Arabs reported that they were attacked and beaten by members of a road crew. The father received a fractured skull and is partially paralyzed. One of the attackers was quoted as saying, "I want to kill these foreigners to teach them a lesson about complaining in our country" (ADC, 1991, p.7).

   The following incident that took place in Denver, Colorado, summarizes many of the several characteristics of ethnoviolence.

   [Denver, CO, October 1990] Six Japanese college students, celebrating a birthday by singing and strumming a guitar in a public park, were attacked by "four young men who came at them suddenly out of the dark." The $400 guitar was taken and smashed. "The students may not have understood the insults the four began screaming at them. But they understood very well the baseball bats and sticks. The young men lifted the weapons high, like 'golf swings,' like 'home run swings,' one suspect later told the police. The blows cut open the students' heads and bruised their ribs" (Morrison, 1990, p. A5).

Categorization of Ethnoviolence

Violent acts against a particular group may not be based on prejudice and stereotype in isolation of other factors. According to Ehrlich (1995), there are acts that may be seen as ends in themselves or as means to distinctive ends.

Some ethnoviolent acts are expressive, that is, they are ends in themselves. This category embraces "recreational" violence, which are committed for thrills, typically in groups, and are likely to involve alcohol. Some ethnoviolent acts are instrumental and may be construed as means to particular ends. Others are ideological which are motivated by a political agenda (Ehrlich, 1995, p.14).

Furthermore, Ehrlich (1995) identified three categories to classify the ethnoviolent act according to the perpetrators' group identity. These categories are: ideological, responsive and collateral.

1. *Ideological*: The sources of identity and group reference of those students who may engage in ethnoviolent acts exist in most communities. The ideological reference may include White supremacist groups and skinheads. It may include the Religious Right, such as the Christian Coalition, or other ultra-conservative groups and churches that promote censorship of school curriculum, mandating school prayer, and the exclusion of multi-cultural, bilingual education, and ethnic study programs. Organized hate groups may find schools as a fertile ground for recruitment while attempting to capitalize on racial incidents at schools. It is possible, according to Ehrlich (1995) quoting Massachi and Cowan, that although few students might be involved directly with ultraconservative groups, most perpetrators would likely employ the tenets of these groups to rationalize their behavior.

2. *Responsive*: Ehrlich (1995) suggested that these acts are motivated primarily by a sense of threat to the perpetrators' status, territory, or central beliefs. Such perceived threats include, for example, the belief that women and minorities are taking over the job market. These threats can either be realistic, that is when they are correctly perceived, or unrealistic, when they are incorrectly perceived with no empirical support.

3. *Collateral*: Ethnoviolent acts are considered collateral when they are used as means to some end that is unrelated to group prejudice. Ehrlich (1995) suggested that these acts are typically committed by students to maintain peer

> pressure. While some members of the group or its leadership may have targeted a victim on the basis of prejudice, the actors – who may not share the prejudice – are behaving in conformity in order to maintain their standing in the group. Acts of violence resulting from group pressure are not uncommon, and may even be part of the socialization of new members (Ehrlich, 1995).

Ethnic Conflict: A Theoretical Perspective

Psychological Theoretical Models

Ethnic conflicts have been attracting significant scholarly attention. The three major categories of theoretical models that deal with psychological causes of ethnocultural majority-minority conflicts are: (a) the 'Realistic' group conflict theory, (b) the Social Identity theory, and (c) the psychodynamic or psychoanalytical theory.

'Realistic' Group Theory: The first model is the 'Realistic' group conflict theory which asserts that there should first be a real or perceived incompatible goal leading to inter-group competition, in order for psychology-related misperceptions and hostility to emerge. This theory was first formulated by Sherif, a pioneer in the study of intergroup relations (Sherif, 1966; Sherif, Harvey, White, Hood, Sherif & Campbell, 1988). The theory suggests that hostility between two groups results from real or perceived conflicting goals which generate intergroup competition. When groups are engaged in reciprocally competitive and frustrating activities of a zero-sum nature, each group will develop negative stereotypes about, and enmity toward, the other group (the out-group). This hypothesis was validated by the first stage of the famous Robbers' Cave experiment that involved boys in a summer camp (Sherif et al., 1988). When the boys were split into two groups engaging in competitive activities with conflicting goals (i.e., goals that can be achieved only at the expense of the other group, as in a competitive tournament of games like football, or tug-of-war, etc.), intergroup hostility emerged very quickly and

almost automatically. Similar experiments confirmed intergroup competition as a crucial source of out-group hostilities not only in children, but also in adolescents and adults (Tzeng & Jackson, 1994).

Sherif & Sherif (1953) also emphasized the need for a society to achieve cohesion, although the tendency of majority groups was to see minorities as an anomaly, or an obstacle to bringing about that cohesion. Conversely, certain individuals' desire to become members of the dominant group is often met with resistance. Both situations lead to majority- minority conflict (Sherif & Sherif, 1953). He also emphasized the frequent incongruence between one's reference group and membership group. A reference group is a group to which the individual relates him or herself as a member, or to which he or she aspires to relate him or herself psychologically. A membership group, on the other hand, is a group of which the individual is (in actuality) willingly or unwillingly a member.

Some people's reference group could be different from their membership group. In that case, they would be considered troublemakers by the latter, if they behaved according to the norms of the former. The loyalty of such individuals lies with their reference group, and, hence, they are distrusted by their membership group. This incongruence can be observed in almost every conflict between a majority and an ethnocultural minority.

Social Identity Theory. The second model is the Social Identity theory which assumes that group's members have a basic need for a positive social identity and that inter-group conflicts arise because each group inevitably compares itself to the other. One of the most influential theorists in the Social Identity approach is Tajfel (1981). His theory is considered by many social psychologists to provide "the most detailed and incisive . . . explanation of minority group psychology to date" (Hutnik, 1991, p.51).

Billig (1976), another social psychologist, and Tajfel (1981) both observed, that contrary to Sherif's theory, the mere fact that there were two distinct groups seemed sufficient for the creation of group identities which reduced the importance of each members' individual identities. Strong group identities result in 'us' versus 'them' division that can lead to intergroup animosities. Competition between these groups simply intensifies mutual dislike. This paradoxical process, particularly its more complex version which takes place at the societal level, is explained by the Social Identity theory.

According to this theory, every individual divides his or her social world into distinct classes or social categories. Individuals locate themselves and others within this system of social categorization. The sum total of where they are located with respect to each category and classification constitutes their social identity. In addition, social identity consists of how individuals define themselves in terms of each social category (gender, geographic location, class, professions, etc.). This desire for social identity is evident as students feel pressures for conformity in the development of peer relations with people who share the same values, physical characteristics, language, racial and ethnic origins. According to Turner (1982), children build relations with others who share withthem similar values and characteristics since they expect to achieve satisfaction from such associations and the development of feelings of mutual attraction. Within this process of association, cultural ideas about race and ethnicity become apparent (Albini, 1982).

The basic assumption of Tajfel's theory is that people strive for a positive social identity (Van Knippenberg, 1989). As social identity is derived from membership in groups, a positive social identity is the outcome of favorable social comparisons made between the in-group and other social groups (Druckman, 1994). As long as membership

in a group enhances one's self-esteem, one will remain a member of that group. But, Tajfel (1981) maintained that if the group failed to satisfy this requirement, the individual might seek:

> 1. *Social change*, that is, to try changing or altering the structure of the group.
>
> 2. *Social creativity*, that is, to seek a new way of comparison which would favor their group, and hence, reinforce their social identity. Tajfel (1981) and Turner (1982) suggested that individuals, while developing their social identity, tend to or attempt to improve their groups by competing with other groups (i.e., by putting those other groups down, discriminating against them, and minimizing intra-group differences). Therefore, the smaller they make their victim, the bigger they become. Mullin (1984) believed that such comparisons, motivations, and behaviors lead to a variety of personal and interpersonal consequences. For example, such comparisons may affect the way individuals interpret information about self and others, and how they interact and relate to each other.
>
> 3. *Social mobility*, that is, to leave or abandon the group with the desire to join the 'better' one.

Tajfel (1981) asserted that it is difficult for a member of a minority group to achieve a positive social identity, given that minorities almost always have an inferior status in comparison with the majority. So minority group status may not contribute to the self-esteem of minority group members (Turner, 1982). Tajfel (1981) observed that minority members may exhibit high levels of an internalized self-hatred. Arab-American writer Joanna Kadi, described how anti-Arab images and her experiences with child and sexual abuse affected her identity as she was growing up:

> Wider society taught me. . . .that my Arab identity was suspect and shameful. These intimate assaults reinforced that. I hated being Arab; I wanted to turn my yellow skin inside out, to bleach my whole skin with the burning chemicals I applied to the hair on my upper lip, to assimilate without a backward glance. I can't imagine any Arab girl holding onto pride in her cultural background in the face of similar ongoing assaults. I did not (Kadi, 1996, p.77).

Kadi (1996) further added that the abuse she was subjected to at the hands of her father further damaged her racial identity:

> . . . first, he fit the stereotype of Arab men so well it caused me further shame, this time by association. Second, he broadcast his contempt for anything Arab through his abuse of me, a contempt arising in part from hatred of self (Kadi, 1996, p.77).

Tajfel (1981) identified three ways that minority members utilize to deal with this conflict:

1. If the social system is perceived as legitimate and stable, and there are no visible alternatives to the status quo, or there is no conceivable prospect of any change in the nature of the system (such as in a feudal society), they just accept their inferiority; they acquiesce.

2. If the system is perceived as illegitimate by the minority, very soon alternatives begin to be envisioned. When the system loses its stability, and oppression and terror by the majority-controlled state becomes the only way to maintain it such as in South Africa during the late apartheid era, they rebel (Hutnik, 1991).

3. If the majority-minority relations are perceived as illegitimate and the system is no longer stable, the minority group members will lean towards a rejection of their inferior status. Then they may reinterpret and redefine their group's characteristics and, thus, try to transform their social identity into a positive one.

Yet, in Tajfel's (1981) view, most minorities, and their members in particular, when they reject their inferior status in situations of unstable intergroup boundaries, prefer assimilation with the majorities to self-redefinition. Therefore, in such social systems, majority-minority conflicts mostly have to do with opportunities of minorities to assimilate, or with the degree of penetrability of social walls. Those walls may be erected either by the minority group to stop its members from assimilating or by the majority group to prevent minorities from joining them (Hutnik, 1991). This situation, when combined with tangible differences of economic and political interests between the two groups, can lead to minority-majority conflict. If these types of conflict are not managed at an early stage, interethnic violence and bloodshed may result.

Tajfel's theory was further advanced by Taylor and McKirnan (1984). They tried

to explain how and through which stages a rigidly stratified society with a minority that has accepted its inferior status becomes unstable. This type of society may contribute to competition between majority and minority groups, with the groups frequently in conflict with each other. Just like Tajfel, they emphasized causal attribution and social comparison as two social-psychological processes that play crucial roles throughout this transition. Taylor and McKirnan (1984) identified five stages:

1. *Strictly stratified intergroup relations*. Such relations could be observed in feudal and caste structures, or in the Southern United States in the 18th and early 19th centuries (slavery). In such societies, the majority group defined the stratification between the groups and the minority was led to believe that they were in some way responsible for their status; that they deserved their low status. In other words, minority members attributed their low status to their own responsibility. Moreover, the social comparisons they made minimize their self-esteem, usually leading to self-hate. For example, Kadi (1996) described her experience as an Arab American, "it's been hard for me to create a clear, strong identity as Arab-American, it's been hard for me to believe I really exist as such a person, when dominant society categorically trivializes, diminishes, and whitewashes Arabs" (p. 119).

2. *The emergence of an individualistic social ideology*. The rise of such an ideology is the result of such social, political, or economic processes as industrialization, urbanization, imperialism, the growth of capitalism, the spread of literacy, modernization, etc. In this stage, minorities no longer see the social structure as legitimate. Minority members start making social comparisons on the basis of individual ability and merit, and any stratification that is not attributed to differences of individual skills or worth is considered unacceptable. Such a change, of course, marks the beginning of intergroup conflict.

3. *Social mobility*. At this stage, highly-skilled, better educated minority members attempt to join the majority group. They try to assimilate either fully, or partially. They make social comparisons on an individual basis and they develop strategies for themselves and for their families rather than for the whole group. Taylor and McKirnan (1984) suggested that individual strategies always precede collective action. The majority usually tends to accept these highly qualified members, both because their desire to assimilate is seen as proof of its superiority, and because the encouragement of this assimilation process brings some stability to the society. The other members of the minority are pacified with the expectation that if they tried hard enough they, too, would be able to move up.

4. *Consciousness raising.* For various reasons, some highly qualified members of the minority fail to (emotionally) assimilate with, or are not accepted by, the majority. In addition, the less qualified members of the minority realize that assimilation and improvement of their status will not be possible. Then, the highly qualified nonassimilated minority members begin to raise the consciousness of their group and to claim that the stratification should change, not just at the level of individuals, but at the group level, as well. Self-hate is replaced with pride and ethnocentrism. The minority group now attributes the responsibility for its low status to discrimination on the part of the dominant group.

5. *Competitive inter-group relations.* Consciousness-raising is followed by collective action where the minority begins to struggle against what it now perceives as social injustice. As an initial response the majority group attempts to present group divisions as illegitimate or obsolete. But if such ideological arguments do not reduce the majority-minority conflict, the conflict may either continue at a low intensity or it may escalate. If it does escalate, the majority group may either resort to violence and suppression, or it may decide to negotiate with the minority group to create mutually acceptable social norms.

· *Psychoanalytic/Psychodynamic Theories.* Psychoanalytical/psychodynamic theories attempt to explain intergroup conflicts by applying theories of personality development to group dynamics. These theories assume that groups need enemy-groups, which serve as targets to project their negative images, and as reservoirs of their negative feelings. Modern representatives of the psychoanalytic approach to intergroup conflict include Vamik Volkan (1988, 1992, 1994) and his colleagues at the Center for the Study of Mind and Human Interaction of the University of Virginia (Apprey, 1994; Harris, 1994; Montville, 1990; Ross, 1993, 1995).

Their approach is based on the works of Freud and Erikson, as well as the 'Object Relations Theory.' This theory, as interpreted by Volkan (1988), primarily tried to explain how people form images about themselves and others. According to this version of the theory, the ego, while becoming separate from the id, acquires certain functions that have to do with the external world (i.e., relations of one's self with objects – persons

and things). One function is constructing images and representations, that are, self images as well as images of other persons and objects. Volkan (1988) and Ross (1993) suggested that the ability to construct images develops in infancy and early childhood in three stages:

1. Infants begin to differentiate themselves from the outside world and other people. At the same time, they start to form simple images about themselves and others. But since in this initial phase they cannot grasp that pleasure and pain might be evoked by the same person/object (e.g., their mothers, sometimes feeding them and sometimes depriving them), the images formed by infants are either all-good or all-bad, in other words, fragmented and disconnected.

2. Infants begin to integrate these opposing images about other objects and about themselves. This takes place between the second and third years of age. But that integration or connecting can never be completed. Some good or bad self images remain unintegrated, absolute, and primitive.

3. During super-ego formation, some of those unintegrated images of one's self and one's parents are idealized. Children then externalize those disjointed images or idealize positive or negative images into certain people or objects of the outside world (Ross, 1995). This, according to the theory, is necessary in order to maintain cohesion of the integrated self- and object images/representations.

Volkan (1988) argued that there are Suitable Targets of Externalization (STEs). STEs are reservoirs of images determined either by culture (i.e., familiar objects of a child's environment), or shown to children by parents and other adults. STEs are symbols, such as flags, songs, special dishes, places of worship, religious icons, memorials, and certain animals (Ross, 1995), but may also include people and groups of people (Volkan, 1988). Some STE symbols are negative, while others are positive.

People who have positive STEs, (i.e., reservoirs of unintegrated good representations) are seen as allies, friends, leaders, etc., while people who have negative STEs, (i.e., reservoirs of unintegrated bad representations) are regarded as enemies. The theory suggested that all people need STEs to maintain cohesiveness and develop a sense

of self that differentiates them from others. As personality begins to emerge in early and middle adolescence, so do positive and negative STEs.

The psychoanalytic/psychodynamic theorists also tried to explain how group identity is adopted by individuals, how it prevails over individual identity, and how it contributes to the emergence and perpetuation of intergroup conflict. Volkan (1988) asserted that in every culture, a similar set of positive and negative STEs exists for every child who belongs to this culture. STEs connect members of a culture and children by adopting those STEs, reinforcing them even further. This connection through common STEs contributes to group cohesion (Volkan, 1988). Members of an ethnic group have their own individual identity. Volkan (1988) compared this identity to a garment which belongs only to the individual who wears it, and among other things, protects him/her from the harmful effects of the environment. But every individual, who belongs to an ethnic group or any basic identity group for that matter, also has a group identity. Group identity is like a "large tent" that protects individuals "like a mother" (Volkan & Itzkowitz, 1994, p. 11). As long as the tent remains strong and stable, group members will go about their daily lives without paying much attention to it, (i.e., without feeling the need to constantly prove or express their ethnic identity). If the tent is shaken or disturbed, however, those who are under it may become collectively preoccupied with trying "to shore it up." In such instances, group identity supersedes individual identities (Volkan & Itzkowitz, 1994).

In addition to cultural symbols and rituals, an ethnic identity, to be defined, needs antagonists (who help the group members define who they are not), chosen glories (important, usually mythologized and idealized, achievements that took place in the past), chosen traumas (losses, defeats, humiliations) and also mythologized ones that are

usually difficult to mourn, and borders (physical and/or mental) that help eliminate confusion about the in-group and the out-group. These borders are extremely necessary when "they" (the out-group) are also the enemies (Volkan, 1992).

Minorities, especially those that are considered non-assimilable by the majority, can easily become suitable targets for externalization of the latter's negative feelings and images (Volkan, 1988). In other words, not only do such minorities attract the hatred, suspicion, and rage of the majority because of their characteristics, they also serve as reservoirs of the majority's negative self-images.

Volkan (1992) suggested that there is a more alarming psychological dynamic that can often be observed in minority-majority relations. He warned that relations between the minority and the majority could become even more strained if the minority is linked to a state or nation that in the past inflicted a deep trauma upon the majority group; a trauma so painful that it cannot be mourned. In that case, the minority may be viewed by the majority as dangerous, and that it should be eliminated. The government supported by the majority group might intend to "purify" the society from its 'dirty and harmful' elements. These perceptions and intentions may pave the way for policies of "ethnic cleansing," for mass expulsions, massacres, even for genocide.

Two additional factors have not been adequately supported by the three theories discussed. These two factors are explained below in turn:

1. The size of the minority in comparison with the majority, the density of the minority population in a certain area, and opportunities for contact between majority and minority affect significantly the course of these conflicts. It has been argued that when minorities are large, when they are concentrated in a certain area (and frequently being the majority in that area), and when there are more opportunities for minority-majority contact, a conflict is more likely to emerge, and it is more likely to be an intense one (McIntosh, MacIver, Abele & Nolle, 1995).

2. Perceived or real threats are another important factor in majority-minority relations. Both groups may feel threatened. Minority groups often feel that their security as a group is in danger (McIntosh et al. 1995), and sometimes they are even afraid of extinction through violence or assimilation (Horowitz, 1985). Such fear inevitably destroys any trust the minority might have toward the majority, and any conciliatory gesture from the dominant group is misinterpreted as part of a plan to eliminate the minority. On the other hand, the majority may also feel threatened by the minority: It may realize or (mis)perceive that its cultural and political status is declining, relative to the minority group, and this may lead to a backlash and the restriction of minority rights (McIntosh et al.,1995). Moreover, majorities may often exaggerate the power of minorities and feel fear of extinction themselves. In that case, it is likely to see a very violent repression of the minority.

Cognitive Psychology and Intergroup Relations

A relatively small number of cognitive psychological studies have focused on intergroup relations, with few of these studies examining minority-majority conflict. Yet those few studies provide valuable insight into the problem. Along with the other approaches they significantly contribute to an understanding of the problem of intergroup relations and conflict.

There are two basic approaches, or 'two waves' in cognitive psychology that are sharply different from each other.

The First Wave: This emerged in the early 1950s. Later, in the 1980s, the second wave emerged, and successfully challenged the assumptions of the first one, revitalizing the cognitive school. The scientists who initiated the 'first wave' of cognitive psychology (e.g., J. S. Bruner and G. A. Miller) were mainly concerned with the mental processes behind the observable behavior of people. According to Harre and Gillet (1994), early cognitive psychologists believed that it was necessary to study these mental processes which they referred to as 'cognitive processes,' even though they were inaccessible to public observation. Their goal was to reveal the complex functions that underpin activities

such as thinking, believing, recognizing, desiring, intending, and so on (Harre & Gillet, 1994). The 'first wave' of cognitive psychology theories attempted to understand the mechanisms that mediated the transition from stimulus to response. One of its main assumptions was that there were rules in the mind, which somehow were followed, and that these rules led to orderly behavior (Harre & Gillet, 1994). This theory examined such things as "semantic categorization and its effect on recall of information, explicit instructions and problem-solving strategies, the effect of cognitive anticipations of perceptions . . . and the hierarchical relationships between categories in the ordering and retrieval of knowledge" (Harre &Gillet, 1994, p. 15).

When cognitive scientists started forming hypotheses about human cognition, they used concepts like "logical operation," "processing of information," etc. Because their approach was basically mechanistic, they adopted computation as the prime model for mental activity and the analogy between computers and human brains is used very frequently in their works (Gillespie, 1992). The mind, in their model, was a type of 'central processing unit,' the center of operations and computations (Harre & Gillet, 1994). Hence, what they meant by cognition were "all processes by which the sensory input is transformed reduced, elaborated, stored, recovered, and used" (Neisser, 1967, p. 4).

The Second Wave: The mechanistic model adopted by the 'first wave' cognitive psychologists faced some criticism, notably by Harre and Gillespie, who, in the eighties, launched the 'second wave' of cognitive psychology, or what they characterized as "the second cognitive revolution" (Harre & Gillet, 1994, p. 18-36; Gillespie, 1992, Preface). These scientists, frustrated by the reductionist and oversimplifying nature of the mechanistic model, emphasized the discursive, interactional and contextual, or situational

elements of cognition (Gillespie, 1992). They decided to pay attention to the fact that "we all share and negotiate significations and conceptualizations according to the discourses in which we are adept" (Harre & Gillet, 1994, p. 26), and focus on the influence of interpersonal and social interactions on the way human beings think, recognize, etc. They believed that in order to study cognition one should also study its "situatedness" (Gillespie, 1992).

In the social psychological studies on intergroup relations conducted with a cognitive approach, one can see the influence of both waves. Though researchers use experiments which often have a mechanistic nature, they also try to pay attention to the context or situatedness of intergroup relations.

Cognitive social psychologists argued that there were underlying cognitive processes, and cognitive biases, not just in judgments and behaviors at the personal and interpersonal level, but at the intergroup level as well (Mackie & Hamilton, 1993a). In cognitive appraisal processes, situations are evaluated in terms of their consequences for the self, as well as their consequences for one's group (Mackie & Hamilton, 1993b).

Many social psychologists, who use a cognitive approach in their studies of minority-majority relations, are concerned primarily with stereotyping, and 'consensual stereotypes,' that is, widely shared beliefs about the characteristics possessed by members of a social group (Esses, Haddock & Zanna, 1993). Together with such stereotypes, members of a social group share 'symbolic beliefs.' These are "beliefs that [other] social groups violate or uphold cherished values and norms" (Esses et al., 1993, p. 139). Symbolic beliefs consist of a wide variety of perceptions and values, including the perception of how certain groups fit into society and help make it a better or worse place in which to live, and widespread views about how society should be organized and

operate.

According to Esses et al. (1993), the dissimilarity of such beliefs, rather than ethnocultural characteristics, influences prejudices, negative attitudes toward other groups, and intergroup antagonism. Schwartz and Struch (1989) supported this conclusion by arguing that perceived differences in symbolic beliefs can damage the feeling of shared humanity between two or more groups and can lead to intergroup conflicts that may lead to violence. In these conflicts, group members perceive both themselves and their values to be threatened. When a group's shared values or symbolic beliefs are, or appear to be threatened, they tend to become even more salient (Esses et al., 1993), which may explain why a dominant group (i.e., majority) resorts to violence and oppression against a disadvantaged group (i.e., minority) advocating social change, than it is for this dominant group to revise its own values and symbolic beliefs.

An issue closely linked to stereotypes and symbolic belief is impression formation. Fiske and Neuberg (1990) have argued that impression formation is a continuum "from category-based to individuating processes" (p. 2). At one end of the continuum, impressions about a person are based on categories to which that person belongs, and not on his or her individual characteristics. At the other end of the continuum, individual characteristics, but not group membership, influence impressions. Building on Fiske and Neuberg's theory, Dovidio & Gaertner (1993) asserted that category-based processes function as a filter, allowing the perceiver to screen out irrelevant or, more importantly, inconsistent information. Thus, categorization influences impressions of others in systematic and significant ways. Once categorized, individuals are seen as group members who have basically homogeneous characteristics and possess attributes 'appropriate' to that group. Through an analysis of several empirical cognitive studies, Dovidio &

Gaertner (1993) concluded that the mere categorization of people into groups is sufficient to increase attraction to in-group members and tends to result in denigration of people identified as out-group members.

Stereotypes and Prejudice

Although children's concepts of race and ethnicity may be expressed in a variety of forms in school settings, they do not necessarily have their beginnings there. As children develop, they observe/notice differences of people around them, often in relation to their own characteristics (Hohensee & Derman-Sparks, 1992). At an early age, children unconsciously begin to formulate a set of beliefs about others who are different. They may make judgments about others who do not share the same language, religion, culture, eating habits, dress, physical features etc. They learn to identify human differences that either help them become connected with power and privilege or make them unimportant and less respected (Derman-Sparks & the A.B.C. Task Force, 1989).

Stereotypes and prejudice play a pivotal role in the development and incidence of ethnoviolence. According to Hogg and Abrams (1988), stereotypes are generalizations about people based on group membership, and are beliefs that all members of a particular group exhibit the same qualities. These beliefs are accepted by groups and/or individuals as absolute truths, even when they are based on inferences (Lewis, Said, Wieseltier & Hitchens, 1987). Furthermore, "individuals can form beliefs on the basis of internal sources, associative thinking, or from numerous external sources such as individuals in face to face with interaction, television, newspapers, books, etc." (Lewis et al., 1987, p. 87).

Eldridge (1979) suggested that the term stereotype was introduced early this

century by Walter Lippman. He argued that individual minds actually created stereotypes in an effort to simplify or give some form of order and predictability to the cognitive world. Some people find it easier and more convenient to use stereotypes, rather than interact with each other and attempt to build a fair assessment on empirical evidence to reconfirm the validity of their cognitive world.

In fact, according to Hamilton (1979), the dynamic features of a stereotype may hinder the acquisition of new information because stereotypes actually encompass a structural framework for processing new information and functions as a "schema." This schema, he argued, sensitized the individual to elements in the environment that are consistent with it, and dismisses inconsistent elements. For example, in the context of minority and majority group interaction, both groups will tend to look for a peculiar, and presumably negative aspect in each other in order to reinforce their already-held beliefs, while ignoring the positive aspects of each, leading to intensified intergroup tension. Sherif (1967) suggested that "group prejudice and derogatory images of other people, though products of historical processes forming part of people's cultural heritage, may exert a fateful influence on the ongoing process between groups" (p. 26).

Intergroup contact is necessary, but does not necessarily contribute to strengthening, understanding, and improving inter-ethnic relations. Stereotypes and negative images often result from the absence of sufficient information and/or the existence of erroneous information held by one group about another. Bloom (1971) argued that intergroup contact did not always improve group relations, and sometimes could increase tension and hostility. This concept, he believed, lent support to the notion that the efficacy of contact depends on surrounding conditions.

Lambert and Bressler (1955) conducted interviews with 19 Asian students in the

United States to study the contact-tension relationship. They discovered that contact actually intensified prejudice. Whenever Asian students met Americans who implied that the Asian cultures were of lower status, they (Asian students) reacted very negatively. This illustrated a problem in the realm of minority-majority relations. Majority students, who engage in promoting anti-minority stereotypes, risk a negative reaction from the stereotyped group, thereby exacerbating, rather than improving intergroup relations. Rather than face the unknown and interact with minority groups who may be "suspect," the majority often make "estimates of central tendencies [stereotypes] associated with particular social categories," (Berk, 1990, p.339) attributing alcoholism to Native Americans, miserliness to Jews, a quick temper to Latinos, weakness to homosexuals, and so forth.

Virtually every ethnic group in America has been stereotyped, and often became a target of ridicule, overt hostility, and violence. For example, studies in the 1930s and 1940s revealed consistent patterns of stereotypes of ethnic groups. Katz and Braly (1933), who provided the framework for early research on stereotyping, studied the attitudes of college students toward various ethnic groups. Some traits that were frequently assigned to a number of ethnic and racial groups by the surveyed students include:

- Negroes: superstitious, lazy, happy-go-lucky
- Jews: shrewd, mercenary, industrious
- Italians: artistic, impulsive, passionate
- English: sportsmanlike, intelligent, conventional
- Americans: industrious, intelligent, materialistic
- Irish: pugnacious, quick-tempered, witty (Katz & Braly, 1933, p.284).

Later studies revealed similar patterns of stereotypes. Mahan (1985) studied the attitudes of American high school seniors in a liberal Midwestern university town, towards

the Native-American and Mexican-American peoples. He found that 39% of those surveyed gave negative attributes to both groups such as "lazy," "foreign," "threatening," "dangerous," "unemployed," "hot-tempered," and "taco-eating."

Stereotypes, whether negative or positive, have a tremendous impact on intergroup relations and they are likely to condition the kind of interaction that goes on between minority and majority groups. Hogg and Abrams (1988) believed that stereotyping is a central and powerful component of prejudice and intergroup relations and its study is inextricable from the study of intergroup behavior. Kadi (1996) discussed the power of these stereotypes:

> I've always understood the power of words. Certain words can be crunched together into a hard ball and flung with lightening speed. They can knock you off your feet and leave you gasping for breath. It happened to me with the word Arab. People enjoyed hurling word combinations at me - Arab whore, greasy Arab, crazy Arab - and bowling me over, day after day (Kadi, 1996, p. 10).

Furthermore, stereotyping has important and far-reaching consequences for behavior, ranging from relatively harmless assumptions about people to gross practices such as genocide (Hogg & Abrams, 1988). According to Sherif (1967), a panel of social scientists and psychiatrists assembled by United Nations Education, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) considered stereotypes and prejudice as contributors to modern wars.

Prejudice, as defined by Alport (1958) is "an avertive or hostile attitude toward a person who belongs to a group, simply because he belongs to that group, and is therefore presumed to have the objectionable qualities ascribed to that group" (p. 8). He suggested that such attitude is based upon faulty and inflexible generalizations that are a reflection of an individual's way of perceiving and thinking about himself and the world around him

while going through a process of "categorizing." He suggested that the process of "categorizing" is detrimental, but unavoidable. The following are characteristics of categorizing:

1. It forms large classes and clusters for guiding our daily adjustment.
2. Categorization assimilates as much as it can to the cluster.
3. The category enables us to quickly identify a related object.
4. The category saturates all that it contains with the same ideational and emotional flavor.
5. Categories may be more or less rational (Allport, 1958, p.19-22).

Some categorizations, and processes of categorizing are rational, but others are questionable. For example, to say "most Arabs speak Arabic" is rational, whereas saying that "most Arabs are small business owners" is not. This type of categorization may lead to hostility and an intensified group conflict. The hostile attitude or aversion manifests itself in a variety of feelings such as anger, frustration, hatred, fear, and distrust about members of other groups. Based on various studies, Berelson and Steiner (1964) estimated that only 20-25% of the U.S. adult population could be fairly described as free of hostile attitudes toward one or more minority group. Hostility, resulting from prejudice, assumes different forms that range from a relative antipathy toward groups to a comprehensive, well articulated, and coherent ideology about their inferiority (Yetman & Steele, 1975).

Researchers argued that prejudice, like other attitudes, are learned throughout the socialization process (Katz, 1982). It is learned through exposure to negative and hostile attitudes exhibited by friends and family toward others who are different. Moreover, given the relative imperviousness of adult prejudice to the effects of conflicting evidence and experience, "it appears that predisposition acquired at early developmental stages may lay

a potent foundation for later racism" (Katz, 1982, p.18).

Hurlock (1956) further elaborated on this relationship between early socialization and the development of prejudiced attitudes:

> . . . few people actually teach their children to be prejudiced and that their attitudes and behavior, their restrictions on playmates of their children, and the tendency to stereotype all individuals of a given racial or religious group with certain physical, behavioral and mental characteristics result in a pattern of prejudice which their children imitate. It is not the parents' attitudes alone, but also the whole home influence that is responsible for the development of prejudice (Hurlock, 1956, p. 290).

They may be taught that intolerance is an acceptable reaction to diversity rather than how to deal creatively and non violently with conflict or anger (Siraj-Blatchfford, 1994). As a result, young children may develop "pre-prejudice": misconceptions, discomfort, fear, and rejection of differences that can blossom into full fledged prejudice if they are not helped to overcome their initial negative feelings" (Derman-Sparks & the ABC Task Force, 1989).

Furthermore, research identified personality factors that contribute to the intensity of prejudice. Alport (1958) suggested that wherever prejudice exists, it's unlikely that it stands apart from the dynamics of a person's style of life. In addition, he noted that fear of the surrounding social environment and a sense of insecurity are common personality factors of prejudiced individuals. In fact, they use prejudice as a protective factor where threats are externalized by selectively focusing on a minority group. For example, a college student was murdered in Wyoming in October 1999, because he was gay. The individuals who committed this crime were homophobic who were prejudiced against homosexuals.

Stereotypes do not develop in a vacuum. Often, factors such as economic problems, political conflicts and upheaval provide an impetus to the manifestation of

negative stereotypes (Bodinger-deUriarte & Sancho, 1991) (i.e., increased employment opportunities for minority and ethnic groups at the same time of a shrinking job market may create a feeling of general economic insecurity amongst members of the majority). The majority may come to view the minority as a scapegoat for economic distress. It appears that the most intense form of racism occurs in neighborhoods where different groups are competing for the same jobs and opportunities (Johnson, 1989). This economic competition may put stress on intergroup relations, but it also creates a misperception that this country is being flooded with immigrants seeking Americans' jobs, hence, putting new immigrants at risk of ethnoviolent assaults.

In addition, stereotypes and prejudice also proliferate during times of national and international conflicts. These conflicts can lead to overt hostility, prejudice and violence. Berelson and Steiner (1964) suggested that stereotypes become even more harmful in an atmosphere of tension and conflict. For example, the events related to the Oklahoma City bombing in April 1995 and the explosion of TWA Flight 800 were met with unsubstantiated reports of Arab involvement. Several Arabs had to endure relentless interrogations, and airport profiling in complete disregard to due process ("Vandalism of First Ever," 1997).

Summary

Ethnoviolence can be defined as an act of violence against a person or property because of the victim's ethnic, racial, religious or other "different" background. Underlying this simple definition is a complicated history of hate and prejudice in a country whose population is derived mostly from immigrants.

Violence and youth violence have been increasing over the past several decades.

Violence has permeated the communities to the extent that even the public schools, once a haven for children, are no longer safe. Likewise, ethnoviolence has spread from the larger community setting into the nation's schools. The scope of ethnoviolence is difficult to assess, since official statistics do not give the full picture. However, these same statistics show that the number of acts of ethnoviolence, particularly those inflicted by hate groups, has increased substantially.

Ethnoviolence has unique characteristics that set it apart from other forms of violence. For example, in ethnoviolence, perpetrators often act in groups rather than singly and are motivated by hate rather than economic gain, victims are singled out because they are members of a particular group, victims are usually unknown to the perpetrators, the level of physical harm is high, and property is destroyed rather than stolen.

Violence and ethnoviolence are fueled by a multitude of factors, such as abusive home environments, poor community environments in which poverty, lack of education, substance abuse, and violence are the norms, a history of intolerance and prejudice against new immigrants, economic insecurity, and stereotypes.

Beginning in the 1950s, research and theory on psychological causes of intergroup conflict have emerged. Early models focused on incompatible goals as a source of intergroup competition and conflict. A second model was based on the need for positive social identity in groups. In Social Identity theory, groups maintain a positive social identity by comparing themselves with other groups, resulting in a 'us' versus 'them' mentality. More recent research applies theories of personality development to intergroup conflict. These psychoanalytical and psychodynamic theories are based on the idea that groups need enemies on whom they can project their negative feelings. Cognitive

psychologists have also contributed to an understanding of the problem. Initially, they studied mental processes behind observable behavior, but a second "wave" of cognitive psychologists focused on how social interactions influenced the way people think. Finally, social scientists have studied how stereotypes, which play a crucial role in ethnoviolence, are formed at an early age, how internal and external influences, such as associative thinking or the media help to form stereotypes, and the role of stereotyping in bringing order to peoples' cognitive world.

While these topics have been studied in general, limited research has focused on an adolescent population and their perceptions of ethnoviolence. As these students are facing increased diversity within their neighborhoods and schools, a greater need has emerged to provide strategies for these students to deal with ethnoviolence. Through the provision of interventions to decrease ethnoviolence among this population, these adolescents may learn to live nonviolently in an ethnically diverse society.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

The methods that were used to collect and analyze the data needed to answer the research questions posed by this study are discussed in this chapter. The topics included in this chapter are: research design, setting for the study, population and sample, instrument, data collection procedures, and data analysis. Each of these sections is discussed in detail in this chapter.

Research Design

This study used a descriptive research design that incorporated the use of a survey as the primary data collection tool. This type of research design is considered appropriate when the independent variable is not manipulated and no treatment or intervention is provided for the participants. The students, who comprised the sample, were asked to complete an original survey on ethnic violence. The analysis of data described ethnic violence as perceived by high school students, with comparisons made to compare and contrast differential student groupings (e.g., gender, grade, school).

Variables in the Study

This study examined student perceptions of ethnoviolence. Seven dependent variables measuring ethnoviolence were obtained from student responses to the survey:

1. Type of reported ethnoviolent incidents within the last 12 months.
2. Frequency of ethnoviolence incidents related to ethnic background within the last 12 months.
3. Self-reported stress symptoms.

4. Reports and non-reports of ethnoviolent incidents.

5. Students' mode of conflict management.

6. Places and individuals from whom students sought help with ethnoviolence situations.

Five independent variables were obtained from the survey. These independent variables included:

1. Grade level (8^{th}, 9^{th}, 10^{th}, 11^{th}, and 12^{th} grades)

2. Gender (male, female)

3. Ethnicity/racial background

4. School attended

5. Length of time lived in the country

Research Questions

The dependent and independent variables measured by the survey developed for this study were used to answer the following research questions:

1. Is there a difference among middle and high school students' perceived experiences with ethnoviolence in school relative to their ethnicity/racial backgrounds?

2. Is there a difference among middle and high school students' perceived experiences with ethnoviolence relative to their grade level?

3. Is there a difference between middle and high school students' perceived experiences with ethnoviolence relative to their gender?

4. Is there a relationship between perceived experiences with ethnoviolence and the length of time students have lived in the United States?

5. Is there a difference among students with different ethnic/racial backgrounds in the strategies used to manage conflict related to ethnoviolence?

6. Is there a difference among students from different ethnic/racial backgrounds in

manifestations of stress symptoms related to ethnoviolence experiences?

Setting of the Study

The students included in this study were involved in two different educational programs located in Wayne County. One program included students enrolled in the Wayne County Regional Educational Service Agency's (RESA) Student Talent Academy Reaching for Success (STARS) Program, also known as the Saturday Academy. The second program included students enrolled in the Arab Community Center for Economic and Social Service's (ACCESS) Youth Program.

The STARS Program enrollment included middle and high school students from Ecorse, Inkster, River Rouge, Van Buren and Westwood school districts. There are 223 students enrolled in the STARS Program Saturday Academy. The grouping of these students by grade level and school district is shown in Table 9.

Table 9

Saturday Academy Enrollment - District and Grade Level Summary

Grade	Ecorse	Inkster	River Rouge	Van Buren	Westwood
8	10	8	13	10	2
9	1	6	8	8	21
10	4	16	11	7	14
11	4	8	5	11	4
12	8	10	8	12	14
Total	27	48	45	48	55

The students enrolled in the STARS program attended the Saturday Academy sessions which were held at Wayne County Community College - Western Campus in Belleville, Michigan. Students' selection of classes was based on their interest and needs. These classes included Journalism, Science, Study Skills, Life Skills, Economics, Careers, Leadership, Publishing, College Preparation, and several other extracurricular areas such as volunteerism, civic responsibility, and field trips. The primary objective of the Wayne County RESA STARS Program was to recruit and provide services to students in 6th through 12th grades who demonstrated strong motivation and potential for enrollment in post-secondary education, and who came from low-income, traditionally disadvantaged and under-represented groups such as minorities, females, and individuals with disabilities.

Students enrolled in the STARS Program Saturday Academy came from low-income communities. The supporting data in the form of poverty rates among students enrolled in the six districts, and the percentage of middle/high school students receiving free/reduced lunch is presented within Table 10.

Table 10

Low Income Status of Participating School Districts

Community/School District	School District Data		
	Percent of Students Below Poverty Rate‡	Percent of Middle/ High School Students Receiving Free/ Reduced Lunch‡	Median Household Income (1996-97)‡
Dearborn	18.02	31.6	$35,040
Ecorse	37.60	63.0	$18,956
Inkster	46.57	64.3	$19,008
River Rouge	41.83	63.6	$17,500
Van Buren	9.59	24.4	$36,844
Westwood	23.50	57.6	$30,530

‡Data Source: Wayne County Schools Data Book, UDSA District Summary (February, 1996), and State of Michigan Department of Education School District Report Card (1997).

Poverty levels varied among these communities, with Van Buren Township (27.6%) having the lowest percentage of families earning less than $25,000 annual and River Rouge (62.2%) having the highest percentage of families at this income level. Educational attainment also varied among the seven communities. Table 11 presents the percentage of families with annual incomes less than $25,000 and the percentage of adults 25 years or over with a college degree.

Table 11

Community Poverty Rates and Educational Levels

Community	Percentage of Households with Income less than $25,000	Percentage of Adults 25 years of age or over with college degrees
Belleville	32.1	13.6
Dearborn	28.3	21.7
Dearborn Heights	30.0	13.7
Ecorse	37.2	3.3
Inkster	49.7	7.3
River Rouge	62.2	6.1
Van Buren Township	27.6	16.2

Data Source: U. S. Department of Labor 1996 Report, 1990 Census Report, and Southeast Michigan Council of Governments.

The second group of students included in this study were enrolled at the Arab Community Center for Economic and Social Services Youth Program in Dearborn, Michigan. The students enrolled in the ACCESS Youth Program attend various middle and high schools in the Dearborn School District. The district has three high schools and five middle schools. The percentage of Arab-American students attending these different schools varied from one school to another, depending on its location within the city. As Arab-Americans are generally classified as White, it is difficult to determine the percentage of students in this ethnic group. The highest Arab-American student concentration is in the eastern section of the city.

Dearborn has a large Arabic population that includes new immigrants and first, second, and third generation Arab Americans. The people residing in this suburb represented a continuum from low to middle socioeconomic statuses. The city has been polarized, with most Arab Americans and Arabic immigrants living in the eastern section of

the city, while most non Arabs reside in the western part of the city. The Arabic section of this city has a large number of Arabic convenience stores, supermarkets, bookstores, bakeries, and restaurants that cater to the needs of their population. Arabic is the primary language spoken in this area of the city, with bilingual educational services provided to most children from this area.

The racial-ethnic breakdown in the STARS Program Saturday Academy was majority African-Americans (n=158, 70%), with American-Indian (n= 7, 3%), Asian Pacific Islander (n=2, 1%), Hispanic (n= 7, 3%), and Caucasian (n= 49, 22%). The six school districts from which the two groups of students were obtained were predominantly White, with the exception of Inkster which has been predominantly African-American in population. Table 12 provides the racial breakdown of student population and student enrollment.

Table 12

Racial Breakdown of School Districts Included in Study

	Dearborn	Ecorse	Inkster	River Rouge	Van Buren	Westwood
Total Enrollment	15, 751	2,299	3,040	2,275	6,639	3,077
Percent of Students by Race						
African-American	0.69	38.95	91.35	35.44	13.13	41.98
Asian/Pacific	1.89	0.59	0.60	0.28	1.57	1.29
Hispanic	3.80	9.12	0.52	4.76	1.07	3.94
White	92.78	49.08	7.54	58.76	83.76	51.60

Data Source: Michigan Department of Education (1997) School Report.

Instrumentation

The study used an original instrument that was completed by students in grades 8 through 12. This survey is intended to investigate students' experiences with ethnic and racial violence, their mode of conflict management, and specific stress symptoms associated with the experiences.

Prior to the implementation of the survey, the questionnaire was reviewed to determine the validity and reliability of the instrument. During this review process, the author solicited feedback from numerous people with specialties in areas such as: social science, conflict management and violence prevention, English language, and research and evaluation design. In addition, this questionnaire was reviewed by research and evaluation experts from the Wayne County Regional Educational Service Agency (RESA) and Wayne State University. The instrument was also pilot-tested by students to obtain feedback as to the relevance of the items to their schools and experiences.

The questionnaire instrument "Ethnic and Racial Violence School Survey" appears in Appendix A. It is divided into three sections:

1. *Demographic Status:* This first section is intended to solicit essential information related to students' grade level, age, sex, ethnic and religious identity and place of birth.

2. *Reporting and Frequency of School Ethnic Violence:* The second section is based on recommendations by ethnic conflict researcher Ehrlich (1995), in addition to two separate instruments dealing with youth and ethnic violence. The following two instruments, in addition to recommendations by Ehrlich (1997) have guided the design of the second section of the Ethnic and Racial Violence Survey, which deals with the frequency and reporting of ethnic school violence.

    a. *Hate Crimes School Survey*: This is a 12 item self-reporting model developed by Bodinger-deUriarte & Sancho (1991) to assess school climate as it relates to prevalence of bias-motivated violent incidents on school premisses.

b. *Youth Risk Behavior Survey [YRBS]*: This is an 87 item model developed by the U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention [CDC] in collaboration with representatives from 71 state and local departments of education and 19 other federal agencies to monitor health risk behaviors, including frequency of violence (Michigan Department of Education, 1996). This survey has been used widely by several researchers, as well, to assess factors associated with the use of violence (DuRant et al., 1994; Grunbaum & Basen-Enquist, 1993).

3. *Response to Ethnic Violence and Post Traumatic Stress:* The design of this section was based on recommendations made by Ehrlich (1995), and Ehrlich, Larcom & Purvis (1994). The section includes two questions; one deals with responses to ethnic violence; and the second question includes a modified checklist of post-traumatic stress symptoms utilized in several studies (Ehrlich, 1995).

This study used self-reporting measures. The advantage of self-report measures is direct access to a primary source and allaying concerns over second-hand information and bias. The major disadvantage to this type of instrument is that subjects can lie, making their responses more socially acceptable, more aligned with what participants' think the researcher is looking for, or simply trying to second guess or "outsmart" the instrument. Care should be taken in interpreting data related to the study as there is a danger of bias and exaggeration in self-reporting formats. Each instrument has strengths and weaknesses specific to who is doing the reporting, the method of collecting the information, and ease of administration. The self-report rating scale-questionnaire type is easy to administer (mail, captive high school students, etc.), is usable with a large sample, is inexpensive and efficient (Gay, 1992 p. 224). An advantage of this method can also be a disadvantage. The advantage is that since ratings are provided by the individuals being assessed, researchers have access to primary sources of information. The disadvantage is that primary sources can alter their responses, making them appear to be more socially acceptable and responsible, tainting the researchers' findings (Furlong & Smith, 1994). Another drawback

to the questionnaire method is that what is found by the researcher is limited not only to the questions and choices provided, but by the specificity and ease of understanding the questions. The omission of one important question can lead to false conclusions and inaccurate generalizations. Additionally, it is impossible to gain insight regarding subjects' answers due to the nature of the instrument. Figure 1 presents the advantages and disadvantages of the use of self-reporting measures for data collection.

Figure 1

Advantages and Disadvantages of Use of Self-Reporting Measures

Advantages of Using Self-Report and Rating Scales
• Easily provide multiple perspectives. • Ensure that many behaviors are not inadvertently ignored by raters. • Structured format increases objectivity and reliability. • Ecological validity increases as more informants/settings are used. • Collect a lot of information efficiently. • Contradictions among raters may identify setting-specific behavior. • Provide information when children can or will not cooperate. • Raters are often particularly motivated to respond.
Cautions of Using Self-Report and Rating Scales
• Rater perceptions are filtered--they do not report "objective" reality. • Appropriate norms are often unavailable. • Halo effects can occur--no discrimination among behaviors. • Leniency effects can influence ratings--there is a bias to be tough or easy, regardless of who or what is being rated. • Central tendency bias can influence ratings when the informant avoids using the extreme ends of the rating scale. • Self-serving bias can influence ratings in which there is a tendency for individuals to rate themselves above average on positive personal traits. • Social desirability can affect self-reports on negative emotions and behavior • Ratings are often given equal weight even though some raters have more intimate awareness of a child's behavior. • Many informant rating scales do not have an internal reliability check as do self-report rating scales. • Long- and short-term memory limitations may influence responses. • Items may not be worded in ways that generate strong emotional reactions, particularly important in anger-related scales. • Heuristics of information processing, such as illusory correlation, may bias judgments about the occurrence of certain behaviors. • Low agreement across raters. • Validity and applicability of anger scales across diverse groups of children has not been well established.

Note. From Anger, Hostility and Aggression: Assessment, Prevention, and Intervention Strategies for Youth (p. 5), by M. Furlong and D. Smith, 1994, Brandon, Vermont: Clinical Psychology Publishing Company. Copyright 1994 by Clinical Psychology Publishing Company.

Data Collection

The researcher made an appointment with the administrator of the STARS program and the director of Research Office for ACCESS to decide upon a mutually agreeable time in which the surveys may be distributed and completed by the adolescents in their programs. After this time has been determined, the researcher prepared survey packets for the students. The survey packet included a copy of the survey, a survey cover letter

explaining the study, and a sealable envelope for confidential return of the completed survey.

Following the meeting, letters explaining the survey and informed consent forms were sent to parents of students in this study via United States mail (see Appendix B). The cover letter explained the intent and the importance of the study, and provided instructions on returning signed informed consent forms to allow their child(ren) to participate in this study. On the date of the planned study, the researcher met with teachers whose classes were selected for the study. The researcher distributed the survey packets to the adolescents with the help of the teachers, and provided instructions regarding their completion. The participants were asked to read the survey's cover letter and then were told that their decision to participate (or not participate) would not affect their treatment in their respective programs. The students were also told that they could choose to withdraw from the study at any time prior to returning their completed survey packet. Since the surveys were not coded, withdrawal was possible as individuals were not identifiable for removal from the study. Due to the nature and the topic of this study, students were also informed of the availability of free local counseling services for youth in areas related to ethnoviolent experiences.

All data collection was completed during the scheduled time for the administration of the questionnaire, with no survey packets distributed outside of the classrooms. Students with returned informed consent forms who were not present at the time of the administration of the questionnaire were not included in the study.

In addition, a focus group of 10 to12 students who completed the surveys earlier was asked to meet to discuss the findings and to determine their perceptions of the reality of the results. The results of the focus group were summarized using content analysis and

are presented as part of Chapter IV.

Data Analysis

The data collected from the survey were entered into a computer file for analysis using SPSS-Windows – Version 8.0. The data analysis was divided into two sections, descriptive and inferential. The first section utilized descriptive analysis which included frequency distributions, measures of central tendency and dispersion, and crosstabulations to provide a description of the sample. The second section of the analyses used inferential statistical analyses to address the research questions. These analyses included one-way analysis of variance, with appropriate post hoc testing, t-tests for two independent samples, and Pearson product moment correlations. All decisions on the statistical significance of the findings were made using an alpha level of .05. Figure 2 presents the statistical analyses that were used to address each of the research questions developed for this study.

Figure 2

Statistical Analyses

Research Question	Variables	Statistical Analysis
1. Is there a difference among middle and high school students' perceived experiences with ethnoviolence in school relative to their ethnicity/racial backgrounds?	Dependent Variable Perceived experiences with ethnoviolence in school Independent Variable Ethnic/racial backgrounds	One-way analysis of variance procedures was used to determine if there were differences in perceived experiences with ethnoviolence by the ethnic background of the student. Where a statistically significant difference was found on the omnibus F ratio, post hoc tests using Tukey's honest significant difference (HSD) were used to compare all possible pairwise comparisons.
2. Is there a difference among middle and high school students' perceived experiences with ethnoviolence relative to their grade level?	Dependent Variable Perceived experiences with ethnoviolence in school Independent Variable Grade level in school	One-way analysis of variance procedures was used to determine if there were differences in perceived experiences with ethnoviolence by the grade level of the student. Where a statistically significant difference was found on the omnibus F ratio, post hoc tests using Tukey's honest significant difference (HSD) was used to compare all possible pairwise comparisons.
3. Is there a difference between middle and high school students' perceived experiences with ethnoviolence relative to their gender?	Dependent Variable Perceived experiences with ethnoviolence in school Independent Variable Gender	t-Tests for two independent samples were used to determine if perceived experiences with ethnoviolence in school differed between male and female students.
4. Is there a relationship between perceived experiences with ethnoviolence and the length of time students have lived in the United States?	Dependent Variable Perceived experiences with ethnoviolence in school Independent Variable Length of time in the United States	Pearson product moment correlations were used to determine the strength and direction of the relationship between perceived experiences with ethnoviolence and length of time the student(s) lived in the United States.
5. Is there a difference among students with different ethnic/racial backgrounds in the strategies used to manage conflict related to ethnoviolence?	Dependent Variable Strategies used to manage conflict Independent Variable Ethnic/racial background of the student	Crosstabualtions and chi-square analysis were used to determine if specific strategies used to manage conflict related to ethnoviolence differed among students with differing ethnic/racial backgrounds.

Research Question	Variables	Statistical Analysis
6. Is there a difference among students from different ethnic/racial backgrounds manifestations of stress symptoms related to ethnoviolence experiences?	Dependent Variable Perceived manifestations of stress symptoms related to ethnoviolence experiences Independent Variable Ethnic/racial background of the student	One-way analysis of variance procedures was used to determine if there were differences in perceived manifestations of stress symptoms related to ethnoviolence by the ethnic/racial background of the student. Where a statistically significant difference was found on the omnibus F ratio, post hoc tests using Tukey's honest significant difference (HSD) were used to compare all possible pairwise comparisons

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS OF DATA ANALYSIS

This chapter presents the results of the data analysis that were used to describe the sample and answer each of the research questions. These analyses were intended to address the research problem, the examination of male and female multicultural middle and high school students' perceptions of ethnoviolence, as well as personal experiences relating to their involvement with ethnoviolence either personally or peripherally through their peers.

Surveys were distributed to students at the Wayne County Regional Educational Service Agency (RESA) STARS Saturday Academy and The Arab Community Center for Economic and Social Services (ACCESS) Youth Program during their scheduled instructional sessions and activities. A total of 178 students randomly selected from both the RESA STARS program (n=131, 73.6 %) and the ACCESS Youth Program (n=47, 26.4 %) completed the survey.

This chapter is divided into two sections. The first section uses frequency distributions to present a profile of students, in grades 8 thorough 12, who participated in this study. The second section uses inferential statistical analysis to address each of the research questions.

Description of Sample

Students

The students were asked to provide their ages on the survey. Their responses were summarized using frequency distributions as presented in Table 13.

Table 13

Age of Students

Age of Students	Frequency	Percent
Twelve	16	9.0
Thirteen	13	7.3
Fourteen	18	10.1
Fifteen	21	1.8
Sixteen	39	21.9
Seventeen	43	24.2
Eighteen	24	13.5
Nineteen	4	2.2
Total	178	100.0

The largest group of respondents (n=43, 24.2%) reported their age as 17 years old. This was followed by students (n=39, 21.9%) who reported their ages being 16 years old. Twenty-four students (13.5%) were 18 years of age, while 21 (11.8%) students were 15 years of age. This was followed closely by students (n=18, 10.1%) who reported being 14 years of age, and students (n=13, 7.3%) who reported being 13 years of age. The remaining students (n=16, 9.0%) reported their ages being 12 years old. Finally, the smallest group of students (n=4, 2.2%) reported their ages being 19 years old.

The students were asked to indicate their gender on the survey. Their responses to this question were summarized using frequency distributions. The results of this analysis are presented in Table 14.

Table 14

Gender of Students

Gender of Students	Frequency	Percent
Male	70	39.3
Female	108	60.7
Total	178	100.0

The majority of respondents (n=108, 60.7%) reported their gender as female. The remaining students (n=70, 39.3%) reported their gender as male.

The students were asked to provide the grade in which they were currently enrolled. Their responses were summarized using frequency distributions for presentation in Table 15.

Table 15

Grade of Students

Grade of Students	Frequency	Percent
Eighth	20	11.2
Ninth	28	15.7
Tenth	33	18.5
Eleventh	34	19.1
Twelfth	50	28.1
Ungraded or other	13	7.3
Total	178	100.0

The largest group of students who participated in this study (n=50, 28.9%) was in the 12th grade with 34 (19.1%) students in the 11th grade. This was followed closely by the 10th grade student group (n=33, 18.5%), and the 9th grade student group (n=28, 15.7%). Twenty (11.2%) students in the 8th grade also participated in the study. Thirteen

(7.3%) students were in the ungraded/other category. The majority of those who selected the ungraded or other category indicated on the survey that they were in the 7th grade.

In addition, the students were asked to indicate their ethnicity or their racial origin. As the students were asked to check all that apply, the number of responses to this item exceeded the number of respondents. Students who checked more than one ethnicity/race may have been multiethnic with parents or grandparents from different ethnic/racial groups. Their responses to this question were summarized using frequency distributions. The results of this analysis are presented in Table 16.

Table 16

Ethnicity/Race of Students

Ethnicity/Race of Students	Frequency	Percent
American Indian	9	5.1
Arab American	38	21.3
African American	97	54.5
Hispanic/Latino/Latina	9	5.1
Caucasian	30	16.9
Other	8	4.5

The majority of respondents (n=97, 54.5%) described themselves as being Black or African American. The second largest group of students (n=38, 21.3%) described their ethnicity as Arab Americans. This was followed by respondents (n=30, 16.9%) who reported being White or Caucasian, while 9 (5.1%) students identified themselves as being Hispanic, or Latino/Latina. Moreover, the respondents included 9 (5.1%) American Indian students, while 8 (4.5%) students reported their ethnicity as "other."

The students were asked to identify the school district in which they were

enrolled. Their responses were summarized using frequency distributions for presentation in Table 17.

Table 17

Districts Where Students Attend School

Districts Where Students Attend School	Frequency	Percent
Dearborn	41	24.0
Ecorse	25	14.6
Inkster	16	9.4
River Rouge	11	6.4
Van Buren	38	22.2
Westwood	40	23.4
Total	171	100.0
Missing	7	

The largest group of respondents (n=41, 23%) attended school in the School District of the City of Dearborn, followed by 40 (22.5%) students who reported their district as the Westwood Community School District, a district that includes sections of the cities of Dearborn Heights and Inkster. Thirty-eight (21.3%) students were enrolled in the Van Buren Public Schools, while 25 (14.0%) students came from the Ecorse Public Schools. A smaller number of students (n=11, 6.2%) were enrolled in the River Rouge Community School District, while 7 (3.9%) students didn't identify their school district.

The students were asked to indicate the number of years they lived in the United States or if they were born in the United States. Their responses were summarized using frequency distributions. Table 18 presents the results of this analysis.

Table 18

Number of Years Students Lived in the United States

Number of Years in the United States	Frequency	Percent
Born in the United States	150	84.3
1 to 3 years	12	6.7
7 to 9 years	4	2.2
10 or more years	8	4.5
Total	178	100.0

The majority of respondents (n=150, 84.3%) reported that they were born in the United States. Twelve (6.7%) respondents had lived in the United States for 1 to 3 years. Eight (4.5%) students reported living in the United States for 10 or more years. Smaller numbers of students (4, 2.2%) reported living in the United States for 4 to 6 years. An equal number (n=4, 2.2%) of students reported the length of time lived in the United States as 7 to 9 years.

Research Questions

Six research questions were posed for this study. Each of these questions was answered using inferential statistical analysis, and using an alpha level of .05 with all decisions on the statistical significance of the findings.

> *Research Question 1.* Is there a difference among middle and high school students' perceived experiences with ethnoviolence in school relative to their ethnicity/racial backgrounds?

The mean scores for each of the four dependent variables measuring perceived experiences with ethnoviolence were compared by the students' ethnicity/racial backgrounds using a Kruskal-Wallis one-way analysis of variance. The results of this analysis are presented in Table 19.

Table 19

Kruskal-Wallis One-Way Analysis of Variance
Students' Perceived Experiences with Ethnoviolence
by Ethnic/Racial Background

Type of Violence	Ethnic/Racial Background	Number	Mean Rank	Chi-Square
Verbal Violence (by direct experience)	American Indian	6	88.58	6.08 (NS)
	Arab American	38	90.54	
	Black/African American	87	92.72	
	Hispanic/Latino/Latina	9	105.83	
	White/Caucasian	29	79.88	
	Other	8	55.69	
Overt Violence (by direct experience)	American Indian	6	98.33	9.36 (NS)
	Arab American	38	97.39	
	Black/African American	87	92.39	
	Hispanic/Latino/Latina	9	73.67	
	White/Caucasian	29	77.14	
	Other	8	65.50	
Verbal Violence (as witnessed against others)	American Indian	6	67.33	6.83 (NS)
	Arab American	38	88.99	
	Black/African American	85	82.16	
	Hispanic/Latino/Latina	9	113.33	
	White/Caucasian	29	101.98	
	Other	8	81.63	
Overt Violence (as witnessed against others)	American Indian	6	103.58	3.39 (NS)
	Arab American	37	91.46	
	Black/African American	85	84.79	
	Hispanic/Latino/Latina	9	69.50	
	White/Caucasian	29	94.43	
	Other	8	81.06	

The results of the Kruskal-Wallis one-way analysis of variance did not provide evidence of significant differences among the students in the different ethnic/racial groups. Based on this finding, it appears that students of different racial/ethnic groups did not differ in their perceptions of verbal or overt violence either through direct experience or as witnessed against others.

Research Question 2. Is there a difference among middle and high school students' perceived experiences with ethnoviolence relative to their grade level?

The four subscales measuring perceived experiences with ethnoviolence were

used as the dependent variables in one-way analyses of variance. The grade level of the student was used as the independent variable in this analysis. The results of this analysis are presented in Table 20.

Table 20

One-Way Analysis of Variance
Students' Perceived Experiences with Ethnoviolence
by Grade Level

Type of Violence	Grade Level	Number	Mean	SD	DF	F Ratio
Verbal Violence (by direct experience)	Eighth	19	2.05	.98	5/171	1.82 (NS)
	Ninth	28	2.25	1.15		
	Tenth	33	1.71	.99		
	Eleventh	34	1.56	.89		
	Twelfth	50	1.81	1.12		
	Ungraded or Other	13	2.19	1.40		
Overt Violence (by direct experience)	Eighth	19	1.37	.60	5/171	3.76*
	Ninth	28	1.58	1.03		
	Tenth	33	1.12	.25		
	Eleventh	34	1.07	.15		
	Twelfth	50	1.14	.41		
	Ungraded or Other	13	1.40	.79		
Verbal Violence (as witnessed against others)	Eighth	19	2.79	1.12	5/169	.45 (NS)
	Ninth	28	2.42	1.16		
	Tenth	32	2.21	1.17		
	Eleventh	34	2.04	1.14		
	Twelfth	49	2.32	1.17		
	Ungraded or Other	13	2.27	1.25		
Overt Violence (as witnessed against others)	Eighth	19	1.59	.81	5/168	0.66 (NS)
	Ninth	28	1.61	.96		
	Tenth	32	1.43	.77		
	Eleventh	34	1.32	.49		
	Twelfth	49	1.41	.76		
	Ungraded or Other	13	1.35	.57		

*$p \leq .05$

One subscale, overt violence (by direct experience) measuring students' perceived experiences with ethnoviolence differed significantly by grade level of the student. The obtained F ratio of 3.76 was statistically significant at an alpha level of .05 with 5 and 171 degrees of freedom. An examination of the mean scores showed that students in the

ninth grade (m=1.58, sd=1.03) had the highest scores, followed by those who indicated ungraded or other (m=1.40, sd=.79). The students in the eleventh grade (n=107, sd=.15) had the lowest scores indicating fewer experiences with overt violence. Twelfth grade students' mean score of 1.14 (sd=.41) were also low in comparison to the ninth grade students.

To determine which groups were contributing to the significant result, all pairwise comparisons were compared using Scheffé's a posteriori tests. The results of this analysis indicated that the ninth grade students differed significantly from the eleventh grade students on this measure. The remainder of the pairwise comparisons were not significant, indicating the other groups did not differ significantly in terms of overt violence through direct experience.

The other three subscales did not differ among the students relative to their grade levels. Based on these findings, there does not appear to be a difference in verbal violence by direct experience, verbal violence as witnessed against others, and overt violence as witnessed against others.

Research Question 3. Is there a difference between middle and high school students' perceived experiences with ethnoviolence relative to their gender?

The four subscales measuring ethnoviolence were used as the dependent variables in t-tests for two independent variables. The genders of the students were used as the independent variables in this analysis. The results of this analysis are presented in Table 21.

Table 21

t-Test for Two Independent Samples
Students' Perceived Experiences with Ethnoviolence
by Gender

Type of Violence	Gender	Number	Mean	SD	DF	t-Value
Verbal Violence (by direct experience)	Male Female	70 107	1.98 1.79	1.12 1.05	175	1.13 (NS)
Overt Violence (by direct experience)	Male Female	70 107	1.30 1.20	.56 .59	175	1.06 (NS)
Verbal Violence (as witnessed against others)	Male Female	69 106	2.03 2.36	1.00 1.23	173	-1.89 (NS)
Overt Violence (as witnessed against others)	Male Female	69 105	1.35 1.50	.58 .83	172	-1.31 (NS)

The four subscales measuring ethnoviolence did not differ between the male and female students. This finding indicated that male and female students were similar in their perceptions of verbal or overt violence either through direct experience or as witnessed against others

Research Question 4. Is there a relationship between perceived experiences with ethnoviolence and the length of time students have lived in the United States?

The length of time students who were born outside of the United States had resided in this country was correlated with the four subscales measuring ethnoviolence using Spearman's rank order correlations. Students were asked to indicate the number of years they had lived in the United States using a forced choice categorical response set. As this variable was measured using an ordinal scale, Spearman's rank order correlations were considered more appropriate than Pearson's product moment correlations which require both variables to attain continuous scaling. The results of this analysis are presented in Table 22.

Table 22

Spearman Rank Order Correlations
Students' Perceived Experiences with Ethnoviolence
With Length of Time in the United States

Type of Violence	Number	r_s	Sig of r_s
Verbal Violence (by direct experience)	28	.06	.769
Overt Violence (by direct experience)	28	.15	.446
Verbal Violence (as witnessed against others)	28	.05	.814
Overt Violence (as witnessed against others)	28	-.01	.979

The correlations between length of time in the United States and the four subscales measuring ethnoviolence were nonsignificant. Based on these findings, the length of time in the United States does not appear to be related to either direct experiences with verbal and overt violence or by witnessing violence against others.

Research Question 5. Is there a difference among students with different ethnic/racial backgrounds in the strategies used to manage conflict related to ethnoviolence?

The students' self-reported strategies to manage conflicts related to ethnoviolence were crosstabulated by their ethnic racial backgrounds. Although a chi-square test for independence was planned for this analysis, the number of cells that had an expected value less than 5 was greater than 20% indicating this type of analysis was inappropriate. Table 23 presents the results of this analysis.

Table 23

Crosstabulation
Perceptions of Use of Strategies Used to Manage Ethnoviolence
by Ethnicity/Race of the Student

Strategy	American Indian		Arab American		African American		Hispanic		White		Other		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Call them names and hit or push back	1	20.0	13	34.2	32	38.1	3	33.3	14	50.0	4	50.0	67	39.0
Try to talk to this person and work out problems	0	0.0	6	15.8	5	6.0	0	0.0	3	10.7	0	0.0	14	8.1
Just ignore it and do nothing	1	20.0	4	10.5	11	13.1	1	11.1	6	21.4	1	12.5	24	14.0
Try to hurt them worse than they hurt me	1	20.0	7	18.4	19	22.6	3	33.3	3	10.7	1	12.5	34	19.8
Talk to a teacher or other adult	1	20.0	8	21.1	10	11.9	0	0.0	1	3.6	0	0.0	20	11.6
Other	1	20.0	0	0.0	7	8.3	2	22.2	1	3.6	2	1.2	13	7.6
Total	5	100.0	38	100.0	84	100.0	9	100.0	28	100.0	8	100.0	172	100.0

When asked what students would do if they were hit, pushed, or called names because of their ethnic/racial backgrounds, the largest group of students (n=67, 38.0%) reported they would call names and hit or push back, with 34 (19.8%) indicating they would try to hurt the students worse than they were hurt. Twenty-four (14.0%) implied that they would just ignore the incident and do nothing, while 20 (11.6%) said they would talk to a teacher or other adult. Fourteen (8.1%) of the students reported they would try to talk to this person and work out the problem and 13 (7.6%) provided "other" as their responses.

Calling names and hitting or pushing back was the most often mentioned response among the Arab Americans (n=13, 34.2%), African Americans (n=32, 38.1%), and Whites (n=14, 50.0%). Arab Americans (n=7, 18.4%) and African Americans (n=19, 22.6%) were more likely to indicate they would try to hurt the other person more than they had been hurt. Four (10.5%) Arab Americans, 11 (13.1%) African Americans, and 6 (21.4%) Whites reported they would just ignore it and do nothing. Eight (21.1%) Arab Americans, 10 (11.9%) African Americans, and 1 (3.6%) White student indicated that he/she would talk to a teacher or other adult.

> *Research Question 6.* Is there a difference among students from different ethnic/racial backgrounds manifestations of stress symptoms related to ethnoviolence experiences?

Four subscales; psychological problems, avoidance behaviors, dissociative behaviors, and anger/aggression; measured types of stress symptoms that were related to their experiences with ethnoviolence. The scores on these four subscales were used as the dependent variables in a Kruskal-Wallis one-way analysis of variance with the ethnicity/racial background of the student used as the independent variable. The results of this analysis are presented in Table 24.

Table 24

Kruskal-Wallis One-Way Analysis of Variance
Students' Perceived Manifestations
of Ethnoviolence Stress-Related Symptoms

Stress Symptoms	Ethnic/Racial Background	Number	Mean Rank	Chi-Square
Psychological Problems	American Indian	6	108.33	10.16 (NS)
	Arab American	38	94.96	
	Black/African American	88	83.13	
	Hispanic/Latino/Latina	9	103.00	
	White/Caucasian	29	100.07	
	Other	8	66.00	
Avoidance Behaviors	American Indian	6	99.00	3.43 (NS)
	Arab American	38	92.07	
	Black/African American	88	88.86	
	Hispanic/Latino/Latina	9	85.22	
	White/Caucasian	29	83.36	
	Other	8	68.00	
Disassociative Behavior	American Indian	6	91.00	1.28 (NS)
	Arab American	38	94.24	
	Black/African American	88	88.77	
	Hispanic/Latino/Latina	9	83.33	
	White/Caucasian	29	88.48	
	Other	8	84.50	
Anger/Aggression	American Indian	6	94.83	4.48 (NS)
	Arab American	38	87.63	
	Black/African American	88	91.80	
	Hispanic/Latino/Latina	9	114.67	
	White/Caucasian	29	80.48	
	Other	8	73.50	

The results of the Kruskal/Wallis one-way analysis of variance did not differ significantly among the students relative to their ethnic/racial background. Based on these findings, it appears that students with different ethnic/racial backgrounds had similar manifestations of stress resulting from ethnoviolence.

Further Findings

The students were asked if they had reported incidents of their own ethnoviolent victimization within the past two years. Their responses were summarized using

frequency distributions for presentation in Table 25.

Table 25

Frequency Distributions
Students' Reporting of Ethnoviolent
Incidents Within Last Two Years

Reporting of Ethnically or Racially Motivated Violence	Frequency	Percent
Yes	42	24.6
No	48	28.1
Not threatened	81	47.4
Total	171	100.0

Missing 7

Forty-two (24.6%) of the students who reported being victims of ethnically or racially motivated violent incidents within the last two years reported the incident or incidents. However, 48 (28.1%) students who had experiences with ethnoviolence didn't report the incident. The remaining (n=81, 47.4%) students reported that they were not threatened within the last two years. Seven students did not respond to this question.

Those participants who had personally experienced ethnoviolence were asked to identify institution or individuals that they reported their personal encounters with ethnoviolence. The students were asked to indicate all of the persons/institutions to whom they reported ethnoviolence. As a result, the number of respondents exceeded the number of students who reported they had experienced ethnoviolence on a personal level. Table 26 presents the results of students' responses.

Table 26

Frequency Distributions
Persons/Institutions to Whom Students Reported Ethnoviolence

Persons/Institutions	Frequency	Percent
Friends	23	17.6
Community agency	20	15.3
School administration	18	13.7
Religious leader	16	12.2
Brother or sister	12	9.2
Other relatives	11	8.4
Other	10	7.6
Police	7	5.3
Teacher	5	3.8
None	4	3.1
School counselor	3	2.3
Parents	2	1.5

The largest group of respondents (n=23, 17.6%) indicated that they reported their encounters with ethnoviolence to their friends. The reporting to community agencies ranked second where 20 respondents (15.3%) reported that they informed a community agency about their ethnoviolent experiences. Eighteen (13.7%) students reported their experience to school administration, while 3 (2.3%) students reported their experience to a school counselor. Reporting to religious leaders (i.e., the imam, priest) ranked third among respondents. Sixteen (12.2%) of respondents indicated that they reported ethnoviolent incidents to a religious leader. This is followed by reporting of incidents to brothers or sisters (n=12, 9.2%); to other relatives (n=11, 8.4%); to police (n=7, 5.3%); to teachers (n=5, 3.8%); and to parents (n=2, 1.5%). Four (3.1%) students indicated that they did not report their encounter with ethnoviolence. The remaining 10 (7.6%) students

responded that they reported the experience to others than those institutions or persons listed on the survey.

The students who had personally experienced ethnoviolence, but did not report this violence were asked to identify reasons that influenced their reluctance to report these incidents of ethnoviolence. The students were instructed to indicate all of the reasons that applied to their situations. As a result, the number of responses exceeded the number of students who had experienced ethnoviolence, but failed to report the incident. Frequency distributions were used to summarize their responses. Table 27 shows an analysis of students responses.

Table 27

Frequency Distribution
Students' Reasons for Lack of Reporting Ethnoviolence

Students' Reasons for Lack of Reporting	Frequency	Percent
Incident was not serious or important	34	49.3
These incidents happen all the time	9	13.0
Afraid of retaliation or inviting further trouble	8	11.6
School administration would do nothing to help	4	5.8
Afraid of being laughed at or being ridiculed	4	4.3
Did not want to call attention to myself	3	4.3
Too inconvenient to complain	1	1.4
Other	6	8.7

The largest group of respondents (n=34, 49.3%) indicated that they did not report their experiences with ethnoviolence since the incident was not serious enough or important. Nine (13%) students responded that they didn't report their ethnoviolent experiences since such incidents happen all the time, while 8 (11.6%) students indicated

that they did not report these incidents for fear of retaliation or inviting further trouble. Moreover, smaller groups of respondents (n=4, 5.8%) answered that they did not report the incidents of ethnoviolence for fear of being laughed at or being ridiculed, while 3 (4.3%) indicated that they did not report the incident as they did not want to call attention to themselves. The respondents included 4 (5.8%) students who answered that they did not report incidents of ethnoviolence since school administration would do nothing to help. One (1.4%) student indicated that he/she did not report the incidents encountered with ethnoviolence since it was too inconvenient to complain. The remaining 6 (8.7%) respondents answered that they did not report incidents of ethnoviolent experience for other reasons than those listed within the survey.

Summary

Chapter IV has presented the results of the data analysis that was used to describe the sample and answer the research questions. The conclusions and recommendations based on these results can be found in Chapter V.

CHAPTER 5

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Summary

Ethnoviolence, the primary concern of this study, is defined as an act motivated by prejudice and intended to do psychological or physical harm to people because of their ethnic or racial affiliation. Although current data on the prevalence of ethnoviolence in the wider communities deserve attention, there is still little information about its magnitude in schools except for some sporadic reports.

The Uniform Crime Report (UCR) of 1995, published by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) in 1996, indicated that 7,947 hate crimes were reported nationally. According to the report about three out of every five hate crimes in 1995 were motivated by race, and Blacks were the targets in three out of five racial attacks. Religious bias was the second most frequently reported motivation for hate crimes. Furthermore, the UCR of 1995 indicated that 10% of all hate crimes were related to ethnicity or national origin. Sixty percent of those crimes were motivated by racial bias, with Hispanics being the targets of 60% of these crimes (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 1996).

The rate of hate crimes increased in 1996 as 10,702 hate crimes were reported to the 11,355 law enforcement agencies participating in the Uniform Crime Reporting Program's hate crimes data collection system (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 1997). This increase could either be attributed to better collection and reporting of hate crime incidents, or to actual increases in hate crime rates. However, the 1997 Uniform Crime Report showed a decline in the reported bias-based incidents (FBI, 1998).

Hate crimes and ethnoviolence have damaging effects on their victims, the victims' families and their communities. Victims experience feelings of powerlessness,

isolation, sadness and suspicion. But unlike other crimes, ethnoviolence is rooted in ethnic and racial divisions, as well as negative stereotypes and prejudices.

Since schools are a reflection of the wider society, they are likely to bear the brunt of racial and ethnic animosities leading to the development of ethnic and racial conflict within its domains. Even in the absence of adequate data on school ethnoviolnce, school systems need to be prepared to deal with this peculiar type of violence. This type of violence could erupt suddenly due to a multitude of factors. These factors may include increased polarization of diverging social or economic goals, competition, wars and political and religious strife. For instance, incidents of anti-Arab harassment and intimidation proliferated during the Iraq-U.S. confrontations in the 1990's. These anti-Arab incidents spilled over into America's schools and contributed to discord among students, threatening individual liberties and instilling fear.

Education is crucial, not just to help students deal effectively with ethnoviolence, but also to teach them that violence is intolerable irrespective of its form and dimensions. This is not to suggest a suppression of tensions but, rather, finding mechanisms to resolve them in a consistent and systematic manner taking into consideration long term benefits, and relying less on "quick fix" solutions. Through the provisions of intervention and education, schools may contribute to the conditions that allow all students to feel a sense of common purpose and mutual respect.

An understanding of ethnoviolence, its causes, and means of its management and prevention are crucial for creating a safe learning environment. This is an environment where everyone feels free of threats, fear, and intimidation and feels valued as contributing members of their schools and communities. The quest for such an environment may be hindered in the absence of a clear direction in addressing the

potential for the occurrence of school ethnoviolence and its impact.

This study attempted to discover the frequency of perceived ethnoviolent experiences among students in the middle and high schools, and how these perceptions differed across racial and ethnic lines, as well as grade level and gender. Such comparisons are essential in determining the types of educational programs or intervention strategies. The study also attempted to explore students' mode of conflict management in order to help schools with some guidance in designing appropriate programs while taking into consideration the weaknesses and strength of students' problem solving skills and maturity level.

The findings of this study demonstrated that there was no significant difference in students' reported perceptions of ethnoviolent experiences. This finding applied to all the tested variables, except one that was related to grade level difference, where students in the 9th grade reported higher incidences of ethnoviolent victimization.

Methods

A nonexperimental, descriptive study was used to investigate and compare middle and high school students' perceptions of ethnoviolence experiences within six Wayne County school districts in the State of Michigan. The comparisons that were made included several factors such as gender, age, grade level, school district, ethnicity, race, and length of residency in the United States. The study addressed several variables related to students' perceptions of ethnoviolence. These variables included: the type and frequency of reported ethnoviolent, self-reported stress symptoms, reporting and non-reporting of ethnoviolent experiences, students' mode of conflict management, and the sources of help student's sought to deal with ethnoviolence.

Results

A total of 230 students in the middle and high schools were asked to participate in this study. Of this number, 178 students participated in the study. The largest group of students in this study (n=50, 28.9%) selected the 12th grade category with 34 (19.1%) students in the 11th grade, 33 (18.5%) students in the 10th grade, 28 (15.7%) students in the 9th grade, 20 (11.2%) students in the 8th grade. The remaining 13 (7.3%) students chose the "ungraded or other category." The majority of those who chose this category wrote on the questionnaire that they were in the 7th garde.

Characteristics of the Students. The students ranged in age from 12 to 19 years of age, with the largest group reporting their ages as between 16 and 17. The majority of the students were female. They were in grades 7 through 12 in six school districts located in Wayne County. The ethnic representation included American Indian, Arab American, African American, Hispanic/Latino/Latina, and Caucasian. The majority of the students had been born in the United States, with immigrant status reported by students who had resided in the United States for 1 to more than 10 years. The majority (n=131, 73.6%) of students in this study attended the STARS Saturday Academy, a program that was administered by the Wayne County Regional Educational Service Agency (RESA). Forty- seven (26.4%) students in this study were participants in a youth program at the Health Center of the Arab Community Center for Social and Economic Services (ACCESS) in the city of Dearborn.

Research questions.

Six research questions were posed for this study. Each of these questions were answered using inferential statistical procedures, and all the decisions on the statistical significance of the findings were made by using an alpha level of .05.

Research Question 1. Is there a difference among middle and high school students' perceived experiences with ethnoviolence in school relative to their ethnicity/racial backgrounds?

Findings. Kruskal-Wallis one-way analysis of variance procedures was used to compare students' perceived experiences with ethnoviolence by the ethnic/racial background of the students. No statistically significant differences were found for direct experiences with verbal and overt violence or for verbal and overt violence as witnessed against others. Based on these results, it appears that ethnic/racial background does not cause differences in perceptions of experiences with ethnoviolence.

Conclusions. The findings were contrary to the assumptions stated earlier in predicting differences in ethnoviolent experiences across the included ethnic groups. However, such findings should not minimize the fact that perceptions of ethnoviolence experiences were reported by the majority (52.7%) of those students who participated in the study. These students indicated that they were victims of ethnic or racial motivated violence within the last two years. Care should also be taken when considering the nature of ethnoviolence. Previous research (Ehrlich, 1994) has shown that ethnoviolnce is likely to be a secondary result rising from economic crises, sudden social discord, war, racial tension, new waves of immigration, migration patterns, and other impacting factors. It is possible that the study would have yielded different results should there have been a sudden wave of immigration of new groups into the area, or an unanticipated racial turmoil in the community. The lack of statistically significant differences between groups' perceptions of ethnoviolence could help schools to plan for short term results in achieving school and student safety. However, for long-lasting tranquility and safety, planning should be conducted with an effort to identify and deal with potential differences in experiences resulting from certain circumstances that give impetus to

ethnoviolence.

Research Question 2. Is there a difference among middle and high school students' perceived experiences with ethnoviolence relative to their grade level?

Findings. One-way analysis of variance procedures was used to examine differences in students perceived experiences with ethnoviolence by grade levels. The results of these analyses provided evidence of a statistically significant difference in overt violence by direct experience by grade level. The eleventh-grade students had the lowest mean scores on perceived evidence of overt violence by direct exposure, with ninth grade students having the highest mean scores on this measure. The remaining three subscales; verbal violence by direct experience, verbal and overt violence as witnessed against others; did not differ among the students by grade levels.

Conclusions. The results of the analysis showed statistically significant differences among students according to grade level where students in the ninth grade had the highest scores. This finding confirmed other studies conducted in Michigan on school violence. The results of the 1997 Michigan Youth Risk Behavior Survey showed that ninth grade students had higher scores than other high school students in physical violence, physical threats, and causing property damage (Michigan Department of Education, 1998).

The differences in students' perceived experiences could be attributed to the vulnerability of early high school adolescents, and their possible struggle with adjusting to a new, less familiar school environment that was different from their previous middle school environment. Early high school students, in particular 9th graders, may experience maladjustment during the transition from middle school to high school as a result of inadequate conflict management skills. The findings relative to the research question impart the need for schools to place higher emphasis on providing conflict resolution

training and multicultural understanding for all students beginning in the early grade levels to be skillful in problem solving and critical thinking.

Research Question 3. Is there a difference between middle and high school students' perceived experiences with ethnoviolence relative to their gender?

Findings. The scores on the four subscales measuring perceived experiences with ethnoviolence were compared between the male and female students using t-tests for two independent samples. Based on the findings of these analyses, the male and female students do not differ in their perceived experiences with ethnoviolence, either through direct experience or as witnessed against others.

Conclusions. The results of comparisons of male and female students' perception of ethnoviolence demonstrated no statistical significant differences. The findings were consistent with the nature of ethnoviolence as an assault directed at groups as a whole, rather than at individuals (Bodinger-deUriarte & Sancho, 1991). When individuals were attacked for reasons related to ethnicity or race, the reason behind the attack was to make "an example of" the entire group they represented. These attacks may have taken place at school in group settings, which included both females and males representing the identity of the group, rather than as separate identities as males or females. Therefore, the gender variable may not be treated in isolation of the total group experience with ethnoviolence.

Research Question 4. Is there a relationship between perceived experiences with ethnoviolence and the length of time students have lived in the United States?

Findings. The perceived experiences with ethnoviolence were correlated with the length of time in the United States for the students who had immigrated to this country. Students born in the United States were not included in this analysis. The results of the correlations indicated no significant relationships between perceived experiences with ethnoviolence with length of time in the United States.

Conclusions. Although no significant relationship was found in perceived experiences according to length of time of stay in the United States, it is important for schools to acknowledge that the lives of recent immigrants have been extremely different than those who were born here, or lived here for many years. The struggles of recent immigrants to either fit into the American mainstream, or assert a distinct identity, coupled with the quest for economic survival may invite a contentious relationship with the majority population.

The findings of this study suggested that ethnic and racial groups viewed their experiences in a similar manner irrespective of their length of residency in the United States. However, it remains to be seen whether such findings can hold true in times of economic or political crises, as newer groups become targets of resentment. Previous research studies suggested that ethnoviolence increased during economic or political crises (Bodinger-deUriarte & Sancho, 1991; Pincus & Ehrlich, 1994).

> *Research Question 5.* Is there a difference among students with different ethnic/racial backgrounds in the strategies used to manage conflict related to ethnoviolence?

Findings. The strategies used by students to manage ethnoviolence were crosstabualed by the ethnicity/race of the students. The planned Chi-square analysis was inappropriate as the number of cells that had an expected value of less than 5 was greater than 20%. The findings showed that most of the students, regardless of their ethnic/racial background were likely to call names and hit or push back, with a large group of Arab Americans and African Americans indicating they would try to hurt them worse than they were hurt by the incident. Few of the students would talk to a teacher or other adult or try to talk to the person and work out the problem.

Conclusions. The students in this study, regardless of ethnicity, showed a

predictable and consistent pattern of dealing with ethnoviolence. Aggression and retaliation, such as calling names, hitting, pushing and trying to hurt more those who hurt them, were the primary modes of conflict management. Once attacked, students responded in kind, using verbal and physical retaliation if necessary to resolve the conflict. This pattern was also exhibited by students who selected the "other" category and wrote comments such as "I will beat their butt," and "we'd be fighting," and "push back and question their actions."

Negotiation, as in talking directly to the perpetrator and working out the problem didn't seem to be an option in high order among students. One student who selected the "other" category wrote that s/he would "find out why, and if incident occurred again hurt them." Other comments included "I'd tell a teacher or adult, but I would kick their butt because I ain't gonna let no one disrespect me." It was possible that students did not know how to negotiate a resolution to a conflict as contentious as ethnic and racial conflict, or simply lacked the skills in dealing with the conflict irrespective of its form. However, of all the groups surveyed, Arab American students showed higher interest than other groups in resolving conflict through indirect negotiation by talking to a teacher or other adults. Students also used avoidance methods where 14% of those who responded indicated a preference to "just ignore it and do nothing."

The findings in relation to this question suggested that the majority of students reported choosing confrontational or retaliatory measures to deter attacks. Therefore, there is a greater need for schools to initiate programs in conflict management to help students with the mastery of conflict resolution skills. This effort must be paramount in any program that is designed to address the safety of students, schools and staff.

A large number of participants in this study (17.6%) reported that they had

informed their friends about their ethnoviolent experience. Therefore, a program that utilizes peer mediation may enhance the work of school administrators and counselors in dealing with this type of conflict. Furthermore, school personnel need to capitalize on students' trust in community agencies when designing conflict management programs. The second highest category chosen by students to report their ethnoviolent experiences was to community agency (15.3%). The school administration category was chosen by 13.7% of students. Only 3% of students said they had reported the ethnoviolent experience to a counselor.

> *Research Question 6.* Is there a difference among students from different ethnic/racial backgrounds manifestations of stress symptoms related to ethnoviolence experiences?

Finding. The students' perceived manifestations of ethnoviolence stress-related symptoms in terms of psychological problems, avoidance behaviors, disassociative behavior, and anger/aggression were compared by ethnic/racial background using Kruskal-Wallis one-way analysis of variance . There were no differences found among the ethnic/racial groups on these manifestations of ethnoviolence.

Conclusions. Although school personnel may have an expressed need to better understand the clues to stress symptoms among their culturally-diverse students, these middle and high school students manifested problems that did not seem different from commonly expressed symptoms of violence in general. These manifestations included anger/aggression, avoidance, disassociative behaviors and other psychological stress symptoms.

In spite of this finding, and because ethnoviolent experiences are different from other types of violence in their psychological impact, special attention should be accorded to those students who expressed these typical stress symptoms in the aftermath of an

ethnoviolent experience. Research on ethnoviolence demonstrated that persons victimized for reasons of prejudice often suffer more psychologically than those victimized by other types of crimes (Pincus & Ehrlich, 1994). The expression of stress symptoms in a uniform manner across ethnic and racial categories does not underestimate the impact of ethnoviolent experience on persons involved.

Finally, care should be taken when interpreting studies dealing with stress symptoms or expressions. Results could be tainted as a result of various life stresses, such as housing problems, dislocation, language barriers, jobs, safety, and other hardships, including small events or hassles, may have affected their responses.

Discussion

Middle and high school students' perceptions of their personal direct ethnoviolence experiences or the witnessing of it, reflect one set of empirical data required to support the restructuring of the school environment and the redirection of violence prevention and conflict management program initiatives while including ethnic, racial, and cultural factors.

The results achieved in this study did not suggest a differential treatment nor remedies for students' ethnoviolence experiences across ethnic/racial lines, length of stay in the United States, and gender. However, the complexity of this issue should not be disregarded. To suggest that similar experiences could lead to similar remedies is simplistic and has no empirical basis. The study showed that, although students' perceptions of ethnoviolence were not significantly different, many of the students reported that they had experienced incidents of ethnoviolence either directly through their own experiences or indirectly as witnesses to ethnoviolence. This finding focused on an

often ignored type of school violence, providing evidence that restructuring the school environment and curriculum is needed to include ethnic, cultural and racial awareness across the curriculum to facilitate multicultural understanding and a safe school setting. School administrations and boards of education need to acknowledge the multifaceted nature of youth violence and develop comprehensive programs to maintain a safe and orderly environment within the schools.

This study has implications regarding the careful attention that schools need to practice when choosing conflict resolution programs. Based on students' reported strategies for conflict management, more emphasis should be placed on helping students master skills of peaceful conflict management, and recognize the consequences of violent behavior. Over 50% of student participants preferred using reciprocal retaliatory measures to deal with perpetrators of violence. A closer study of some written comments that students made on the questionnaire can provide further understanding of the students thinking about the problem of ethnoviolence. Their comments are presented within Appendix C.

Considering that a large number of students reported ethnoviolent experiences primarily to their friends suggest a need for peer mediation efforts and programs. Students' perceptions suggested that they placed greater trust in their friends than in school administration, teachers, counselors, and police. This outcome could be due to their sense of alienation, and disillusionment with formal systems.

While some students reported their encounters with ethnoviolence, large number of students chose not to report the incident, believing that it was irrelevant. This may be a symptom of denial of the reality of ethnoviolence, even among its victims. Such denial may be a reflection of the general sense of denial within school systems regarding the

seriousness of bias-based conflicts.

If schools are to become safe learning environments, they need to include all the stakeholders in the educational system when making curricular decisions that impact the cognitive and affective domains of learning. Schools also must involve the wider community and organizations in helping design solutions to problems such as related ethnoviolent crimes. A list of national organizations is provided within Appendix D, as reference for schools that may seek collaborative relationships to address school ethnoviolence.

Recommendations for Practice

If schools are to become safe and free of ethnoviolence, administrators and school boards should consider multifaceted approaches that encompass academic curricular choices, including psychological, educational, administrative, legal, and physical orientations for interventions. Furthermore, a sound knowledge of effective schooling and prevention is necessary to help facilitate desired outcomes for the safety of schools and their students. The following suggested models for a safe environment rely heavily on components of effective school literature to help guide intervention efforts. The suggested school environment model includes the following dimensions:

Curriculum and Staff Development: This school environment dimension should contain school curriculums and activities that are supportive, respective, and appreciative of students and staff differences whether they are cultural, ethnic, racial, sexual or otherwise. This dimension must also include curricular choices and special programs to enhance diversity, mental and emotional health, problem solving, ethnic understanding, bilingual/multi-cultural education, and bias-free curriculums that are holistic in nature.

The definition of core curriculum learning should transcend the traditional and primary emphasis on the four academic content areas: communication arts, mathematics, science, and social studies. While schools may include other subjects in their curriculum plans, these "other subjects" are often relegated to secondary status. If needs of the "whole child" are to be truly met, then equal emphasis should be placed on subject matters, such as comprehensive school health education, which fosters social, emotional, and physical development.

A report by the National Commission on the Role of the School and the Community in Improving Adolescent Health (1990) expressed the need for including comprehensive health education as a core subject matter. The report succinctly asserted that:

> Efforts to improve school performance that ignore health are ill-conceived, as are health improvement efforts that ignore education. This means that increasing academic achievement will require attending to health in the broadest sense. (p. 9)

School curriculum choices should also be carefully constructed in order to deal with inaccuracies, biases, and ethnic and racial stereotypes. The goal of these curricular choices is to present truth, while not ignoring commonalities among cultures. A multiculturally inclusive curriculum can help promote intergroup harmony and reduce conflict between ethnic groups (Heller & Hawkins, 1994). The process to determine curricular choices should include an assessment component to evaluate instructional materials for cultural relevance. Gollnick and Chinn (1991) identified six forms of subtle and blatant biases that teachers should look for while assessing the cultural relevance of textbooks and other instructional materials. The six identified forms are: invisibility, stereotyping, selectivity and imbalance, unreality fragmentation and isolation, and language bias (Gollnick & Chinn, 1991).

In addition, school staff must be provided an opportunity for continued and consistent skill-based in-service training in diversity, bilingual education methodology, cultural awareness, conflict management, and violence prevention. Martinez (1992) proposed utilizing interactive teaching processes to enhance classroom instruction, and help alleviate cultural conflict. The interactive process involves knowledge based on experiences gained through interactions between students and teachers. This process, which takes into account knowledge gained from interactions with students may help prevent cultural conflict in the classroom leading to a less stressful school environment (Martinez, 1992).

Ethnoviolent conflict is more likely to be conflict based on an assertion of group identities and alliances which may deepen and harden social divisiveness. Therefore, it is essential that school staff have a sound understanding of the nature of ethnicity, and the origins and evolution of conflicts. While some schools may use conflict resolution programs to deal with ethnic conflict, the task of achieving long term results, rather than short term remedies, requires the inclusion of the ethnicity factor within any conflict resolution program. School staff and students, who are knowledgeable of the means of dealing with ethnic conflict, can offer a significant promise that schools can achieve their desired mission for being a place that is conducive to learning and achievement. In considering conflict management and resolution programs, schools should address the following questions:

- What skills and knowledge does the school possess to support a diverse environment?
- Does the school acknowledge that there is a potential for reflection and growth as a result of conflict?
- Does the school have the willingness to accept the inevitable conflict arising from ethnic and racial differences?

Physical environment of the school: school district administrators and boards of education need to reaffirm the position of the school as an integral part of the community, and therefore communities should be part of the solution for a safe physical environment. School administrators and staff members, members of community organizations, parents, and representatives from businesses can form collaborative mechanisms to deal with the increased prevalence of ethnoviolence. These groups can help create a better understanding of the impact that ethnoviolence has on students and community members. Furthermore, school grounds, hallways, and places where students congregate should be secure, clean, and well-maintained, with appropriate signage detailing safety rules, school policies and mission displayed prominently. The signs should be designed to demonstrate to students, staff and visitors that the school provides a safe and caring environment that is conducive to learning. Schools need to have enforceable policies that are intended to reduce or eliminate acts of ethnoviolence or other forms of violence. Such policies should include clear procedures and adequate remedies that include referral of certain cases either to counseling, community agencies, or law enforcement.

Social environment of the school: The social environment includes aspects that are relevant to the interpersonal processes within the school setting and the organizational structure. Within this dimension, the school principal demonstrates strong leadership and a positive collaborative role. The principal should be available to staff, students, and community members as needed to share ideas, attend to problems, and help facilitate problem solving. The principal should also be involved collaboratively with staff and parents in setting organizational goals and making curricular decisions related to problem solving, diversity, non-biased curriculum and related topics. Moreover, the principal should insure that all the necessary resources for education and intervention are available,

including teachers, curriculum, nurses, counselors, psychologists, referral services, student assistance programs, peer mediation and other support services. This dimension includes other aspects that are related to the classroom organization and structure. The classroom environment should be designed to enhance learning and positive interaction among students. This aspect includes developing social and personal skills that address self-esteem, self-identity, student responsibility, social expectations, consequences, decision making, effective relationships and effective communication skills, and respect for differences. This type of environment should promote responsible citizenship where the resolution of conflicts is central to the manifestation of respect for each other within a democratic society. When people are able to peacefully express their concerns and seek resolutions to problems that take into account common interests, they not only promote the values of human dignity and self-esteem, they also advance democracy (Crawford, 1996). This environment also requires a paradigm shift from habits that inhibit schools potential for achieving their desired missions for a free and safe environment.

> It is not too late for a paradigm shift in our outlook toward human conflict. Perhaps it is something like learning the earth is not flat. Such a shift in child development and education. . .might at long last make it possible for human groups to learn to live together in peace and mutual benefit (Hamburg 1994, p.15).

Cultural environment of the school: the cultural environment of the school should support students and staff to feel physical and emotional safety and security from physical or verbal attacks. The desired environment is also one that accords learners the opportunity to work and learn with others or the mutual achievement of all. Furthermore, this social environment should allow a reaffirmation of individuals identities and respect for their heritage, including their beliefs and value systems. This desired environment is one that respects and celebrates diversity of school populations where there are equal access and opportunity to each learner, free from discrimination based on race, ethnicity,

culture, gender, sexual orientation, physical and mental abilities, and socioeconomic status. This dimension requires that schools put into practice those curricular aspects chosen to affect change. Therefore, conflict resolution programs and related efforts should not only be provided as a curriculum, but also taught as a lifestyle that contributes to social growth and continuous achievement. When conflict resolution practices are applied, respect, caring, tolerance, and community building become the norm (Crawford, 1996). The school should set high standards for respecting all people irrespective of their differences through various avenues whether in curricular aspects, policy making, or staff modeling of culturally-sensitive behaviors. Within this environment expectations and consequences need to be clearly defined, while dealing consistently and fairly with violation of set rules.

Recommendations for Further Research

The results of this study have answered the questions that were posed for this research, but through answering these questions, other areas requiring research were determined. Some suggestions for continuing research in this area include:

- Examine effects of conflict resolution programs on the occurrence of ethnic/racial violence in middle and high schools to determine if these programs are helping alleviate this type of violence.
- Investigate parents' and teachers' perceptions of ethnoviolence in their communities to determine if they feel that children are being victimized because of the ethnic/racial backgrounds.
- Replicate this study in three to five years to determine if the results show a change in the prevalence of exposure to ethnoviolence in middle and high schools.
- Use a qualitative approach to study the effects of ethnoviolence on students' academic and social outcomes in school. A case study approach using five to ten students who have been victimized could provide a beginning pattern regarding the long-term effects on academic and social outcomes.

- Compare the occurrences of ethnoviolence in schools with varying levels of minority representation in middle and high schools.

- Use a longitudinal research design to study the effects of a conflict resolution program that includes an ethnic/racial component over a five year period to determine if exposure to this type of program increases ethnic/racial tolerance and reduces violence within a school setting.

Appendix A

Student Survey and Cover Letter

Ethnic and Racial Violence School Survey

Please read the following before completing the survey:

This survey is about your experiences with ethnic conflict and racial violence that you may have encountered at school. This information is being collected to help teachers and administrators develop programs to deal with this problem.

DO NOT write your name on the survey. The answers you give will be kept private. No one will know what you write. Answer the questions based on your experiences with ethnic violence.

Completing the survey is voluntary. Your decision to complete the survey will not affect your grades in this class. If you are not comfortable answering a question, just leave it blank. You may also withdraw from the study at any time before you turn in your completed survey. The questions that ask about your background will only be used to describe the type of students completing this survey. The information will not be used in any way to find your name. No names will ever be reported. If you have any questions while answering the survey, please ask the teacher or Mr. Hamdan for help.

For the purposes of this survey *ethnic and racial violence* is defined as

Attacked or threatened with injury, destruction or theft of property causing you pain or suffering through physical and verbal abuse related to ethnicity or racial background.This includes using racial or ethnic name calling or using racial remarks.

For the purposes of this survey *School* is defined as:

The school that you attend currently, or have attended within the last two years. It includes the entire school building and surrounding ground that belong to the school (e.g.,classroom, hallway, school offices, bathrooms, playground, gym, cafeteria, school library), and school transportation (e.g. school bus), and other school-related activities beyond the boundaries of your school building (e.g. field trips and walking to and from school).

Ethnic and Racial Violence School Survey

Section I

Demographic Survey

Place a check mark (✓) next to your choice:

1. How old are you?

- ❑ 12 years old
- ❑ 13 years old
- ❑ 14 years old
- ❑ 15 years old
- ❑ 16 years old
- ❑ 17 years old
- ❑ 18 years old
- ❑ 19 years or older

2. What is your sex?

- ❑ Male
- ❑ Female

3. What is your grade?

- ❑ 8th grade
- ❑ 9th grade
- ❑ 10th grade
- ❑ 11th grade
- ❑ 12th grade
- ❑ Ungraded or other

4. How do you describe yourself? If more than one, mark each that applies to you.

- ❑ American Indian
- ❑ Arab-American (originating from an Arabic-speaking country such as Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Palestine, Syria, and Yemen.)
- ❑ Asian or Pacific Islander-American (for example, having a Cambodian, Hmong, Japanese, Korean, Laotian or Vietnamese origin.)
- ❑ Black or African-American
- ❑ Hispanic, Latino or Latina (for example, Cuban American, Mexican American, Puerto Rican, or other Latin American.
- ❑ White/Caucasian.
- ❑ Other. Please specify_____

5. What is your school district?

- ❑ Dearborn
- ❑ Ecorse
- ❑ Inkster
- ❑ River Rouge
- ❑ Van Buren
- ❑ Westwood

6. How long have you been living in the United States?

- ❑ 1-3 years
- ❑ 4-6 years
- ❑ 7-9 years
- ❑ 10 or more years
- ❑ Born in the United States

Ethnic and Racial Violence School Survey

SECTION 2

The Reporting and Frequency of Ethnic Violence

The next 10 questions ask about the frequency of your experience with ethnically, or racially motivated violence and exposure to it.

7. During the *past 12 months*, have any of the following happened to you *at school* for reasons related to your ***ethnic or racial background***? Mark one answer for each category.

Place a check mark (✓) in the column that most closely matches the number of times each situation has occurred.	**0 times**	**1-3 times**	**4-6 times**	**6-9 times**	**10 or more times**
Called names (ethnic, racial slurs or derogatory statements)					
Insulted in other ways (ignored, sneered at , made fun of your accent, posting or circulation of demeaning ethnic or racial jokes and caricatures, symbols and signs, including graffiti.)					
Harassed (being teased, nagged, heckled, pursued, ridiculed for reasons related to race or ethnicity)					
Received threatening phone calls (with specific ethnic or racial references)					
Received threatening letters (with specific ethnic or racial references)					
Physically threatened (threatened by someone to cause you bodily injury or harm because of your race or ethnicity)					
Physically assaulted (attacked causing pain or injury, such as a scars, black or blue marks, broken bones, etc. because of your race or ethnicity)					
Property damaged (destroying or stealing your property, such as your car, locker, books, bike or other personal possession for racial and ethnic reasons.)					

8. During the ***past 12 months***, how often have you actually witnessed the following ***happen to someone else*** at school for reasons related to their ***ethnic or racial background***? Mark one answer for each category.

Place a check mark (✓) in the column that most closely matches the number of times each situation has occurred.	0 times	1-3 times	4-6 times	6-9 times	10or more times
Called names (ethnic, racial slurs or derogatory statements)					
Insulted in other ways (e.g. ignored, sneered at , made fun of your accent, posting or circulation of demeaning ethnic or racial jokes and caricatures, symbols and signs, including graffiti.)					
Harassed (teased, nagged, heckled, pursued, for reasons related to race or ethnicity)					
Received threatening phone calls (with specific ethnic or racial references)					

Place a check mark (✓) in the column that most closely matches the number of times each situation has occurred.	0 times	1-3 times	4-6 times	6-9 times	10or more times
Received threatening letters (with specific ethnic or racial references)					
Physically threatened (being threatened by someone to cause you bodily injury or harm because of your race or ethnicity)					
Physically assaulted (attacked causing pain or injury, such as a scars, black or blue marks, broken bones, etc. because of your race or ethnicity)					
Property damaged (destroying or stealing your property, such as your car, locker, books, bike or other personal possession for racial and ethnic reasons.)					

9. During the ***past 12 months***, how often have you seen ***writings or posters based on stereotypes demeaning to ethnic or racial groups*** posted at school?

   ❑ None
   ❑ 1-3 times
   ❑ 4-6 times
   ❑ 6-9 times
   ❑ 10 or more

10. During the ***past 12 months***, how often have you seen ***symbols of hate*** displayed at school? (e.g. wearing or displaying swastikas)

    ❑ None
    ❑ 1-3 times
    ❑ 4-6 times
    ❑ 6-9 times
    ❑ 10 or more

11. During the ***past 12 months***, have you seen what you believe to be evidence of the presence of ***"hate" groups*** in your school such as Neo-Nazis, skin heads or Ku Klux Klan?

    ❑ Yes ❑ No

SECTION III

The next three questions deal with reporting of ethnic or racial violence.

12. If you were you a ***victim of an ethnically or racially motivated violent incident within the last two years*** (called names, harassed, intimidated, physically harmed or threatened, property-damaged) by someone at school because of your ethnic or racial origin, did you ***report the incident***?

    ❑ Yes ❑ No (Skip to Question 14) ❑ Not threatened (Skip to Question 15)

13. If you answered "yes" to the above question, to ***whom did you report the incident***? Otherwise skip to the next question (check all that apply)

    ❑ Friends ❑ School Counselor ❑ Teacher
    ❑ Police ❑ School Administration (e.g. principal) ❑ Community Agency
    ❑ Brother or Sister ❑ Religious Leader (e.g. Imam or Priest) ❑ Parents
    ❑ Other Relatives ❑ No one
    ❑ Other. Please explain: _____

14. If you answered ***"NO" to question 12***, what were your reasons for not reporting? (check all that apply)

- ❑ The incident wasn't serious or important
- ❑ Afraid of being laughed at or being ridiculed
- ❑ Too inconvenient to complain
- ❑ These incidents happen all the time
- ❑ Afraid of retaliation or inviting further trouble
- ❑ Did not want to call attention to myself
- ❑ School administration would do nothing to help
- ❑ Other. Please explain: _____

Section IV
The next two questions deal with the response to ethnically motivated violence and the effects of exposure to it.

15. Imagine that someone at your school hit you or pushed you and called you names because of your ethnic or racial background. What would you ***most likely*** do? Mark ***one*** answer

- ❑ I'd call them names, and hit or push them back
- ❑ I'd try to talk to this person and work out the problem
- ❑ I'd just ignore it and do nothing
- ❑ I'd try to hurt them worse than they hurt me
- ❑ I'd talk to a teacher or other adult
- ❑ Other (please explain: _____

16. If you had any experience with ethnically or racially-motivated violence, did any of these things happen to you? ***Check all that apply.***

- ❑ I felt very angry
- ❑ I thought over and over again about the incident
- ❑ I felt more nervous than usual
- ❑ I felt afraid of having more trouble
- ❑ I tried to be less visible, not be noticed
- ❑ I wanted to hurt people who hurt me
- ❑ I felt closer to students of my ethnic or racial background
- ❑ I had trouble concentrating in class
- ❑ I lost a friendship
- ❑ I felt uncomfortable identifying myself with my ethnic or racial group
- ❑ I felt more proud of my ethnic or racial background
- ❑ I wanted to change my name and how I looked
- ❑ I hated going to school
- ❑ I had trouble waking up, slept more
- ❑ I had trouble with parents and friends
- ❑ I used alcohol and drugs
- ❑ I felt as if I didn't want live any longer in the U.S.

Comments:

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Appendix B

Communications and Consent Forms

Suleiman M. Hamdan

E-Mail: hamdans@wcresa.k12.mi.us

Dear Parents:

As a graduate student at Wayne State University under the direction of Dr. Rodolfo Martinez, I am conducting a research study focusing on ethnic violence experiences by middle and high school students. This study will attempt to explore the frequency of ethnic violence incidents experienced at school, students' mode of conflict management, their reporting of such incidents, and the stress symptoms exhibited as a result of experience with ethnic violence.

Information collected will be helpful to our community and schools in developing curriculum, effective student assistance programs and intervention strategies to reduce the occurrence of youth's ethnic violence.

I am in the process of enlisting the cooperation of all people who have a vested interest in this subject, including teachers, principals, parents and community groups. Students will be asked to complete a questionnaire which will take approximately 20 minutes. Participants are assured confidentiality and anonymity. All information from the questionnaire will be presented in summarized form only, with no child or school identifiable in the final report. Therefore, your child will not be asked to provide his/her name or any other identifying information. In addition your son or daughter may withdraw from this study at any time prior to returning their completed surveys.

I would appreciate your granting permission to your child to participate in this important study. Please complete the form below and have your child return it to the director of the program. If you have any questions regarding this research you can contact me at (313) 823-1674. If you have questions regarding your child's rights as a participant in this research project, please feel free to contact Dr. Peter Lichtenberg at (313) 577-5174.

Your cooperation is greatly appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

Suleiman M. Hamdan

Parental Consent Form

Project Title: An Examination of Perceptions of Ethnoviolence Among Urban Middle and High School Students.

Principal Investigator: Suleiman M. Hamdan

Purpose: Your son/daughter is being asked to participate in a study which is being conducted under the direction of Suleiman Hamdan a doctoral student at Wayne State University, College of Education, Bilingual Teacher Education Department. The purpose of this study is to examine perceptions of ethnoviolence that is occurring among middle and high school students to determine if ethnic violence prevention and management programs can be developed.

Procedure: The researcher will ask the middle and high school students to complete an original questionnaire during their normal participation in either the ACCESS program or STARS Saturday Academy. The date and time of the distribution of the surveys will be decided by the leaders of the STARS academy, the ACCESS program, and the researcher. The students will be asked first to read the cover letter to the survey after the researcher has explained the purpose of the study. They can decide whether they want to participate in the study at this time. If they choose not to participate, it will not be held against them. In addition, students will be informed of the availability of community agencies that provide free youth counseling to Wayne County residents who may have been impacted by ethnoviolent experiences. Students who request counseling during or after the completion of this study will be referred to one of the following Community-based agencies counseling programs:

- Child, Youth and Family Services Counseling Center/ACCESS
  10140 W. Vernor
  Dearborn, MI 48120
  (313) 842-5490

- Counter Point-Starfish
  715 South Inkster Rd.
  Inkster, MI 48141
  (313) 563-5005

Participating students will be allowed adequate time of approximately 25 minutes to complete the questionnaire. They will be asked to place their completed questionnaires in an envelope. They will seal the envelope before placing it in a box for the researcher. The students will not be allowed to take the questionnaire home.

Parent Consent Form (page 2 continued)

An Examination of Perceptions of Ethnoviolence Among Urban Middle and High School Students.

Risks: There are no known risks to the students from participation in this study.

Benefits: There are no known benefits from participation in this research study.

Voluntary Participation/Withdrawal: Participation in this research study is voluntary, and it will not be held against your child if s/he decides not to participate or chooses to withdraw from the study. Your child can refuse to participate without penalty and refuse to answer any question on the surveys. No risks or additional effects are likely to result from his/her participation in this study. In the unlikely event of an injury arising from participation in this study, no reimbursement, compensation, or free medical treatment is offered by Wayne State University or the researcher.

Confidentiality: The results of the study will be reported in summarized form, with no individuals identifiable in the findings. Therefore, your child's name will not be included in the report of this program.

Questions: If you have any questions concerning your child's participation in this study now or in the future, you can contact Suleiman Hamdan at (313) 823-1674. If you have any questions regarding your child's rights as a research participant, you can contact Dr. Peter A. Lichtenberg, Chairman of Wayne State University's Behavioral Investigation Committee at (313) 577-5174.

Consent to Participate in Research Study: I have read all of the above information about this research study including the potential benefits and risks. All my questions have been answered regarding my child's participation in this study. I hereby consent to allowing my child to participate in the study. I understand s/he can withdraw from this study at any time.

Parent's Signature:_____Date:_____

Student's Signature:_____Date_____

Researcher's Signature:_____ Date_____

WAYNE RESA
Leading .. Learning for All

SATURDAY ACADEMY

33500 Van Born Road
P.O. Box 807
Wayne, Michigan 48184-2497
TDD (734) 334-1716
www.wcresa.k12.mi.us

PATRICK CARAHER
Project Director
(734) 334-1420
(313) 334-1729Fax

March 30, 1998

Behavioral Investigation Committee
Wayne State University
Detroit, MI 48201

Dear Sir/Madam:

This is to notify you of our permission for Mr. Suleiman Hamdan to administer a survey questionnaire pertaining to middle and high school students' perception of ethnoviolence. We will work with Mr. Hamdan to assure compliance with all your rules and procedures.

We are very pleased to assist in this critical research area. Please contact me at (734) 334-1420 should you require any additional information.

Sincerely,

Patrick Caraher

Patrick Caraher
Project Director

ACCESS
Arab Community Center for Economic and Social Services
المركز العربي للخدمات الاقتصادية والاجتماعية

12-9-1998

Behavioral Investigation Committee
Wayne State University
Detroit , MI 48201

Dear Sir/Madam

This is to notify you of our permission for Mr. Suleiman Hamdan to administer a survey questionnaire pertaining to middle and High School students perception of ethnoviolence. We will work with Mr. Hamdan to assure compliance with all your rules and procedures.

We are very pleased to assist in this critical research area. Please contact me at (313) 842-077 should you require any additional information.

Sincerly

A. Hammad

Adnan Hamdan , Ph.D
Health director

Administrative Office
2651 Saulino Court
Dearborn, MI 48120
Tel: (313) 842-7010
Fax: (313) 842-5150

Eastside Office
12740 West Warren
Dearborn, MI 48126
Tel: (313) 581-7540
Fax (313) 581 6376

Family Counseling Center
2601 Saulino Court
Dearborn, MI 48120
Tel: (313) 843-2844
Fax: (313) 843-0097

Community Health Center
9708 Dix Avenue
Dearborn, Mi 48120
Tel. (313) 842-0700
Fax: (313) 841 6340

Employment & Training Center
4915 Schaefer
Dearborn, MI 48126
Tel: (313) 584-3001
Fax (313) 584-0627

Child, Youth & Family Counseling Center
10140 West Vernor
Dearborn, MI 48120
Tel: (313) 842-5201
Fax: (313) 842 5490

Wayne State University
Human Investigation Committee

Behavioral Institutional Review Board
University Health Center, 8C
4201 St. Antoine Blvd.
Detroit, MI 48201
(313) 577-1628 Office
(313) 993-7122 Fax

Notice of Protocol
Expedited Approval

TO: Suleiman Hamdan, Education
968 Westchester Road
Grosse Pointe Park, MI 48230

FROM: Peter A. Lichtenberg, Ph.D. Peter A. Lichtenberg
Chairman, Behavioral Institutional Review Board

SUBJECT: Approval of Protocol # 12-89-98(B03)-ER: An Examination of Perceptions of Ethnoviolence Among Middle and High School Students (No Funding Requested)

DATE: December 23, 1998

==========

As required under provisions of the Department of Health and Human Service Regulation 45 CFR 46 (as amended) and or other pertinent federal regulations to assure that the rights of human subjects have been protected, the above protocol, and revised parental consent form, originally submitted on December 17, 1998, have been APPROVED following Expedited Review (#7*) by the Wayne State University Behavioral Institutional Review Board (B03) **for the period of December 23, 1998 through December 22, 1999.**

Since I have not evaluated this proposal for scientific merit except to weigh the risk to the human subjects in relation to potential benefits, this approval does not replace or serve in the place of any departmental or other approvals which may be required.

This protocol will be subject to annual review by the Behavioral Institutional Review Board.

* - Based on REVISED Expedited Review list published November, 1998.

Cc: R. Martinez/289 Education

Appendix C

Student Comments

Student Comments

The survey included a section at the end of the survey to allow students an opportunity to add additional information. The students' comments are presented hereby as they were expressed on the survey:

- When I was younger, I had more racial problems than I do now. Now it seems as if white people try to be like black people. They bite [bought] all of our styles.
- None of these happened to me yet.
- I don't care about people's skin. It's what they hold inside.
- People are always going to say something about you no matter what you look like so I just try to ignore it and go on, and be proud of who I am.
- I think racial and ethnic violence is wrong. It hurts people and their feelings, and it makes people feel sad.
- There is no racial incidents that happen to me but to other students in my school a teacher harsses [harasses] and call the kids names and picks on them and she never really pick on the other kids in a different race.
- Nothing really happened to me about that but I know sooner or later it's going to.
- I have only been in an all white school once. It was hard at the beginning, but I learned to love myself more and appreciate my background.
- It's a good quiz to see how racial remarks are happening in schools.
- Nothing really happened to me because I can handle mines.
- I never had an experience with racial hatreds at my school because my school is mostly black.
- I didn't like this survey because it seems to me as if the only race that has problems are black people.
- Good survey.
- I felt as though this survey was very informative on how much this occurs. It was well put together survey.
- That how it use to be because the hole world change. I fell so good I'm a NEW MAN.
- It made me angry but not everyone is the same as others in their racial group.
- This is a very thorough survey.

- I just say to people who go through these things is to ignore them and don't let them mess up your Dreams. .they not living your life..You are. Success comes within you not with other people. That's how I feel.

- Usually, when something like # 15 [being hit, pushed or called names] happens to me, I get more frustrated than anything. Sometimes a friend of mine or I get discriminated against that person and I would be of the same race. But the problem is provoked because I may be a little lighter skin complection.

- Most of the time I don't experience racial/ethnic violence, but when it does occur it's usually not very serious: Mostly name calling.

- I have gotten into shouting matches over race but have never fought over race.

- Even being of mixed race I've never experienced any form of racism or harassment.

- But I never had eanemys [enemies] in my school again. If he wasn't my friend, I'll still be friendly.

- Good survey, very interesting.

- Usually when someone talks bad about me because of my ethnic background I confront that person and tell them what they are doing is wrong and call them a bad name so that they can feel the way I felt and think twice before calling someone else a bad name because their [they are] different.

- Everyone acts like other races than whites are being discriminated against when where so worried about "making them happy" we're losing our rights.

- I enjoy listen and being with all of "Gods" child. We're the same inside!

- White people get called just as many times as other races do. It is not one sided.

- White people get called names just as bad as black people. For us it's wrong but for them it's O.K.

- People need to get over their differences.

- This survey was stupid as hell. Why does it always relate to Blacks against Whites? May be you should go to school for a day and you'd notice the privalges [privileges] black people receive. I am not speaking about my high school, but the black students at the Saturday academy are out of control !! They are loud, rude and abnoctious [obnoxious]!! It all comes down to making things easier for black people. I think the United States is to [too] easy on black people right now. Majority of them live on welfare and have kids after kids after kids. And the other people with common sense go to work every day just to pay for these low life welfare sucking losers.

- We need to work past all of these things and live as a whole community.

- I feel that ethnic and racial violence is hard to handle and I've been through it. I think

they should have programs for teens who need help coping with this.

- I never experienced it. I guess I'm lucky.
- I get discriminated against mostly at shopping centers and I used to think less of myself, but now that I thought about it, It just made me stronger.
- People who do things like that are punks.
- Racism will not die if people keep bring it up like now.
- I was sorry for all the things I did and I made up for my mistakes.

Appendix D

Resource Organizations

Resource Organizations

The following organizations may provide information on ethnoviolence experienced by particular communities.

American Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC)
4201 Connecticut Ave, NW, Suite 300
Washington, DC 20008
Phone: (202 244-2990
Fax: (202) 244-3196
E-Mail: adc@adc.org

American Association of University Women (AAUW)
1111 Sixteenth Street NW
Washington, DC 20036
Phone: (800) 326-AAUW
Fax (202) 872-1425
E-Mail: info@mail.aauw.org

Center for Democratic Renewal
P.O. Box 50469
Atlanta, GA 30302
(404) 221 - 0025

Center for Women Policy Studies
1211 Connecticut Avenue, NW
Suite 312
Washington, DC 20036
(202) 872 - 1770

Japanese American Citizens League
Public Affairs Office
1001 Connecticut Ave, NW
Suite 704
Washington, DC 20036
Phone: (202) 223-1240
Fax: (202) 296-8082
E-mail: dc@jacl.org

Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund
634 S. Spring Street
Los Angeles, CA 90014
Phone: (213) 629-2512
Fax: (213) 629-0266
E-Mail: info@maldef.org

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)
Washington Bureau
1025 Vermont Avenue, NW
Suite 1120
Washington, DC 20005
Phone: (202) 635-2269
Information Hotline: (410) 521-4939

National Gay & Lesbian Task Force
1734 14th Street, NW
Washington, DC 20009
(202) 332 - 6483

U.S. Department of Justice, Community Relations Service
National HATE Crime Reporting Hotline
(800) 347 - HATE

Southern Poverty Law Center
P.O. Box 548
Montgomery, AL 36101
(334) 264 - 0286

The Prejudice Institute
Center for the Applied Study of Ethnoviolence
Towson State University
Stephens Hall Annex, Room 132
Towson, MD 21204
(410) 830 - 2435

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Abstract

AN EXAMINATION OF PERCEPTIONS OF ETHNOVIOLENCE AMONG URBAN MIDDLE AND HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS

by

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This study compared perceptions of ethnoviolence experiences among urban middle and high school students in six Michigan public school districts in the County of Wayne. Student participants represented a cross section of a diverse ethnic and racial school population, and were enrolled in grades ranging from the 8th to the 12th grade.

The study investigated students' perceptions of ethnoviolence experiences, and analyzed such perceptions based on students' ethnic/racial background, gender and grade level, and length of period the students lived in the United States. The study also examined students' mode of conflict management and their self-reported stress symptoms.

The research was descriptive in nature, and incorporated the use of a questionnaire as the primary data collection tool. The results demonstrated lack of significant differences in students' perceptions of ethnoviolence experiences regardless of ethnicity, gender, and length of period students lived in the United States. However, differences existed within grade level comparisons. Additional findings suggested that majority of students would utilize confrontational means in responding to ethnoviolent incidents.

Autobiographical Statement

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Education:

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1999 - Doctor of Education: Curriculum and Instruction
1993 - Education Specialist: General Administration & Supervision
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