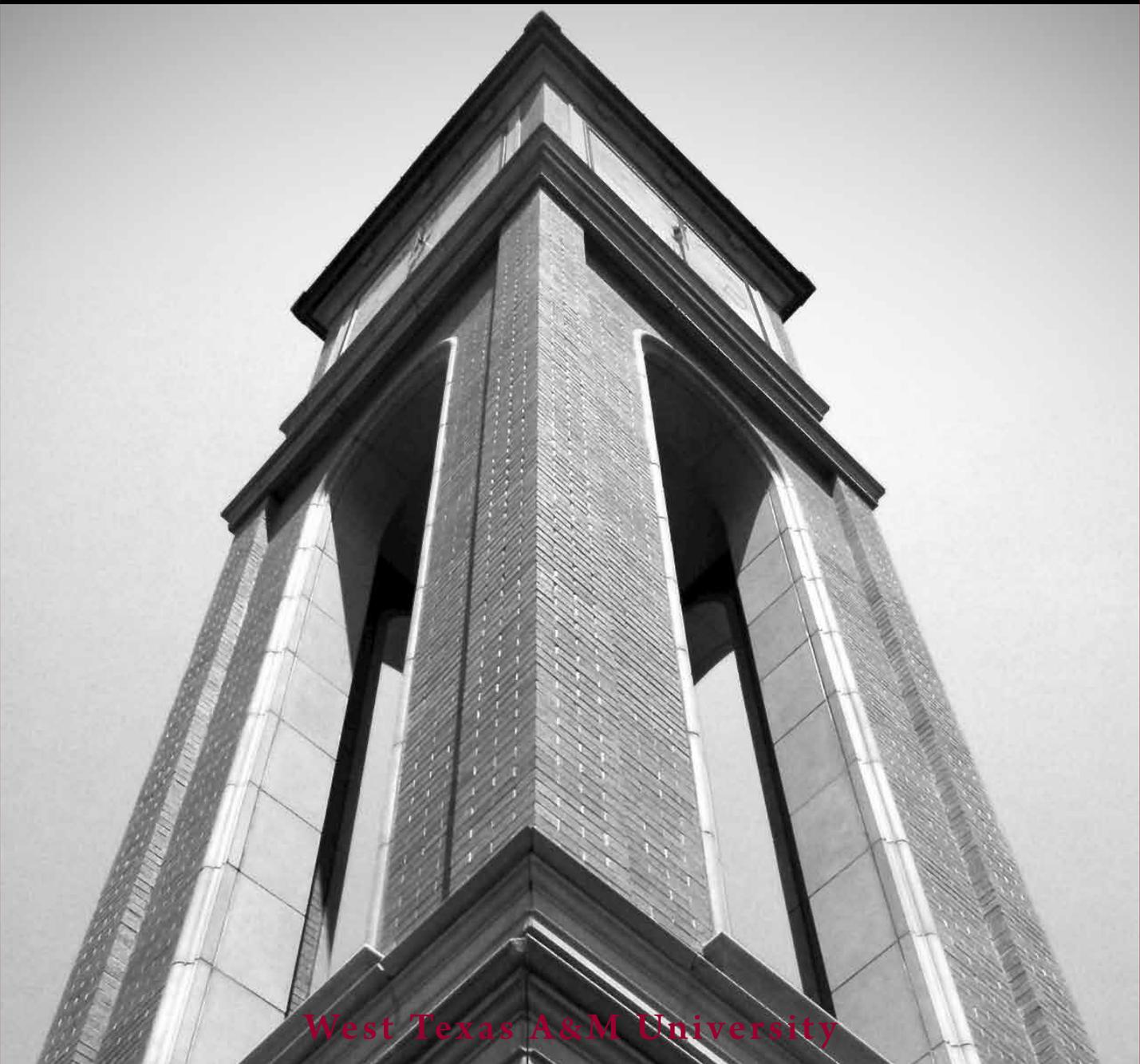


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Katyn: The Memory

SHANE LANGFORD, *West Texas A&M University*

ABSTRACT: *In the beginning of WWII as Poland was invaded first by the Germans, then the Soviets, the Polish officers were taken as POW's to three separate camps. In the course of the following months, the vast majority of the officers were executed by the Soviets. Immediately, responsibility for the crime was pinned on the Germans, and this was the stance that the Soviet Union/Russia took for the following decades. This paper will look at the attempts by multiple nations and individuals to uncover the truth concerning Katyn in order to preserve the rightful place of truth and memory in history.*

Deep in the Soviet Union in the spring of 1940, while the world was in the merciless throes of war, some 15,000 Polish prisoners of war were executed in the Katyn Forest near present-day Belarus. Unknown to the rest of the world, their mass graves were covered and all but forgotten. As the war raged and territorial occupation shifted, the graves were discovered and the missing prisoners were found. But the question of who was to blame was left unanswered for decades. The Soviets, fearful of the implications of their guilt, concealed evidence and withheld the truth, but the Poles and the Western world demanded an answer. The battle to uncover the truth about Katyn and save its memory from being erased in the darkness of the Soviet past began. For Stalin and his successors, the struggle was to conceal the memory in order to protect themselves. For the Polish, the struggle was the long-term effort to establish and secure the memory of the victims in the minds of people everywhere.

This international conflict between Poland and Russia went far beyond Katyn. A vast history of dispute, war, and occupation has plagued their relationship for centuries. The two countries were engaged in a seemingly endless conflict over territory for much of the 16th and 17th centuries. The Polish military occupied Moscow in 1610. But by the late 18th century, Poland had suffered a severe decrease in power. In 1772 the Polish Commonwealth was partitioned and soon lost much of its political authority. The Polish nation ceased to exist until the defeat of Germany in World War I. Poland celebrated its territorial claims of the Polish Commonwealth, but Russia planned to rule all of Poland so as to give it a foothold in central Europe. The resultant Polish-Soviet War ended with a Polish victory in 1921 that granted Poland its borders from the Commonwealth period. Poland had

again defeated the Russians and reestablished itself as a powerful European nation (Novosti, 2011).

Katyn

The relationship between the Poles and the Russians thus had an extraordinary amount of reserved aggression that had been culminating for centuries. And when Poland was perhaps at its weakest point as Germany invaded in 1939, the Soviets spared nothing in their attempt to crush finally their Polish enemy. As the Polish military rallied to meet the Germans with the same powerful force that defeated the Soviets in the Polish-Soviet War, the Poles were confident that this new war would end with a similar victory and would be a less than extensive conflict. In reality, what followed the German invasion was perhaps one of the darkest times in Polish history.

For two weeks the Poles defended their territory, but after multiple retreats, the eventual capture of Warsaw led to a resounding Nazi victory. As Polish soldiers fled the front lines hoping to return home to their families, they were met by Soviet forces advancing west from the Soviet Union. Hundreds of thousands of prisoners of war were captured, and over a million Polish civilians were subsequently deported across the vast expanse of Soviet Russia. Of the multitude of Polish POWs, roughly 15,000 officers were taken prisoner and eventually relocated in the Kozielsk, Starobielsk, or the Ostashkov POW camps (Slowes, 1992).

Among the officers was Captain Salomon Slowes, who recorded his time in Soviet captivity in his memoir *The Road to Katyn: A Soldier's Story*. After the capture of Warsaw, Slowes' escape from the advancing German line led him to board a train bound for Wilno where

he and his fellow officers would seek refuge. However, once aboard rather than heading west to Wilno, the train moved east into Russia. Slowes had been tricked into captivity. The train took them north of Moscow to the Griazoviets camp outside of Vologda where they met even more Polish officers in captivity. After weeks in the camp, the POWs were again transported, this time to the much larger camp of Kozielsk. There were 5,000 Polish officers of various ranks in Kozielsk where their conditions had vastly improved. The camp was well maintained, and the prisoners were allowed a relatively small level of freedom. After months in the camp and continual hints of repatriation; in April of 1940, a series of transports began, and the captives were led to believe this would result in their release. But when Slowes was summoned for transport, he was moved to yet another camp at Pavlishchev-Bor where he met prisoners from Starobielsk and Ostashkov; there were 394 officers from the three camps in all. Of the 15,000 officers held at the three camps, they were the only ones that survived. Every transport from Kozielsk, except the train carrying Slowes and his group of 191, led officers to the Katyn Forest where they were summarily executed by the NKVD. This was kept in absolute secrecy, and the forest was kept under a constant military guard (Slowes, 1992).

After the Germans invaded the Soviet Union in June 1941, the Soviets joined the Allies in fighting the Nazis, which led to repatriation agreements with the Polish government-in-exile in London. As a part of this settlement, the Soviets agreed to initiate a Polish Army on Soviet soil. In August of 1941, Polish General Władysław Anders was released from captivity in Moscow and appointed commander of the new Polish force. Slowes and the remaining prisoners were transported from Pavlishchev-Bor back to the Griazoviets camp outside Vologda where General Anders met his officer core. However, the number of officers proved to be vastly insufficient for the massive influx of Polish volunteers; roughly 15,000 officers were missing. Anders appointed Captain Czapski, who survived alongside Slowes at Kozielsk, to lead a diplomatic search for the missing officers (Slowes, 1992). His attempts at locating the POWs were futile, as each request led to strangely ambiguous responses from Soviet officials. They claimed that all the POWs that were in captivity had been released. In a meeting between Anders and Stalin in November 1941, Stalin claimed the men had escaped into Manchuria (Zawodny, 1962). The idea that 15,000 men could successfully escape from Soviet custody in three different POW camps and traverse thousands of miles of the earth's harshest terrains into

Manchuria seemed highly unlikely to Anders. Regardless, after this definite response came a diplomatic silence for over a year, despite further questioning and searches, Czapski and Anders had found nothing.

In April 1943, a long feared answer came. Radio Berlin announced that German field police had unearthed a mass grave in the Katyn Forest outside Smolensk, Belorussia. Germany established a committee, chaired by François Neville of the International Red Cross to investigate the site and uncover the mysterious massacre (Slowes, 1992). He found seven mass graves in the forest holding over 4,500 bodies of dead Polish officers. Each man had been bound and shot in the back of the head. Some men had been bayoneted as well, evidencing attempts at resistance. The investigation revealed that the last dates on newspapers and personal documents dated no later than April 1940, over a year before the Germans invaded. This meant that they were executed on Soviet occupied soil, and must have been executed by the Soviets. Germany was happy to announce this in order to create friction among the Allies during the war, but the Soviets soon responded with their rebuttal. They claimed that the Polish officers had been building roads on the wartime German-Soviet border and were overrun and captured by the German army upon their invasion of the Soviet Union. Thus, the Germans were the perpetrators. Supporting this argument was the resounding evidence that the bullets used in Katyn were German made (Zawodny, 1962). However, the Soviets were unable to produce documentation to support this theory.

At this time war was still raging, which preoccupied the Western Allies, and gave the Soviets plenty of time to act. The documents, clothing, and personal effects found on the bodies in the graves mysteriously disappeared. The same thing happened to secret Katyn documents around the world. Similarly, the Russian peasant named Krivozertsov who originally reported the graves to the German officials in the area was mysteriously found dead in his London apartment where he had relocated, attempting to ensure his safety. Numerous other key witnesses around the world somehow simply began to disappear (Slowes, 1992).

The Soviets decided to execute the vast majority of the officer core in order to ensure the weakness of any Polish resistance in the near future. However, they kept the 394 officers alive in case the political climate with the West changed, which it did. They were thus able at least to present some of the officers and cover up those left unaccounted for (Slowes, 1992). The men found in the graves in Katyn were the prisoners who were held along-

side Slowes at the Kozielsk camp. The roughly 10,000 remaining POWs from Starobielsk and Ostashkov were still unaccounted for, but the search was no longer as intense. The answer seemed to be obvious.

Cover Up and Exposure

Throughout history, decisions are made by governments or individuals that result in catastrophic consequences. Often times these are not the facts that we wish to be remembered by, nor are they the facts we want remembered. However, the subsequent attempt to cover up an event can result in the loss of the memory and the loss of the story of the individuals directly affected by the event. Naturally, the backlash is the collaborative effort to combat the concealment efforts made by the people themselves. This struggle is absolutely present when dealing with Katyn. Not only were family members of the victims searching for the truth about their missing relatives, they were seeking to ensure the establishment of their lost loved ones' correct place in history. The fact is that it is understandable for Stalin not to want the truth about Katyn to be discovered for the obvious reason of the immediate legal consequences that would have taken place. Furthermore, he did not want this event to be tied to his name in the pages of history. However, had Stalin actually succeeded in this cover up, it would have resulted in the denial of the memory and truth surrounding the individuals who fell victim to the NKVD. This struggle quickly spread further than Stalin could have possibly foreseen, and eventually resulted in his exposure.

When the Soviets joined the Allies in fighting Germany, Stalin was expected to lead his country in a manner that reflected the same accountability demonstrated by other Allied officials. This meant his compliance with laws established in the Geneva Convention, as well as peaceful cooperation with all Allied governments, including that of Poland. The fact that nearly the entire Polish officer core had been executed by his NKVD was obviously not information that he wished be made public. Thus the Soviet attempt to completely cover up their atrocious action began immediately after the massacre in Katyn took place.

Upon entering the camps of Kozielsk, Starobielsk, and Ostashkov, the POWs were allowed to contact their family members by mail. This continued for the duration of their stay. However, once the transports began from the three camps, all communication was cut (Slowes, 1992). For those men such as Slowes, who were lucky enough to make it to the Pavlishchev-Bor camp, they were then

allowed to resume communications. But, for most, April or May of 1940 was the last time anything was heard. Not only was communication cut, but the Soviets provided ambiguous responses to families attempting to reach the prisoners that somewhat let on that the men were simply out of reach.

The United States government launched a full-scale congressional investigation of the events surrounding Katyn. The House of Representatives Select Committee to Conduct an Investigation of the Facts, Evidence, and Circumstances of the Katyn Forest Massacre in 1951 and 1952 was located in Chicago. The committee held hearings regarding the testimonies of relatives and friends of the Katyn victims, as well as those of many surviving prisoners who were transferred to Pavlishchev-Bor. Irena Hajduk Metelica testified to the committee her memory of the events leading up to her father's death in Katyn. Metelica's mother had written and received letters from her husband who was a POW in Starobielsk. She received a letter in April 1940 indicating that he was in good health, and she responded in June 1940. That letter was soon returned back to her with a postscript written in Russian declaring, "You will not find him again" (*The Katyn Forest Massacre, 1952*, p. 338). This in itself demonstrated the Soviet determination to bury the truth. Their desire was for people simply to stop searching, because if there is no search, then nothing will be found. Yet this postscript invited the obvious question of "why?" There is no obvious reason behind this statement; it does not declare that the man is dead, nor does it say he is alive and is just missing. Ambiguity became a key tool of defense in the Soviet scheme.

Metelica and her remaining family had been deported from Poland into Russia, but when repatriation agreements were made, they were free to go. All the letters that she had received from her father, including the letter with the Russian postscript, were confiscated by the NKVD upon their exit from the Soviet Union (*The Katyn Forest Massacre, 1952*). This action further demonstrated the Soviet attempt to cover any paper trail that would lead to the connection being made between the missing POWs and the Soviet government.

Though the Soviet Union's effort to conceal the evidence of their actions and cover up this portion of the Polish past was extensive, the efforts of multiple Allied nations and the Germans proved to be equally extensive.

When the Germans discovered the mass graves in the Katyn Forest during their Soviet invasion, the discovery became a tool that was desperately needed. Losing the Soviet military as an asset was something Hitler was

prepared for, but the Red Army fighting alongside the rest of the Allies was not what he wanted to see. Thus, he needed something that would prevent cooperation between the Allies and the Soviets, something that would dissuade them from actually joining forces. For him, this was Katyn. If the Allies found out that the prospective new addition to the Alliance, (that already included the Polish government-in-exile) had actually exterminated nearly the entire officer core of the Polish Army, then presumably little cooperation would take place. Despite the ill intent behind the German reasoning for exposing the Soviet crime, they were in effect, combating the Soviet attempt to cover the truth by exposing it to the world.

Propaganda Minister Joseph Goebbels wanted to host an investigation of the site in the forest that would appear as objective as possible to the world, securing the legitimacy of the results that the search would reveal. This desire produced three diverse committees that would take part in the exhumation of the bodies, perform autopsies, and analyze evidence in order to determine when the act occurred, and by whose hand. The most diverse group was the International Commission consisting of professors, scientists, and medical doctors from twelve countries other than Germany. The other groups were the Polish Red Cross, and the German Special Medical-Judiciary Commission (Zawodny, 1962). These were the commissions that discovered that the victims were actually killed no later than the spring of 1940 and at the hands of the Soviets. This information, however, was doubted given that it was being announced by the German government, and it was difficult to believe anything produced by the Nazi propaganda machine. Nonetheless, it remains the case that the Germans did secure the truth about what happened in the forest.

The intentions and attitude of the US Congressional Hearing in Chicago in 1952 were consistently made clear throughout the proceedings where they demonstrated their patience and willingness to listen through extensive detail, to anyone and everyone who might possibly reveal any evidence that would lead to further information on the matter. This conversation between a surviving POW from Starobielsk and Congressman Ray Madden, the Chairmen of the committee, shows exactly that:

Mr. Mlynarski: I will ask you, if you please, to tell me or rather to indicate to me, how far shall I go into the details of my first period and my second period, and so on, because I am afraid that my story may be too lengthy if I go into great detail.

Chairman Madden: I will say, we are glad to have you here and we would like to have all testimony that will aid this committee in presenting evidence to the Congress regarding the Katyn massacre, and if your testimony takes 30 minutes or 10 hours, we will listen. We would like to hear all the facts. So our time is your time.

(The Katyn Forest Massacre, 1952, p. 341).

The United States took responsibility to obtain evidence and uncover any information that could shed light on the mysterious event despite their considerable diplomatic distance from the massacre. During this time, the Soviet Union was simply refusing to admit any responsibility whatsoever for the crime and blamed it entirely on the Germans. The Burdenko Commission was established in 1944 to provide countering intelligence that proved German guilt. However, the Western Allies refused evidence presented by the commission to be used in the Nuremberg Trials. Despite this, in the Soviet Union, the anti-German findings of the Burdenko Report became the standard for historical education and popular belief (Fox, 2010).

Attempts to uncover Soviet secrets surrounding the POWs were made prior to the discovery of the graves. Before it was known that the men were killed, as previously mentioned, Polish Captain Czapski and General Anders of the Polish Army in the Soviet Union had questioned high ranking officials, including Stalin, and came away with nothing. Not only were the Poles searching for their missing brothers, but even officers inside the Soviet Union were trying to do their part. "General G. S. Zhukov used his position, within the limits of propriety, to intercede on behalf of Poles. Some liberations of Poles still detained took place through his intervention" (Zawodny, 1962, p. 11). However, even a Soviet General was unable to uncover any information on the matter. It seems that Zhukov had been spared the truth, but had been warned not to go looking for these specific men because,

When approached by Polish Major-General Bohusz-Szyszko, Chief of the Polish Military Mission in Moscow, on behalf of two officers listed among the 15,000 missing, Zhukov told him bluntly, "Please do not ask me about these men, because in this particular case, I cannot help you."

(Zawodny, 1962, p. 11)

Though these attempts at finding the truth were widespread and collaborative, no further response would be granted from the Soviet Union other than that of the Burdenko Report. No matter how insurmountable the evi-

dence, the Soviets remained silent, and the information remained hidden.

Memory

Uncovering the truth concerning Katyn proved to be less than easy, given the state of global politics in the mid-1940s. Many assumed that the unanswered questions concerning the missing Poles would be addressed at the end of World War II. However, the Cold War froze communication as the Soviets retreated into diplomatic isolation. Increasingly, families of the Katyn victims and those who sought to uncover the truth found these questions to now be unanswerable.

During the Cold War, fears of global nuclear destruction dominated politics and the uncovering of Soviet War crimes was apparently of little importance. The United States Congressional Hearing in Chicago in 1952 was of little consequence since there was no way the Soviets would respect any findings. Stalin had completely wiped out any possibility in the minds of the Russian people that the Poles had been executed at the hands of the Soviets. He continued to blame this entirely on the Nazis. Stalin's death brought no further information and it seemed that the truth and the chance at uncovering it could have died with him. In 1992, however, Russian President Boris Yeltsin proved otherwise (Upman, 2011).

In an attempt to secure his political position of authority and demonstrate his ability to cooperate with the West, Yeltsin released previously classified political documents to researchers. Among these documents was a proposal dated March 5, 1940, written by NKVD chief Lavrenty Beria that called for the execution of the Polish officers. The proposal was approved with the signature of Stalin himself (Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, 2010).

This information, along with much more that was found in the other declassified documents sparked massive national interest among the Russian public at uncovering what were called the "blank spots" (Upman, 2011, p. 94) in the Soviet past. Unfortunately, this lasted only a short time as the public and the government quickly grew tired of the negative facts that continued to surface. Many of the documents were reclassified and closed off to the public and researchers.

The Russians had moved out from under the Soviet Communist regime and into a new era. It was finally a chance to redefine their national identity. These documents seemed to prevent this as they tied such devastating events to the Russians. They did not want to be

associated with the atrocities of their former government and wanted to prevent any further negative information from being made public. Thus, perhaps unknowingly or even out of political habit, fearing the consequences that would result from the publishing of political secrets, the new Russian government reacted in a similar manner as the Soviets. They hid the information and refused to cooperate in discussions or external inquiries.

Finally, after years of avoidance and seclusion, the Russian government seemed to be making strides at dealing with the dark Communist past. In 2010 Russian Prime Minister Vladimir Putin, alongside Polish Prime Minister Donald Tusk, attended a commemoration service in the Katyn Forest. His presence marked the first formal acknowledgement from a high-ranking Russian official that the Soviets were, in fact, responsible for the mass murder that took place seventy years before (Voice of America, 2010).

Throughout the Cold War and the two decades following the collapse of the Soviet Union, relations between Russia and Poland remained exceedingly tense. Much of this was due to the Polish demand for acknowledgement of Katyn, and the Russians reciprocating with equal obstinacy. This face-off constituted a long-term political frustration, and drove the knife of Katyn even deeper into the hearts of Poles. Now it was not just that the Poles blamed the Russians, they hated their unwavering decision to ignore the obvious truth and confess to their crime. Thus, Putin's decision to attempt finally to bridge this gap, though it was a necessary step, it was just that—a step. It did not fix anything immediately, but it did help to satiate the seventy-year aggravation.

It seems that Putin knew this himself as well, which is important if the relationship was to mend. In his speech at the Commemoration, Putin stated, "No matter how difficult it is, we must move toward each other, remembering everything but understanding that we can't live only in the past" (Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, 2010). This demonstrates his understanding that it is equally as difficult as it is necessary for two peoples to simply move on. The Russians' guilt for such an atrocity is obviously an obstacle, as is the victimhood of the Poles, but in the striving for unity, a peace can be found.

Tusk also spoke along this vein, of movement towards progress as two nations. "A word of truth can mobilize two peoples looking for the road to reconciliation. Are we capable of transforming a lie into reconciliation? We must believe we can," asserted the Polish Prime Minister (Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, 2010). Tusk, also making mention of the existence of the Soviet lie,

provided his fellow Poles with the satisfaction that the Russians were now truly coming clean about their abuse of the Poles. The Poles always knew the Russians were lying, but now everyone, including the Russians, knew it. This sort of vindication, though perhaps hinging on selfishness, is inherently necessary for the victim to accept an apology and reach an understanding with the antagonist. Tusk was also asking the Poles to acknowledge that the fight was over. The gap had been bridged, and now what lies ahead remains only each side's attempt to cross it. This long-awaited political action very well could have been the watershed for Russian and Polish relations that had been tense long before Katyn, and perhaps still can be. However, it will not be without difficulty.

On April 10, 2010, just three days after Putin attended the commemoration service, a plane crashed near Smolensk carrying Polish President Lech Kaczyński and a great number of high-ranking Polish officials. The president was on his way to attend a separate service honoring Katyn. The cause of the crash was blamed on poor weather conditions, as there was a dense low-level fog that morning. Russian ground control had redirected the flight to Moscow, but Kaczyński was determined to be present at the service, and the pilot made repeated efforts to land despite the fog. On the fourth attempt, the plane hit the trees in the Katyn forest and exploded. All ninety-six people on board were killed. This accident remains a terrible tragedy, however, there is a large Polish popular suspicion that it, in fact, was no accident. Kaczyński had sustained a disjunctive relationship with Moscow, hence his refusal to attend the service alongside Putin (Harding, 2010). Poles maintain that his plane crash was more an act of Russian interference than a tragic accident.

As news reports flooded in, blogs and forums began filling up with thoughts and arguments of outraged Poles. Bloggers raised suspicions of Russian conspiracy in the crash in order to avoid commemorating Katyn and to punish the Poles for turning against the Soviets. The blogs and forums pointed out that the Polish officials were originally taking three separate planes to the service, but at the last minute all boarded one plane. This plane had been checked and serviced in Russia only five months before the accident. Also, upon arrival at the site, Russian military authorities confiscated the black box from the cockpit, and its contents were not revealed for weeks, giving the Russians plenty of time to make edits. Furthermore, witnesses claimed to have heard gunshots soon after the Russian military trucks approached the wreckage. These are suspected to be finishing off the survivors, and the fact that there were no autopsies done

only added to their suspicions (Critical T; righteousrick; feliks, 2010). Though most of these bloggers based many of their comments on rumors or exaggerated reports, it shows the popular unrest and disbelief of a Polish victim. These were the thoughts coming from the minds of a people who share a sad history filled with controversy and betrayal with Russia. The general consensus is that the plane crash is not at all an isolated event; rather it is one in a series of events for which Russia has been to blame. Though such conspiracy theories are reaching and stretch the facts, it is easy to find a measure of credibility when looking at how the relationship between the two countries has unfolded throughout history.

After much controversy, Russia led a full-scale investigation to determine the true cause of the plane crash. The team's findings proved only to be more of a source of discontent on the already controversial issue. Poles and Russians had been on a path that could lead to a measure of reconciliation and a more stable future of peaceful co-existence. However, with the release of the investigation's results, hopes of reconciliations could again be stifled.

The investigation revealed that the Polish pilots repeatedly ignored commands to land at multiple different locations due to the poor weather conditions. Moreover, the crew on the plane was less than qualified for a flight of such great importance, and inexperience proved to be a negative factor. Further still, General Andrzej Błasik, Commander of the Polish Air Force, was in the cockpit pressuring the pilots to make their landing as scheduled in Smolensk no matter what. As Air Force Commander this would not be out of the ordinary except that he had a blood alcohol content of 0.06%, compromising his judgment (Weir, 2011). These findings pinned full responsibility of the tragedy on the Poles, proving the innocence of the Russians. Upon hearing this information, Polish citizens were outraged, claiming that it continues to show a pattern of Russian refusal to admit their involvement in criminal activity and furthering a popular discrimination of Poles. Polish Prime Minister Tusk called the report "incomplete" and said, "If I am concerned by anything it is by the political context of Russia's investigation" (Weir, 2011). This, coming from the man who stood alongside Putin just the year before demonstrates a vast decrease in diplomatic trust and cooperation toward reconciliation.

The findings from the investigation only furthered the ideas of those conspiracy theorists. Not only was it the results that pushed them, the Russian attempt to transfer blame for a tragedy that resulted in the death of

numerous Polish officials sounds too much like Katyn itself to be ignored. Regardless of the fact that the crash took place en route to a Katyn commemoration service, in the minds of the Poles, Russia seems to be only repeating history. Recent attempts to find a common ground on which to leave past memories behind and move forward are darkly overshadowed by the Russians blaming the Poles for the crash; regardless of if the findings are true or not.

Daniel Hannan, writer for *The Telegraph* in England, covered the plane crash in an intriguing manner. He begins his article by briefly explaining what took place in Katyn, how the country's military, scholars and civic leaders were lost. Hannan continues on to the plane crash that killed Kaczyński and many of Poland's leading political and military figures. Before writing his article on the crash, he consulted with his Polish friends and concluded his article with the statement, "For the second time, their nation has lost its leaders at Katyn" (Hannan, 2010). This statement resounds far further than Hannan could perhaps foresee when writing this article. The memory of Katyn is forever at the forefront of the minds of the children of the murdered victims and those prisoners who were fortunate enough to survive. Losing the leaders of a country is a tragedy in itself, but to happen twice, in the same place, is much more than just tragedy.

While overall, efforts to establish truth and secure the memory of Katyn have been in the hands of the Polish, Russia has shown some attempts to accomplish the same goal. In 2007 on Good Friday, Russian state television aired Andrzej Wajda's recently released film *Katyn* during prime time hours (Sidorenko, 2010). This is an action that was truly unprecedented in its time. The act itself demonstrated a desire of Russians to educate its public about its darker Soviet past. By doing this, they provided the opportunity for open discussions of past atrocities and how they affect the present. Prior to this, because of the Burdenko Report, the vast majority of Russians still believed in Stalin's innocence and held Nazi Germany as the perpetrators.

The film was widely viewed and discussed. A Russian blogging site held a forum where people from Russia, Poland and the United States participated in discussions of the film. Overall, the Russian popular opinion was that the film was excellent and revealing. They appreciated its boldness and honesty while resisting the obviously easy opportunity to portray Russians in a terrible way. Conversations between Poles and Russians show an increased mutual interest in acknowledging the past, admitting the truth and moving closer together to establish the hope

of a peaceful and cooperative future. Though this is not the achievement of an international rehabilitation, it is yet another step in the right direction. This rehabilitation can be achieved, but only by means of this same mutual interest expressed by a seemingly ineffectual blog. Reconciliation lies in the hands of the public.

Such activity accomplishes two things: education and cooperation. If Russian citizens are made fully aware of the truth of Katyn, real strides can be made at recognizing the role of their country in both the atrocity and the recovery. Similarly, if Polish citizens are aware that Russia is doing its part in educating its people, it will tear down parts of the wall that has developed, which has hindered their relationship from peacefully progressing. However, simply showing the film in Russia is not enough by itself. The need of an opportunity for a response remains. Though it was three years after the film showing, a necessary response came with Putin and Tusk's commemoration service at Katyn. Again, this serves as a step towards recovery. Healing after a tragedy of such magnitude, followed by such a vast omission, will take time, but more efforts like these could lead to peaceful relations in the future.

Today there are many different ways in which people attempt to pay respect and reverence to the Katyn victims. Around the world, Katyn memorials have been unveiled. Statues, museums, plaques and cemeteries can be found from Detroit, Michigan to Wrocław, Poland; Johannesburg, South Africa and at the Katyn site itself near Smolensk. The existence of these monuments in such seemingly dislocated places demonstrates the world's commitment to always remember what happened at Katyn.

Another way people are coming together to commemorate Katyn is through Facebook. A "Katyn Memorial Wall" has been started and over a thousand people actively communicate about events taking place, movie premiers, services being held that have to do with commemorating Katyn. Also, family members of the victims are connecting and sharing their experiences and helping each other work through the hurts that history has left them with. The slogan for the site is "Never Forgotten, Never Forgiven Katyn 1940" (Facebook, 2011). The page information states, "This page is dedicated to the memory of those, who perished in Katyn, whose family lives were shattered by Katyn, who wish to learn about Katyn, who still believe in the ingrained innocence of the human nature, despite Katyn" (Facebook, 2011). It seems that their slogan and purpose is a way of saying that the atrocity will always remain as such, unforgettable and unforgivable. However, it does not mean that it is

something that cannot be moved past, while still maintaining the memory.

Although for over 70 years now Katyn has been a source of highest contention between Russia and Poland, even on the global political level, it seems that little by little, ground is being made in the long process of reconciliation. Russia and Poland have centuries of problems to work through in order to gain any real levels of trust or reliance, but it does not have to be impossible. As long as people are continuing to strive in their efforts to connect to each other, be it through the blogs over the *Katyn* film, or now through Facebook, as previously stated, reconciliation lies in the hands of the public. Governments have political and economic

purposes for making amends, but healing and restoration will come from those who have direct connection with Katyn.

With seemingly limitless effort, the Soviet Union attempted to conceal their actions for decades from the Western world. If it had not been for the greater persistence of those willing to fight for the truth, they may have succeeded. It is with this same persistence that people must continue if the memory is to remain alive and active.

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School-Based Law Enforcement

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ABSTRACT: *The following paper explains the implementation of Texas school district police officers and defines why and how school districts have the ability to authorize the policing of their campuses. The paper further describes the selection, training, and deployment of district police officers, as well as, why there is a need for police officers in our schools. The term “criminalization of student conduct” is also defined as the article attempts to explain the opposition’s view of having a police presence in the school system. The goal of this paper is to educate the reader on the need of police services in our public school districts in order to keep our children safe and provide a secure environment that promotes the success of our students.*

Introduction

Policing in schools is a necessary element of the law enforcement profession that has seen a tremendous amount of growth in the last decade. It is estimated there are now 17,000 officers working in school districts nationally (Thurau & Wald, 2009). Several factors are said to have contributed to the rapid expansion. The availability of federal funding such as the community oriented policing services (COPS) program, the rise in active shootings at schools, the implementation of “zero tolerance” policies, and the tough on crime approach toward juvenile offenders have caused the growth (Thurau & Wald, 2009).

The tragic incident at Columbine High School in 1999 put the emphasis of safety and security in the forefront in our schools. In the aftermath, school districts began to see the importance of protecting their staff and students. Although many districts had security programs in place, the emphasis began to switch from mere security to law enforcement. Independent school districts (ISDs), such as Dallas ISD, began to transition their security departments into fully commissioned law enforcement agencies. Other districts developed their police departments from the ground up without having a security department to draw from, and many, such as Dumas ISD Police Department, were developed with funding by the COPS program. These police departments were developed as self-sufficient agencies separate and independent of any municipal or county law enforcement agency.

In Texas, the authority to develop school district police departments comes from the *Texas Education Code*. In 1995, the State added Section 37.081 to the code giving school districts the ability to establish district police departments and allowed the departments to be fully

commissioned and authorized by the Texas Commission of Law Enforcement Officers Standards and Education. Some districts elected to enter into agreements with their local police departments or sheriff’s offices to bring officers from their agencies into the schools. These officers, known as School Resource Officers (SRO) or School Liaison Officers, are employed by the law enforcement agency but are assigned to the school district during the school year.

School district police officers carry out a variety of functions within a school setting such as law enforcer, counselor, and an advisor for school administrators (Thurau & Wald, 2009). Therefore, an officer working within a school district has to possess many characteristics outside of his or her law enforcement background and be willing to perform many other duties in addition to their law enforcement role. Due to this expanded role, there are many benefits to having police officers within our school districts. However, there are also many people and organizations opposed to school based law enforcement. This paper will cover the selection and training of school district officers, the four different theories on how officers should be deployed, the examination of both sides of the debate on whether or not officers are needed in schools, and briefly touch on some of the incidents that have occurred in recent years putting the emphasis on safety and security in our schools.

Selection and Training

The selection and training of school district police officers is an extremely important part of establishing a police presence in school districts. Whether the officers are

members of a district police department or assigned to the schools through an agreement with a local agency, it is important to ensure the officer has the right training, personality and enough law enforcement experience to be effective.

The initial selection process should consist of testing, interviews, and evaluations to insure that the candidate fits the requirements of the position. The selection should be conducted by a committee consisting of department personnel and school administrators. This not only allows the candidates to be evaluated for both their law enforcement ability; but also gives administrators the opportunity to voice their opinion on the candidate's ability to operate in a school environment. The testing and interview should include questions to gain information on the candidate's personality, situational awareness, and ability to apply the law in a school setting. A thorough performance evaluation should also be completed to evaluate the candidate's ability to apply flexibility and adapt to changing situations. The candidate should also be evaluated on their ability to react calmly in stressful situations. Officers that have a tendency to use force rather than logic when placed in a stressful environment should not be considered for the position. Further, a requirement for a set number of years' experience should be implemented into the selection process to insure that the officer has sufficient experience to do his or her job affectively.

According to Clark (2011), Virginia was one of the first states to recognize a need for the specialized training of officers assigned to schools in the area of school based law enforcement. The Virginia Center for School Safety was created in 1999 and given the responsibility for conducting training to officers assigned to Virginia Schools. Virginia currently has officers assigned to 559 of 631 schools. All of these officers have undergone training at the center.

One problem with training officers working in a school setting is that there is no clear model of training and there are no national standards (Clark, 2011). Many small districts do not have the resources to adequately train officers for the specific demands of the assignment. Unfortunately, many officers are placed in schools with no initial training and have to learn on the job. The lack of training can create a multitude of problems. Many of these officers go into the schools without realizing that policing in schools is vastly different from policing in communities. There are many other aspects of the job in schools that officers never encounter on the streets. Dealing with satisfying the law while trying to adhere

to administrative rules and school policies can be difficult. Perhaps the most important aspect of working in a school setting is being able to build a rapport with the students and staff. Being able to be flexible and use officer discretion in matters where a student may be better affected by administrative rather than criminal penalties can be conflicting to an officer who is new to school district policing.

To combat the lack of training of officers working in school districts, the model used by the Virginia Center for School Safety provides a guide useful to any district or other law enforcement agency when implementing school based law enforcement training. According to Steven Clark, author of *The Role of Law Enforcement in schools: The Virginia experience - A practitioner report*, "Today, a typical Virginia SRO training program consists of forty hours of instruction in topics that include legal and liability issues of school based law enforcement" (Clark, 2011, p.93). The curriculum consists of

critical incident planning and response, homeland security for schools, substance abuse and suicide prevention, gang identification and prevention, crime prevention through environmental design, conflict mediation, Internet crime, bullying prevention, law-related education programs, and techniques for dealing with confrontational parents. (Clark, 2011, p.93)

Texas employs a similar program sponsored by Sam Houston State University which is available to any district or other law enforcement agency employing school based law enforcement officers. The program consists of forty hours of training covering many of the same areas as the Virginia program. In addition to training for officers, the Sam Houston State program also allows school administrators to accompany their district police officers to the training so that they have the same knowledge. Allowing administrator and officers to receive the same training is invaluable when it comes to consistency and the ability to work together.

How Should Officers be Deployed in Schools?

There are several theories of how officers should be deployed in our schools. Applying these theories often depends on the size of the district and the number of officers in the district. The four theories covered in this paper were taken from Lisa H. Thureau and Johanna Wald (2009). The deployment strategies were applied to the

SRO system where officers are assigned to a school district by a local law enforcement agency. However, these strategies can easily be applied to and are also used by school district police departments. Thureau and Wald identify the following theories:

School-Based SROs. School based deployment consists of assigning an officer to a particular campus on a permanent basis and usually has no other assignments in the district. A typical day for these officers involves monitoring students in group settings, patrolling the halls and perimeter, and responding to on campus incidents. School based officers usually have a central office located in the administrative section of the building and often have access to the same communication system as the administration to make communication more efficient. School based officers usually are afforded more discretion in enforcing student conduct. Most officers elect to consult with an administrator before detaining or questioning a student. However, officers also said that referring students to a clerk magistrate was often done without consultation and usually had an effective impact on the students while keeping the students out of the more formal aspects of the juvenile system.

School-Based High School SRO and Multi-School SRO assignment approach. The second strategy describes a school based high school SRO while a second group of SROs are assigned to multiple campuses. The high school officer follows the same model described above while the multi-campus officer, usually working in elementary and middle schools take a different approach to their assignment. The multi school officers generally focus on education in a classroom setting and are called to their campuses instead of patrol officers if an incident occurs. Multi-campus officers normally have more interaction with students in a non-incident setting, but the amount of interaction is left up to the discretion and availability of the officer. Multi-campus officers also tend to only file criminal charges on students when all other options have been exhausted and rely heavily on the characteristics of the student's conduct and reports from administrators while the high schools officer's discretion tended to determine whether or not criminal charges were filed.

SRO by Day, Patrol Officer by Night. This strategy uses the SRO in a school-based deployment during the daytime hours and then switched the officer's assignment to typical patrol duties during an evening shift. The SRO and patrol officers tended to share information on juvenile activity and were considered the "go to" officers for anything concerning any juvenile issues in the department. The SRO in this strategy interacts with the students on a daily basis and

is keenly aware of the juvenile activity in the area and generally made little use of the juvenile system when policing the school. Most arrests were made for fighting when the officer was actively involved.

Dedicated School Liaison Officers (Dedicated Call for Service). In the last model, officers were assigned to an area containing high schools, middle schools, and elementary schools. These officers operate from their patrol units on a call for service basis and to perform walk-throughs at their respective schools. Officers working in this model generally have very little time to spend at each school and have little non-incident interaction with the students. The interaction between the officers and the schools usually centers on the administration. The administrators have more control over the outcome of the officer's contacts with students and the officers tended to issue summons and make arrests if there were witnesses to the offence. Officers in this model were unlikely to challenge the wishes of administration and were the least likely to consider diversion programs.

These four models are used by districts nationwide both with the SRO system and with school district police departments. One area school district police department, Dumas ISD, uses the school-based high school and multi-school assignment approach. In their department, the Chief of Police is assigned to the high school while another officer is assigned to the junior high, intermediate school and five elementary schools. Dumas ISD also has a third officer fulfilling a relatively unusual assignment. This officer is actually assigned to Dalhart ISD on a mutual aid agreement. The officer is assigned to accompany Dumas ISD's alternative placement students to the XIT secondary school which is part of Dalhart ISD. Per the agreement, the officer is responsible for policing XIT, as well as, the other campuses in the district. The only other school district with a police department in the area is Highland Park ISD. Their district employs one officer who is responsible for policing all their campuses under the multi-school assignment approach.

The Benefits of Implementing School Policing

The number of incidences of violence in our school systems in recent years answers a resounding yes. In addition to the tragic 1999 incident at Columbine High School, many other incidences have occurred. In *Mass-Shooting Incidents: Planning and Response*, August Vernon lists seven events from 2007 to 2008 where students en-

tered their schools and committed acts of violence. These events are listed below:

April 16, 2007. A 23 year old Virginia Tech student killed two students in a dorm and then killed thirty more an hour later in a classroom building. His suicide brought the death toll to 33 making the shooting rampage the most deadly in U.S. History. Fifteen others were wounded.

November 7, 2007. An 18 year old student in southern Finland shot and killed five boys, two girls, and the female principal at Jokela High School. At least ten others were injured. The gunman shot himself.

February 14, 2008. In DeKalb Illinois, a gunman killed seven students and wounded fifteen others when he opened fire on a classroom at Northern Illinois University, DeKalb. He then killed himself. The gunman was identified as a former graduate student at the university in 2007.

March 6, 2008. Eight people were killed and nine were injured in a shooting in a Jerusalem religious school.

(Vernon, 2010, p. 15)

Although these incidents are some of the most recent, they are not the only occurrences of violence in schools. According to the American School Board Journal, schools are safer since Columbine (American School Board Journal, 2009). In a survey, “Seventy-one percent said schools are safer than ten years ago, 17 percent said about as safe, and 8 percent said were less safe. Four percent said none of the above” (American School Board Journal, 2009). Battling such incidences are not the only benefits of having police officers in our school systems.

The number one priority for any school police officer is to ensure the safety and security of any person while they are on school district property. However, as stated before, the school police officer has many jobs that benefit the district. The mere presence of officers in schools tends to curb discipline problems in our schools. Research shows that police officers in schools have a positive impact on reducing school violence and discipline problems (James, Logan, & Davis, 2011). Student expulsions and suspensions appear to have been affected in a positive way and students report feeling safer at school when an officer is on campus (James, Logan, & Davis, 2011).

To further examine whether or not having an officer on campus affects student behavior, I compared PEIMS discipline reports from Dalhart High School for the 2009–2010 school year with reports from the 2010–2011 school year. In looking at these reports, I

only compared the first three six weeks of the school year. The 2010–2011 school year is the first year for Dalhart ISD to have a police presence in their schools. The discipline reports contain a variety of offences ranging from minor violations of school policy to felony criminal offences that occur off campus. I chose to compare only the offences that could result in criminal charges being filed on the student. The offences I compared are fighting or mutual combat, disruption of class, and rude or profane language or gestures. In 2009–2010 there were five reported fights between students compared to three in 2010–2011 (DISD, 2009, 2010). Four disruptions of class were reported in 2009–2010 compared to two in 2010–2011 and two reports of students using rude or profane language or gestures compared to five in 2010–2011 (DISD, 2009, 2010).

The PEIMS reports showed little difference between the two school years. However, the rise in reported violations in some categories could be due to having the ability to enforce criminal violations with the addition of a police officer in 2010–2011 and not having an officer in previous years. The PEIMS reports also do not reflect the number of officer-student contacts where action was not taken and the affects those contacts had on student behavior. In talking to several administrators from Dalhart ISD, the overwhelming opinion is that having an officer on campus has affected the overall behavior and attitudes of the students. The presence of an officer in the district seems to have improved the educational environment.

Officers also become advisors to school administrators by acting as a point of reference when questions arise in reference to student behavior and the law. Having a good working relationship with school administrators allows the officer to be involved in the decision process in reference to dealing with student behavior. If administrators and officers work together solutions can be found that are in the best interest of the student and have the most impact on his or her behavior.

The report that the officer can develop with the students is one of the most important aspects of the officer’s job. Because of this report, the officer can become an extremely important part of the student’s education. Many times officers find themselves advising students on a number of matters and can be a positive influence on the student’s lives. The daily contact the officer has with the students improves communication and builds trust (James, Logan, & Davis, 2011). When officers are permanently deployed in a school building arrests tend to decrease over time. Many officers say this tendency is

due to the trust and relationships built between the officers, the students, and parents (Thurau & Wald, 2009). The more officers become involved in the daily activities of the students, the more the students begin to trust and respect the officers. Attending school activities, becoming involved in programs and activities with the students and building relationships with the student's families builds the bond between officers and students (Thurau & Wald, 2009). The improved communication and trust allows the students to be more open with the officer; giving the officer a valuable tool when information gathering becomes necessary to diffuse an incident or solve a crime.

School districts have also begun to use officers in the classroom teaching criminal justice related courses to students. Larger districts have made criminal justice courses part of their career prep programs allowing students to obtain various criminal justice certifications for employment after high school.

A relatively new concept involving the positive impact of school district police officers on the students is the involvement of officers on district crisis intervention teams (CIT). The concept of incorporating officer's into CIT was developed by three individuals, Dick James, Joan Logan, and Scott Davis (James, Logan, & Davis, 2011). The intention of the CIT model is to train officers to diffuse and de-escalate violent situations without the use of force. The model proved particularly helpful with mentally and emotionally disturbed students. The model quickly gained popularity and is currently in use in approximately 600 law enforcement agencies nationwide and resulted in the formation of the National Association of School Resource Officers.

The obvious benefits of school based law enforcement are apparent. However, many organizations have expressed an opposition to having officers in our school systems.

Opponents and the Criminalization of Student Conduct

Organizations like the ACLU fear that the presence of police officers in our schools take discipline authority out of the hands of the administrators and places it in the courts. It is becoming much more common for students to be referred to the criminal courts rather than the school administration for offences such as disruption of class or fighting. In the past, incidences such as these were handled administratively and kept in house. Due

to some student's lack of response to school discipline, districts have elected to file criminal cases on students for such violations. A study by Mathew T. Theriot in 2009 looked at the concern that the presence of police in school "criminalizes" student behavior. Although it was expected to reveal that school districts with officers made more arrests and filed more criminal cases than districts that didn't have officers, the results were mixed (Theriot, 2009). The study actually showed that the difference in the number of arrests and charges filed between districts with and without officers was marginal. The study also showed that schools with officers had fewer arrests for assault and weapons charges.

Other opponents also argue that the presence of police in schools are detrimental and encourage the criminalization of student conduct. According Price (2009), police presence in schools must be justified by action causing an increase in the criminalization of violations that would have been previously handled by school administrators. Price goes on to say, "For example, in one Texas school district, 17% of school arrests were for disruptive behavior, and 26% were for disorderly conduct" (p. 549). Criminalization of student conduct is thought to lessen the effectiveness of the arrest process. If the filing of criminal cases for minor offences increases, respect for the arrest process lessens. Price gives the example of "one can imagine a student thinking that if a kindergarten student is shackled in the back of a police cruiser for a temper tantrum, maybe being shackled by the police isn't such a big deal" (Price, 2009, p. 549).

The Texas Appleseed Project published a report in 2010 discussing areas of school based policing seen as detrimental. The report gives data in reference to the increase of ticketing students for class C offences and the arrest of students while at school. School district police officers in Texas are issuing citations and making arrests at an alarmingly high rate, particularly in the large school districts. Some of these citations and arrests involve students as young as six years of age (Texas Appleseed Project, 2010). The report goes on to say that these high numbers of citations and the large numbers of arrests at school lead to higher dropout rates and the school to prison pipeline. Although the intention for the implementation of school based law enforcement is to increase the safety and security of students, staff and visitors, an unintentional affect has been the criminalization of student behavior. Although it is important that school police officers insure the safety and security of our students, the role of officers in our schools should not unintentionally contribute to the school to prison pipeline.

Conclusion

School-based law enforcement is an extremely specific area within our criminal justice system and has a huge impact on our students. Some student's resistance to authority and normal discipline practices has made the use of the criminal justice system more common. Instead of students solving their differences after school, they decide to bring a weapon and take their revenge out on the entire student body making the safety and security of our schools much more important. Recent events, like those listed above, show that students seem

to be more likely to resort to violence at school than in years past.

Although some groups argue that the impact is detrimental, the benefits of having police officers in our schools outweigh the negatives. As long as we have the right officers on our campuses and provide proper training, the negatives can be kept to a minimum.

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To “leave the land in a condition equal to or better than we found it:”¹ Environmental Activism and the Greening of Big Energy

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ABSTRACT: *Energy producers have engaged in systematic efforts to “green” their corporate images, a phenomenon that is directly related to the rise of modern environmentalism after World War Two. From Peabody Coal’s attempts to mitigate the effects of strip-mining during the 1950s, to British Petroleum’s social media campaign to apprise the public of its efforts to restore the Gulf of Mexico in the wake of the catastrophic 2010 oil spill, energy producers have played an important role in the evolution of environmental activism. This article identifies key events that have framed the structure in which current environmental debates take place, analyzes why energy producers appear to be over-represented in these epic struggles, and postulates some possible motives for that phenomenon.*

American environmental activism has been largely shaped by moments of iconic conflict that have served to rouse the public out of apathy and into supporting various environmental causes. These conflicts have taken place in the halls of Congress, at the judicial bar across the United States and in the court of public opinion. Each episode in turn set a precedent for future battles, and many of these epic struggles involved energy producers. The purpose of this article is to raise questions about the role energy producers have played in the evolution of environmental activism and to identify some key pivot points that framed the structure in which current debates take place. This article will also analyze why energy producers appear to be over-represented in these epic struggles, explore the impact they have had upon Big Energy’s recent campaigns to “green its image,” and identify some possible motives for that phenomenon.

One of the most important early American environmental disputes was the battle over the construction of a dam in Hetch Hetchy Valley in Yosemite National Park. This dispute set the stage for future debates, pitting corporate America and various levels of government in favor of urban development against a mostly grassroots resistance consisting of angry citizens and environmental organizations led by the Sierra Club and its passionate founder John Muir. The key issue in this controversy was whether development should take precedence over the preservation of scenery in national parks. It is well known that San Francisco got its dam and a fresh water supply at the expense of the Hetch Hetchy Valley, a mirror image

of Yosemite Valley. What is not as well known is that the Raker Act, passed in 1913, also forced San Francisco to purchase public power from turbines that were to be included at the O’Shaughnessy Dam where power generation began in the early 1920s.

Several precedents that resurfaced in subsequent debates were established during this conflict. Environmentalists engaged in letter writing campaigns and other grassroots efforts seeking to influence the political process—something to which they did not have a great deal of access. Proponents of the dam attempted to convince the public that they sought to democratize natural wonders and portrayed environmentalists as selfish elites, a strategy that was quite successful in the past and that is still used today. Each side advanced different sets of values. The pro-development coalition argued that the highest and best use of land was when it could be made to produce the most in economic terms. Preservationists advocated that there were some places that should be protected because they were most valuable when left alone. Finally, the Hetch Hetchy debate took place over the construction of a dam that would produce electricity in addition to storing water.² Thus, from the earliest debates of the 20th century, energy producers and the pro-development forces that supported them, helped to erect the framework within which subsequent environmental debates would take place.

That the potential for energy production would constitute a continuing source of debate after the Hetch Hetchy controversy is evidenced by the lengths to which

politicians went to reserve hydroelectric sites for future development both inside and outside the national park system. Although the National Park Act of 1916 prohibited water and power development in the parks, Congress passed the Grand Canyon National Park Establishment Act in 1919 that included a special provision granting the Secretary of the Interior the power to authorize reclamation projects in the park at his or her discretion.

Throughout the 1920s and 1930s, no major environmental debates involving hydroelectric projects in national parks took place. However, energy companies and governmental agencies conducted surveys of most of the west's major rivers during this time. Hoover and the great dams of the Columbia River soon followed, yet despite some interstate squabbles over these projects, (one leading to an official war declaration by Arizona on California), little organized environmentalist opposition materialized. It would only be after the Second World War ended that environmental attitudes would change enough so that the pro-development precedent set at Hetch Hetchy could be challenged. Environmental organizations and their leaders underwent a metamorphosis. The Sierra Club, whose board of directors included David Brower, voted unanimously to endorse the construction of the enormous Bridge Canyon hydroelectric dam in Grand Canyon, thereby approving the flooding of up to 30 miles of Grand Canyon National Park (Sierra Club, Minutes, 1949).

By the early 1950s, Brower and the Sierra Club had reversed their position on Grand Canyon, and they were also attacking dams proposed for Dinosaur National Monument. Although the framework of environmental discourse evolved during this dispute, it retained much of its original configuration. Environmentalists used emotional arguments and contended that the canyons of the Green River were so beautiful that they defied mere quantification. As they had during the Hetch Hetchy debate, supporters of development attempted to paint the environmentalists as selfish people who wanted to reserve these canyons to themselves. But environmentalists countered successfully by demonstrating that most people could enjoy white water rafting and other outdoor activities safely and inexpensively. Environmentalists also had become more politically savvy, and during congressional hearings they attacked the project at its foundation by demonstrating that the Bureau of Reclamation had used erroneous figures to justify it. Using films, photos, and coffee table books, the environmentalists's public relations campaign generated tens of thousands of letters and eventually they used this victory in the court of public opinion to influence the political

process. Preservationists prevailed and Dinosaur National Monument remained free of dams (Harvey, 1999). As a result the Hetch Hetchy precedent was weakened but not entirely overturned, as subsequent conflicts over Glen Canyon and Navajo Bridge National Monument would show. Although the hydroelectric companies did not attempt to green their image during this controversy, they appealed to mainstream public opinion at the time. It remained to be seen how they would react once environmentalism became a mainstream issue with mass appeal.

However, at least one energy company did understand the potential windfall a "green" public image could create. As the environmental movement gained public support, in 1954 Peabody Coal Company started "Operation Green Earth" to plant trees and reintroduce fish and wildlife onto mined lands (Peabody Energy, n.d.a). Begun during the height of the Dinosaur controversy, Peabody's environmental initiative anticipated campaigns many energy producers would undertake during the next decade. But this public relations offensive was also intended to demonstrate that Peabody, a coal producer that competed directly with hydroelectric producers, held a corporate environmental consciousness that was far "greener" than that possessed by companies that were, even at that moment, attempting to desecrate the national park system with hydroelectric dams. Peabody executives recognized that a green corporate image could not only be used to generate public support, it also gave them a marketing tool to use against competing energy sources.

Developing a green corporate image came of age during the 1960s along with the environmental movement. In 1962 Rachel Carson published *Silent Spring*, opening a new front in the environmental wars by showing the public that environmentalism did not just involve the protection of scenery, it also concerned health issues related to the use of pesticides. Even as Carson's book helped to raise public awareness, the next great battle over preservation versus energy development was already in its initial stages. In 1963, Arizona politicians sought the construction of two enormous hydroelectric dams in the Grand Canyon as part of the Central Arizona Project. Although neither dam was to be located in the national park, environmentalists argued that they would harm it by reducing the flow of the Colorado River and creating an invasive slack-water lake. As it had during the Dinosaur controversy a decade previously, the Sierra Club launched a tremendous public relations campaign that resulted in angry citizens sending hundreds of thousands of letters to Congress. The pro-development coalition of energy producers and government bureaus was stunned by the size of

this onslaught. The dispute reached its zenith at a time when the American public was aroused over free speech, the Vietnam War, and the Civil Rights movement. Thus, environmentalism became a mainstream issue. By 1968, with letters pouring into congressional offices and fragile political coalitions in chaos, Congress passed a Central Arizona Project without the controversial Grand Canyon Dams, and environmentalists claimed a great victory that helped foster the passage of the National Environmental Policy Act in late 1969.³

During the Grand Canyon Dam fight, energy producers continued their attempts to green their public image. Figuring most prominently were companies that trumpeted alternative energy sources. Atomic energy producers and coal companies led the way, each of which constituted an alternative to hydropower. Atomic energy was touted as a safe alternative to hydropower since the beginning of the controversy by environmentalists and, according to David Brower (personal communication, July 27, 1997), by the Bechtel Corporation—one of the leading builders of nuclear power plants—who poured money into the Sierra Club’s anti-dam campaign. Meanwhile in Congress, John Saylor, who represented a leading Pennsylvania coal mining district, constituted the most tenacious opponent of the Grand Canyon dams (F. Dominy, personal communication, November 1, 1996). Peabody Coal eventually reaped the rewards of this debate, by contracting with the Navajo Nation to mine the coal to fuel the power plants adopted in place of the controversial dams.

By the early 1970s the framework within which these environmental disputes occurred was in a period of transition with the passage of the National Environmental Policy Act, the creation of the Environmental Protection Agency, and a growing cadre of experienced environmental lawyers pressing for environmentally favorable resolutions in the court system. During the next three decades, American energy producers suffered terrible publicity as the result of a series of environmental disasters including the Santa Barbara Oil Spill of January to February 1969, the Three Mile Island episode of 1979, the Bhopal chemical leak in 1984, and the Exxon Valdez spill of 1987. Each of these episodes, and others like them received extensive media coverage. After viewing countless pictures of oil soaked birds, people fleeing from towns in Pennsylvania and India, and once-pristine Alaskan beaches now oozing with oil, the public was rapidly coming to associate big energy with environmental destruction

It is not a coincidence, therefore, that energy producers have launched an all-out offensive during the

past three decades to combat these negative images and convince the American people that they are, in fact, environmentally friendly. This new public relations campaign is less focused upon promoting one energy source over another—with a few notable exceptions as we will see—and instead seeks to improve public perceptions of energy producers as an industry. Currently the public is literally bombarded with TV and print media ads and articles touting the environmental consciousness of energy producers. A typical example is the recent British Petroleum campaign. BP’s President stated in mid 1998, “That is why we start from a simple principle. Wherever we operate, our ultimate objective is to cause no harm to the environment” (Browne, 1998). That this objective is sometimes difficult to attain is evidenced by the 2010 disaster in the Gulf of Mexico, an event that briefly depressed BP’s ability to pay dividends to its stockholders. However, BP’s massive cleanup efforts have also provided new opportunities for the company to promote its environmental responsibility as is evidenced by the following quote from BP’s Gulf Coast response website: “BP remains committed to remedying the harm that the spill caused to the Gulf of Mexico, the Gulf Coast environment, and to the livelihoods of the people across the region” (BP, n.d.).

Other attempts to massage public attitudes are not quite as obvious. Every parent whose children have watched *Crocodile Hunter* and other “nature” programs knows there are 23 different species of crocodiles on this planet, that the Smithsonian Institute has identified 260,000 different species of insects in Gabon alone, and that the Guadalupe Islands are the “sharkest” place on Earth. Another, less obvious fact one can discern from the end credits and during commercial breaks is that many of these environmentally-focused programs are funded through foundations set up by energy producers. If one watches and listens carefully, one can hear an almost endless recitation of foundations, grants, and partnerships between Big Energy and scientific institutions engaged in studies designed to measure everything from ozone depletion to the local impact of oil and gas exploration on African Dwarf Crocodiles. Children, who just happen to be tomorrow’s registered voters, are a primary target of this campaign.

The Internet has also become a front in Big Energy’s attempt to project an environmentally friendly image. A quick look at leading energy company websites reveals that, from the industry’s perspective, putting forth a corporate environmental ethic or consciousness is almost as important as research and development and annual

dividend reports. For example, the website for Chevron Corporation includes a “Global Issues” link that leads one to an “Environment” web page that features blurbs entitled “Protecting the Environment,” “Caring for the Environment,” and “Respecting Biodiversity” (Chevron Corporation, n.d.).

Likewise, the British Petroleum website features corporate logos juxtaposed upon natural scenes and a link entitled “environment and society” featuring BP’s commitment to reduce Global Warming (BP, n.d.a). The website for Peabody Energy, the world’s largest privately held coal company, and perhaps the most vilified western energy company as a result of its strip mining of the Black Mesa region features an “Environmental Stewardship” section that trumpets Peabody’s “Operation Green Earth,” a program that “implements good neighbor practices to ensure that we respond to our neighbors’ needs and operate in harmony with local communities. Each year, Peabody’s land restoration efforts are recognized with a number of state, regional, national and international honors, including more than 25 major awards in the past three years.”

Social networking sites such as Facebook and Twitter have provided new opportunities for big energy companies to use electronic media to green their image. Faced with an unprecedented public relations debacle in the wake of the 2010 Gulf Oil spill, British Petroleum COO Mike Utsler, has held several Facebook Q&A sessions during which he fielded questions from people concerned about the progress of BP’s cleanup efforts in the Gulf. Interestingly, the public reaction has been varied; some posts have praised BP for its cleanup efforts, particularly along beaches that were hardest hit during the 2010 tourist season, while others contain a note of cynicism. BP officials also tweet updates from around the Gulf coast on almost an hourly basis, that cover everything from the taste of Gulf seafood to dolphin rescue.

Environmental awards, some of which probe the outer limits of credibility, are prominently featured on many energy producers’ websites. The Exxon Mobil website touts the corporation’s environmental advocacy in an “environmental performance” section in which ExxonMobile boasts about its dedication to clean water and biodiversity. The website also lists several environmental honors the company has won recently, including an extraordinary 2004 award, received by its Houston-based U.S. marine transportation subsidiary, Sea River Maritime, Inc., from an intergovernmental agency consisting of the province of British Columbia, Alaska and several other Pacific states, “for the protection of marine re-

sources,” (Exxon Mobil, n.d.) this coming only 15 years after the disastrous Exxon Valdez spill which polluted hundreds of miles of the Alaskan coast and destroyed tens of thousands of square miles of salt water fisheries and habitat for marine animals and birds.

This public relations campaign is not just limited to the petroleum industry. As mentioned previously, Bechtel Corporation contributed large sums of money to the Sierra Club during the height of the Grand Canyon dam controversy while at the same time it was pushing for the construction of the infamous Diablo Canyon Nuclear Power Plant, completed in 1984 (Bechtel’s nuclear plant, n.d.), which was built 2.5 miles from a major fault zone north of San Diego, California (California Watch, 2011). Deviating from the current strategy of most energy producers who are attempting to promote the environmental stewardship of the industry as a whole, the nuclear power lobby has launched an all out campaign not just to green its image but to “outgreen” the competition.

During the Grand Canyon Dam controversy of the 1960s, one might infer that Bechtel was using the Sierra Club campaign to promote the use of nuclear power—which was also being touted by environmentalists battling the Grand Canyon Dams—as a “clean” energy source. Today, intent need not be inferred, for the nuclear power industry’s agenda is clearly stated. Consider the position of the Nuclear Energy Institute (NEI) which, on a web page that prominently features a nest laden with Blue Robin’s eggs, proclaims that nuclear energy has the “lowest environmental impact,” is “emission free,” and that nuclear power plants “provide excellent habitat for all species of plants and animals to thrive [*sic*].” But the NEI site goes even further and includes an entire section devoted to prominent environmentalists who currently endorse nuclear energy as the only solution to global warming. The NEI site also has a kid-friendly link called the “Science Club” which has quizzes, lesson plans, video games, and a link to a cyberspace location called the “Yucca Mountain Youth Zone” (Nuclear Energy Institute, 2000).⁴ That this “green offensive” has begun to make inroads into the political mainstream is demonstrable from the 2008 presidential campaign during which Democrat Barack Obama endorsed nuclear energy and his Republican challengers—most notably Sarah Palin—touted the benefits of “clean coal” technology, despite the continuing risks of obtaining power from nuclear fission and the reality that “clean coal” is an oxymoron. These risks are easily demonstrated by simply driving past the Cholla (Arizona) coal fired power plant on I-40 in Arizona, or by paying a visit to Grand Canyon

National Park where, on a clear day, one *might* be able to see the north rim from the El Tovar Hotel.⁵

Although this article has presented this “greening” campaign in a somewhat lighthearted manner, consider the case of Dow Chemical which produces a large variety of chemical compounds used in the petroleum refining process, manufactures many plastic and chemical products derived from petroleum, and is developing alternative energy sources such as BioDiesel, a soybean-based fuel. Dow’s website prominently displays statements of its corporate philosophy including the following:

Our “Vision of Zero” means we want no injuries, illnesses, accidents, or environmental harm to result from our enterprise. It is a lofty goal, but it is also the only acceptable vision for us to work toward. . . . *Our Environmental Stewardship data takes into account divestitures, mergers, and acquisitions and reflects these activities* [emphasis added].

(Dow, n.d.)

Dow Corporation adopted this statement of environmental stewardship and social responsibility in 1996.

Yet Dow’s sensitive rhetoric does not seem to match its corporate reality. In 2001, Dow acquired Union Carbide, whose Indian subsidiary was responsible for the Bhopal disaster of December 1984. Union Carbide’s website, which is linked to Dow’s, states that 3,800 people died and 40 suffered permanent disabilities as a result of the leak (Union Carbide, n.d.b). Other estimates are much higher, putting the initial death toll at 15,000, an additional 8,000–10,000 deaths between 1984 and 2005, and 150,000 people who are severely disabled. In 1989, Union Carbide entered into a settlement agreement in which it paid the injured an average of \$529.00, an amount that translates to about 7 cents a day for those whose suffering continues. When activists confronted Dow spokesperson Kathy Hunt in July of 2002 with these figures replied: “You can’t really do more than that, can you? Five-hundred dollars is plenty good for an Indian” (International Campaign for Justice in Bhopal, n.d.). Union Carbide also pledged to clean up the site—something which to this day has never happened. Consequently, the groundwater the residents of Bhopal continue to drink is contaminated. When residents of Bhopal presented 250 gallons of it to Dow’s Houston office in March of 2003 to protest the company’s inaction, Dow responded by calling U.S. HAZMAT experts dressed in protective suits to take it away and dispose of it (Green, 2003). Both Union Carbide and Dow maintain that they are not responsible for the continuing Bhopal

tragedy because Union Carbide sold its Indian subsidiary in 1994 (Union Carbide, n.d.a).

However, in American toxic tort and criminal law, it is a well-established principle that the sale of a subsidiary corporation does not release a parent company or its executives from liability for torts and crimes committed while under the parent’s ownership. This extends to any subsequent corporate mergers. Therefore, when Dow purchased Union Carbide in 2001, legally it acquired Union Carbide’s liabilities in addition to its assets. That Dow itself has acknowledged this doctrine is evidenced by the fact that it has accepted responsibility for Union Carbide’s U.S. liabilities, including a massive Texas asbestos suit settled in 2002. According to Greenpeace, Union Carbide CEO, Warren Anderson, was declared a fugitive from justice in 1992 by the Indian Supreme Court, and the same year the local Bhopal court reaffirmed the criminal liability of Union Carbide and Warren Anderson, charging the company and Anderson with “culpable homicide.” Yet despite requests from Indian law enforcement authorities, the United States has failed to extradite him, claiming that he could not be found, despite the fact he was and still is, living a life of luxury in the exclusive beachfront community of Bridgehampton, New York. Despite dozens of protests, Dow executives continue to deflect the responsibility for which Dow is legally culpable (Dow Chemical’s Liabilities in Bhopal, 2004) even in light of a recent New York Appeals Court decision that the Union Carbide “settlement” was not all inclusive and that victims of the Bhopal disaster are entitled to file suit for ongoing damages under the legal doctrine of “continuing nuisance.” It appears at the time of this writing that Dow’s argument that Union Carbide’s settlement and sale of its subsidiary company prior to their 2001 merger absolved Dow of liability is without legal merit (*Bi v. Union Carbide*, 2004).

Attempting to avoid some of the more hyperbolic language on the Greenpeace and other websites, I will allow Dow to have the final word on Bhopal:

Although Dow never owned nor operated the plant, we—along with the rest of industry—have learned from this tragic event, and we have tried to do all we can to assure that similar incidents never happen again. . . . To that end, the chemical industry learned and grew as a result of Bhopal . . . While Dow has no responsibility for Bhopal, we have never forgotten the tragic event. . . . (Dow, 2009).

Stay tuned.

Energy producers have been involved in many of the important environmental controversies of the 20th century. Many of these disputes pitted energy producers against environmentalists seeking to preserve natural phenomena. Given the frequency of energy producers' involvement in these iconic disputes, whether over hydroelectric power, coal emissions, nuclear energy, or deep sea oil production, the evidence suggests that the prominent position environmental historians have given them in terms of shaping the discourse is entirely justified. From Hetch Hetchy through Grand Canyon, the Gulf oil disaster and beyond, precedent was and is being set in terms of activism and policy-making and it is within this framework where most environmental disputes have taken place.

Energy companies have also proven to be pathfinders for the rest of corporate America in terms of public relations. During the great environmental battles over scenery, energy companies often attempted to use a "green" image to promote one energy source over another. However, after the 1970s and the implementation of the environmental legislation that governs policymaking today, energy producers have shifted their focus from competition with each other to promoting a green industry image

as a whole—with the exception of nuclear power. This image is communicated globally through corporate websites and social media. Although perhaps there is a degree of sincerity present in some of this corporate advocacy, it appears that the underlying motive for most of this corporate "greening" had been driven by greening of another kind—the color of money. One must also consider how much of this greening would have occurred without years of environmental activism and the legislation that resulted from it. Parents, educators, and environmentalists, who care about the Earth and the legacy that will be left to our children must take the time to identify and reward energy companies that truly embrace an ethical and moral responsibility to people and the environment. Conversely, people *must* also take the time and have the discernment to see through and expose false rhetoric and the corporations that disseminate it. Given what is at stake, we can't afford not to.

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Notes

1. Eric Ford, Executive Vice President and COO of Peabody Coal Company, quoted in a Peabody Coal Company news release (Peabody Coal Company).
2. For an in-depth discussion of the Hetch Hetchy controversy, see Michael Cohen, *The History of the Sierra Club*, 22–31 passim; and Holoway R. Jones, *John Muir and the Sierra Club: The Battle for Yosemite* (San Francisco: Sierra Club, 1965), 6–8; see also Gifford Pinchot, *The Fight for Conservation* (Garden City, NY: Harcourt Brace, 1910) 42–50; and Roderick Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind*, 134–139; see also Steven Fox, *The American Conservation Movement*, 139–146.
3. For a comprehensive analysis of the Grand Canyon Dam controversy, please see, Byron Pearson, *Still the Wild River* as a whole—with the exception of nuclear power. This image is communicated globally through corporate websites and social media. Although perhaps there is a degree of sincerity present in some of this corporate advocacy, it appears that the underlying motive for most of this corporate "greening" had been driven by greening of another kind—the color of money. One must also consider how much of this greening would have occurred without years of environmental activism and the legislation that resulted from it. Parents, educators, and environmentalists, who care about the Earth and the legacy that will be left to our children must take the time to identify and reward energy companies that truly embrace an ethical and moral responsibility to people and the environment. Conversely, people *must* also take the time and have the discernment to see through and expose false rhetoric and the corporations that disseminate it. Given what is at stake, we can't afford not to.
4. Some of these environmentalists are: Patrick Moore, the Founder of Greenpeace; Hugh Montefiore, the former Chairman of the Friends of the Earth and Norris McDonald, 2003 President of the African American Environmentalist Association who is on record as stating that: "if we NIMBY anywhere and anytime, we should not expect the utility industry to provide electricity to everyone, everywhere, all of the time." (Frost, n.d.)
5. Coal fired power plants around Lake Powell and in the Four Corners area have so fouled the once pristine air in Northern Arizona that it is now common for one to not be able to see across Grand Canyon from the national park visitors' center, despite the fact that these power plants are located upwind and are between 90–200 miles away.

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Racial Attitudes in White Social Workers: Implications for Culturally Sensitive Practice

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ABSTRACT: *Helping professionals are charged with providing culturally sensitive services to a growing minority population. This paper examines racial attitudes of White social workers using the Oklahoma Racial Attitudes Scale (ORAS), which was itself based on the theory of White racial consciousness (WRC). Results of an online survey suggest that over one-third of participants in this cross-sectional study fell within the negative racial attitude types of Conflictive and Dominative, raising questions about these practitioners' ability to provide culturally sensitive services. The paper discusses implications for practice, and practitioners are challenged to become more self-aware and to move beyond a cognitive approach to cultural competence.*

Introduction

Anti-racist activist Tim Wise recently published a Facebook essay entitled, "Imagine: Protest, Insurgency and the Workings of White Privilege" (2010). The post circulated on the Internet under the more popular title, "Imagine if the Tea Party were Black," where it received varied positive and negative reactions and responses. Wise essentially asked what would have been the responses to the messages promulgated by the Tea Party if the protesters were primarily Black, Arab, or simply non-White. He concluded

And this, my friends, is what white privilege is all about. The ability to threaten others, to engage in violent and incendiary rhetoric without consequence, to be viewed as patriotic and normal no matter what you do, and never to be feared and despised as people of color would be . . .
(para. 15)

Wise is not a member of a helping profession, yet his message is clearly relevant to those who work in the helping professions, or those who seek social justice. The social work profession was founded on the battlefield of social injustice, having long worked with the underserved. Early social workers faced many barriers, including institutionalized racism and discrimination in the quest to provide services to those who needed them. Today's social workers are no different, although changing demographics, political challenges, and a more subtle form of racism may make providing culturally competent and relevant services more difficult to achieve. Due to changing demographics in the United States, estimates

are that from 2000 to 2050, the White population will grow much slower than minority populations. By 2050 Whites will comprise less than 53% of the total population, as compared to 69.4% of the total in 2000 (Day, 2008). Social justice is not a "done deal" for minorities, who continue to experience discrimination in the areas of housing, education, employment, accumulation of wealth, disparities in mental and physical health, criminal justice, politics, and media (Miller & Garran, 2007).

Due to many factors such as immigration and higher birthrates that lead to growing minority populations, it is vital that social workers practice with an awareness of the impact of race and culture and that they strive toward cultural sensitivity. Social work education training programs assume the primary responsibility for instilling a firm foundation for their graduates' ongoing journey toward cultural competence. It is imperative that social work education at all levels provide a foundation for culturally sensitive practice as fewer baccalaureate-level social workers pursue graduate education (Center for Health Workforce Studies, 2006) and more states license baccalaureate-level workers. The purpose of this article is to report the results of a cross-sectional study of licensed social workers that examined the relation between level of social work education (BSW, MSW, as well as practitioners with both a BSW and MSW), and racial attitudes. The study focused on the following hypothesis: There will be a relation between level of social work education (BSW, MSW, or BSW-MSW) and White racial attitudes as measured by the Oklahoma Racial Attitudes Scale (ORAS).

Research suggests that White social workers may feel challenged when working with clients from minority

backgrounds. Although the social workers who participated in the Center for Health Workforce (2006) study ranked themselves as culturally competent, White non-Hispanic participants indicated that they felt less prepared than minority social workers to work with clients who are culturally different from them. According to the study, non-Hispanic White social workers indicated a lack of satisfaction with their ability to address cultural differences when compared with their Black, Hispanic, or Asian colleagues. Caseloads were most frequently comprised of clients from similar ethnic or racial backgrounds. Additionally, baccalaureate social workers felt less prepared than social workers with a master's degree in social work (MSW) to work with clients of another race (Center for Health Workforce Studies). This is significant, as more than 85% of licensed social workers are White (Center for Health Workforce Studies). White social workers who feel less comfortable and less prepared to work with racial and ethnic minorities may not see how race or ethnicity continue to affect social interactions and to permeate the fabric of society, impacting opportunities for minorities in American society (Bonilla-Silva, 2003; Williams & Williams-Morris, 2000).

According to Miller and Garran (2007), Whites may believe that government programs, housing, access to healthcare, organizations, and society, in general, are "race neutral." Well-documented institutional racism belies this assumption, however, and there is inherent danger to the well-being of minority clients served by White helpers who subscribe to the mistaken idea of a race neutral society. Institutional racism is manifested in laws, policy, practices (both formal and informal) and education. An example of institutional racism can be found in the "apartheid" of the American criminal justice system. The authors noted that Black Americans represent 13% of the general population, yet comprise 50% of the prison population. Death row inmates are overwhelmingly Black. Another small example of institutional racism may be evidenced by the lack of capitalization of "white" as a race in most publications. Throughout this article, the researcher made a conscious decision to refer to "Whites" and "Whiteness" using capitalization. When reviewing the literature, other races were consistently recognized with capital letters, such as Black, Hispanic, Asian, or Native American. Using "white" throughout many of these studies seemed to be a product of the normalization of Whiteness in America; not recognizing White as a proper noun diminished the fact that White is, indeed, a race, as race is defined in America. While White is considered the norm, and while many Whites may feel that race is irrelevant to opportunity, per-

sons of color in American society are all too cognizant of the importance of race in American society. Whiteness, while invisible to many Whites, can never be invisible to minorities (Frankenberg, 2001). This decision to capitalize White is also in accordance with the guidelines published by the American Psychological Association (APA, 2009), which state that references to race are considered proper nouns and, as such, should always be capitalized.

Literature Review

According to a joint study by the Center for Health Workforce Studies and the NASW Center for Workforce Studies (2006), about 85% of licensed social workers are White non-Hispanics, but only 68% of the general population is White non-Hispanic. Approximately 7% of social workers surveyed were Black/African American, and 4% were Hispanic/Latino. Just 1% of the respondents self-identified as Asian/Pacific Islander, and about 1% identified as Native American/Alaskan.

These demographic discrepancies between licensed social workers and the population as a whole indicate that social workers in general are increasingly working with client populations from varied minority backgrounds. Approximately 85% of licensed social workers in the study reported working with Black/African American clients, and 77% reported working with Hispanic clients (Center for Health Workforce Studies, 2006). Approximately 49% worked with Asian/Pacific Islander clients, while 39% reported working with Native American/Alaskan clients. About 41% of the social workers surveyed estimated that more than half of their clients were from non-White minority groups, although very few reported serving any one minority group predominantly. With White social workers serving large numbers of minority clients, the need to develop the skills for culturally sensitive practice should be self-evident.

To become culturally sensitive practitioners, social workers must acquire the necessary skills and knowledge through their social work educational programs, whether at the baccalaureate or master's level. Social work training is guided by the Educational Policies and Accreditation Standards (EPAS) established by the Council on Social Work Education [CSWE] (CSWE, 2008), while social work practice is generally guided by the Code of Ethics of the National Association of Social Workers [NASW] (NASW, 1999). Although the CSWE established Educational Policies and Accreditation Standards (EPAS) that require the inclusion of diversity content at all levels of

social work education, CSWE does not tell social work educational programs how to teach diversity and instill culturally sensitive skills in social work students. Furthermore, the CSWE requires each program to measure certain practice behaviors, but standardized ways to measure concepts such as self-awareness or cultural competence are not available. The lack of a multicultural education framework and specific outcomes is of particular concern as the population of licensed social workers is considerably less diverse than the U.S. population as a whole (Center for Health Workforce Studies, 2006).

NASW is the largest voluntary-membership professional social work organization. The NASW Code of Ethics formalized the expectation that social workers will adhere to the six core values of the social work profession: service, social justice, dignity and worth of the person, importance of human relationships, integrity, and competence. Ethical standards include references to cultural competence and social diversity (Section 1.05), and enjoin social workers to “understand culture and its function in human behavior and society” (Section 1.05a, p. 5).

In 2001, the NASW published additional guidelines specific to culturally competent practice, outlining standards relating to ethics and values, self-awareness, and cross-cultural knowledge and skills. Following up on these guidelines for culturally competent practice, the NASW National Committee on Racial and Ethnic Diversity developed specific indicators (NASW, 2007) to encourage self-assessment on the part of social workers and suggested specific ways to evaluate each of the Standards on Culturally Competent Practice. Indicators related to self-awareness, cross-cultural knowledge, and understanding racial privilege are included, highlighting the importance of the topic of this research.

White Racial Consciousness

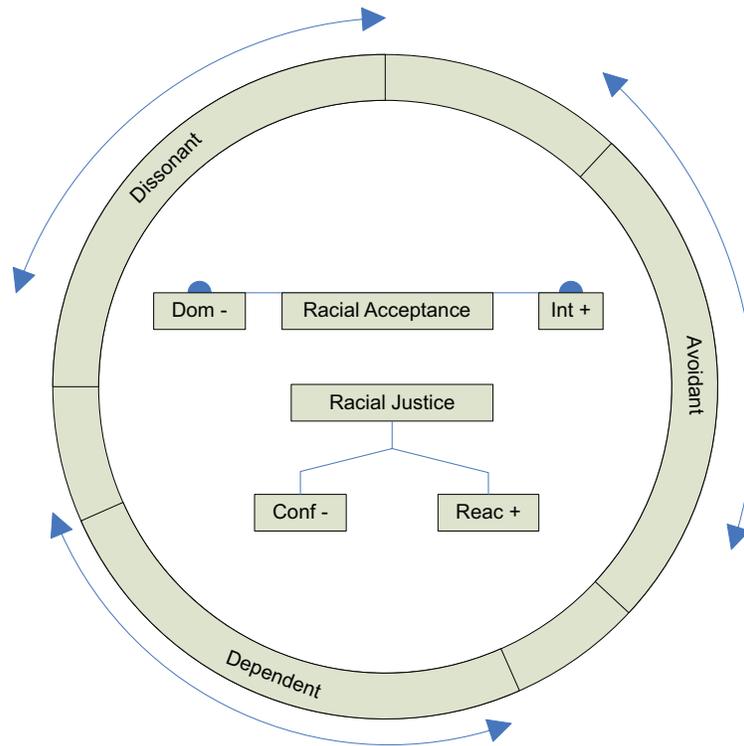
Whiteness studies is a fairly new academic discipline. Helms (1990) laid much of the groundwork with her theory of White racial identity. Since then, several theories regarding the racial identity of Whites have been proposed. The theory forming the foundation of this study, White Racial Consciousness (WRC), is a non-developmental theory that explores the racial attitudes of Whites (Choney & Behrens, 1996; La Fleur, Rowe & Leach, 2002; Rowe, Bennett, & Atkinson, 1994). The developers of WRC took issue with other theories, including Helms’s theory, because these models were developmental and focused primarily on attitudes toward others and not necessarily on attitudes about being White. Developmental models typically address the person’s

acceptance of stereotypes and attitudes about minorities that are imposed by society; these models emphasize conflict and questioning about race and relied primarily upon reaching a stage of “immersion” to form a positive identity (Rowe, Bennett, & Atkinson, 1994). White Racial Consciousness can be defined as “one’s awareness of being White and what that implies in relation to those who do not share White group membership” (Rowe, et al., 1994, p. 133–134). According to Rowe et al., attitudes are more stable and more easily assessed than developmental stages, which may not, in fact, exist at all. Instead of stages or statuses, WRC has types or “clusters of inter-correlated racial attitudes that characterize the outlook of various individuals” (p. 134) at any given time. These attitudes, according to Rowe et al., can change as a result of “experiences that cause dissonance in the person’s cognitive structures or schemas” (p. 135).

According to Fischer and Moradi (2001), WRC is a theoretically-grounded model whose development has followed a well-documented and systematic process. WRC suggests clusters of racial attitudes held by Whites, which may lead to certain ways of thinking. The model proposes that the racial attitudes Whites feel toward minorities can be categorized into four types, which fall within two broad categories: racial acceptance and racial justice (La Fleur et al.). These attitudes, or types, are designated Dominative, Integrative, Conflictive, and Reactive. Figure 1 diagrams the model of White Racial Consciousness and the two main constructs: racial acceptance, which includes the types of Dominative and Integrative, and racial justice, which includes the types of Conflictive and Reactive. Racial acceptance is viewed by the developers of the theory as a continuum between the two constructs of Dominative and Integrative, while racial justice is conceptualized as two separate yet related constructs. The outer wheel contains the levels of commitment, including Avoidant (Av), Dependent (Dep), and Dissonant (Dis). Persons falling within the Av or Dep are conceptualized as being committed to a given racial attitude type, while those falling within the Dis level of commitment are not yet committed to a racial attitude type. The arrows indicate that persons can change their level of commitment to their racial attitude type.

On the continuum of racial acceptance, the first of the two categories, Dominative and Integrative types represent bipolar points (La Fleur, et al., 2002). Persons scoring in the Dominative range tend to hold highly negative attitudes about minorities and may not accept them. They are distinctly ethnocentric, which may lead them to feel justified in the dominance and power of the majority.

Figure 1. Diagram of WRC as conceptualized by the author



They are likely to rationalize the disparity in opportunities between the majority and minorities, thus leading them to blame the victim for his or her inability to succeed. Dominative types are unwilling to step outside of their own comfort zone, and may be actively or passively racist. On the other end of the continuum, those with an Integrative grouping of attitudes are generally comfortable in their interactions with minorities and would accept them readily (La Fleur, et al., 2002).

Racial justice is the second construct identified in the WRC (La Fleur, et al., 2002). Racial justice includes Conflictive and Reactive attitudes, but it is not conceptualized as a continuum by the developers of the model. Conflictive and Reactive attitudes are seen as separate constructs that relate to social justice. A person with Conflictive attitudes is likely to feel that minorities experience unfair advantages and to be opposed to programs that purport to equalize opportunity (La Fleur, et al., 2002). Conflictive types believe that equal opportunity already exists, and so programs that promote integration and opportunity are not needed. They may actively oppose these policies, believing that the need for corrective action is long past. These individuals most likely subscribe to the myth of meritocracy, believing that hard work is the key to success. In the belief system of the Conflictive type,

fairness and a just world already exist; thus, if minorities are not successful, it must be their own lack of motivation that is the cause. Societal issues of ongoing systemic racism and discrimination are ignored. Conflictive types are unable to recognize that their own success may be related to unearned privilege, and not their own hard work and abilities. On the other hand, a Reactive person might react to the status quo, recognizing the insidious nature of social injustice in society. These persons are likely to believe that minorities continue to be treated unfairly and support policies that increase opportunities for minorities (La Fleur, et al., 2002). Because of the systematic development of this model, along with the availability of an instrument to assist in categorizing racial attitude types, WRC formed the theoretical foundation for this study.

Method

This cross-sectional, correlational study used a survey design and examined the relationship between the level of social work education (BSW, MSW, or persons with both a BSW and MSW) and racial attitudes, specifically White Racial Consciousness. Using a purchased mailing list, one thousand invitations were mailed to prospective

participants, White social workers who were members of the NASW. The web-based survey was available through a commercial survey-hosting site.

The survey invitation was sent via mailed invitations and prospective participants were asked to access a web-based survey. Hoping to catch the attention of the prospective participants, the researcher mailed the 1,000 invitations using carefully chosen first-class “Amber Alert” stamps instead of the less expensive bulk mail rate. Included with the letter of invitation was a postcard with a teabag stapled to it, and the message “Have a cup of tea on me while you complete my survey.” A follow-up postcard, printed on the same bright yellow cardstock as the teabag postcard, was mailed to all prospective participants approximately two weeks after the original invitation.

Sample

A disproportional stratified random sample of baccalaureate ($n=250$) and master ($n=750$) level social workers was purchased from the membership rolls of the NASW, the largest of the voluntary professional organizations for social workers with approximately 150,000 members (NASW, 2009). The sample was restricted to social workers who self-identified as White in their NASW membership materials. A disproportionate sample was requested as the membership of NASW tends to be heavily weighted toward MSW-level memberships. At the time the mailing labels were ordered, approximately 67% of NASW members (95,556) held memberships at the MSW level, while only 2% (3,163) of memberships were at the BSW level (Infocus, 2006). All other membership types were excluded from the sample. Using a disproportional sample increases the likelihood of a representative sample and is recommended when there are large differences in the size of the subgroups (Mertens, 2005).

Of the 1000 invitations mailed, five were returned as unable to deliver, for a potential sample size of 995. Of these, 204 participants accessed the web-based survey, and 201 completed the survey. Two hundred of these participants self-identified as White. For the purposes of this study, only participants with social work degrees were included. As the NASW membership includes some people with degrees other than social work, a demographic question asked for the degree held by participants. Of the 27 participants who answered “other” on degree, 19 were able to be recoded into the educational categories of BSW, MSW, or BSW-MSW. After cleaning the data, the total sample size was 179, representing a response rate of 17.98%. Of the 179 respondents, 53 (29.6%) held BSW-level memberships, 88 (49.2%) held MSW-level

memberships, and 38 (21.2%) indicated both BSW and MSW degrees. These participants all had a degree in social work, although some had masters degrees in other fields, while two had earned doctorates. Most participants (90.5%) were currently practicing social work and had an average of almost 17 years of social work practice experience (mean=16.706; $sd=10.3007$). The sample ranged in age from 24 to 73, and had a mean age of 48.97 years, ($sd=11.245$). The majority of participants (84.9%) were female ($n=152$), while 14.5% of participants were male ($n=26$). One participant did not indicate gender.

Instrumentation

Data were collected through the use of several instruments, including the Oklahoma Racial Attitudes Scale (ORAS), which is grounded in the theory of White Racial Consciousness discussed previously. The version of the ORAS used in this study included 35 items scaled on a 5-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). The middle point is neutral, allowing a participant to answer “neither agree nor disagree.” This version of the ORAS has ten items on the Dominative-Integrative subscale, and seven items on each of the Conflictive and Reactive subscales. Prior to determining a person’s racial attitude type, the level of commitment had to be established. Of the three subscales focusing on level of commitment, three items each measure each of the Dependent (Dep) and Avoidant (Av) levels of commitment, while four items measure the Dissonant (Dis) level of commitment (La Fleur, Leach, & Rowe, 2003). The first item is not scored, as no item was stable in the first position when the scale was validated (Choney & Behrens, 1996; Rowe et al., 1994).

As stated above, the scoring protocol for this version of the ORAS required that participants first be categorized as committed or not committed to a racial attitude. The participants who were determined to be at least minimally committed to a racial attitude ($n=154$; 86%) were then analyzed to determine the type of racial attitude to which they may subscribe. The three levels of commitment are Avoidant (Av), Dependent (Dep), and Dissonant (Dis). The scoring protocol, available from the authors of the scale, determined the cut-off points for each level of commitment. In the final step, individuals are identified as committed or not by comparing their scores to the means on the scales. Only those participants who were minimally committed to a racial attitude type (Av or Dep) were analyzed for type of racial attitude.

Examples of items on the ORAS measuring the level of commitment to a racial attitude include: “Other peo-

ple's opinions have largely determined how I feel about minorities" (Dep); "Because I'm really not sure about how I feel, I'm looking for answers to questions I have about minority issues" (Dis); and "Racial issues may be important, but I don't want to think about them" (Av). Sample items on the subscales for racial attitude types include: "In selecting my friends, race and culture are just not important" (Dominative/Integrative); "Welfare programs are used too much by minorities" (Conflictive); and "Being White gives us a responsibility toward minorities" (Reactive).

Results

The hypothesis under discussion in this article explored the relationship between the level of social work education (BSW, MSW and BSW-MSW) and racial attitudes, specifically White Racial Consciousness. The hypothesis was stated as: There will be a relationship between level of social work education (BSW, MSW, or BSW-MSW) and White racial attitudes (as measured by the ORAS). The predictor variable was the level of social work education, while the criterion variable was type of racial attitude. The appropriate statistic for use was determined by the goal of comparing independent samples which explored group differences among the levels of social work education. As level of social work education and type of racial attitude were nominal level variables, chi-square was used to analyze the data.

Because of the nature of the scale, which measures two different constructs (level of commitment and racial attitude type) the coefficient alpha can not be calculated for the total scale. Reliability analyses for the subscales were as follows: D/I=.667; R=.755; C=.835; De=.730; Dis=.711; and Av=.625. According to Cramer and Howitt (2004), an alpha coefficient of .75 or above is considered to be acceptable, and indicates internal consistency. In the initial study validating the instrument, the authors reported a Cronbach's Alpha of .84 for the Dominative/Integrative subscale; .83 for the Conflictive subscale; .72 for the Reactive subscale; .78 for the Dependent subscale; .73 for the Dissonant subscale; and .60 for the Avoidant subscale.

The response rate on this survey was rather low. As previously noted, technical difficulties with accessing the survey may have impacted the response rate. Due to firewall and browser issues, some participants ($n=31$) emailed the researcher requesting a direct link to the survey when they were unable to access the survey by typing the address into their browser address bar. White (2005) achieved a 16% response rate in a similar study; however,

White mailed the instruments and provided return envelopes with pre-paid postage to 1,000 participants. The cost of providing return envelopes to prospective participants was prohibitive; the use of a web-based survey was a viable alternative. The response rate using the web-based survey was higher than White's, at a much lower cost per participant.

Although the hypothesis was not supported, the results of this survey are worthy of discussion because over one-third (38.8%; $n=60$) of the White social workers who participated in this study were classified within the negative racial attitude types of Dominative ($n=20$; 12.9%) and Conflictive ($n=40$; 25.9%). These participants fell within racial attitude types that may make it difficult to provide culturally competent and ethically sound services. Table 1 gives a breakdown of degree by racial attitude.

Findings

As noted above, over one-third of participants in this study fell within the negative racial attitude types of Conflictive (from the construct of racial justice) and Dominative (from the continuum of racial acceptance). One area for concern is the 25.9% ($n=40$) of social workers in this study who fell within the Conflictive racial attitude type in the construct of racial justice. As discussed previously, Conflictive types do not often openly condone racism, but may feel that Whites are disadvantaged when minorities are given assistance through programs like affirmative action or busing (La Fleur et al., 2002). Conflictive types believe that equal opportunity already exists, and so programs that promote integration and opportunity are not needed. Social justice issues are ignored; past wrongs are seen as already righted, and thus persons falling within this type may not see the racism that clients of color deal with on a daily basis.

Another area of concern was the participants who fell within the second negative attitude type, Dominative. According to La Fleur et al. (2002), individuals who fall within the Dominative type may subscribe to stereotypes about minorities and may be unable to recognize the discrimination and oppression that continues to exist in the United States today. In this study, 12.9% ($n=20$) of participants who were at least minimally committed to an attitude were identified within the Dominative racial attitude type. As stated earlier, these types may be distinctly ethnocentric, which may lead them to feel justified in the dominance and power of the majority. They are likely to

Table 1. Level of Education by Type of Racial Attitude (Committed)

	BSW	MSW	BSW-MSW	Total
Integrative	17 (36.1%)	22 (29.7%)	12 (36.3%)	51 (33.1%)*
Dominative	7 (14.8%)	9 (12.1%)	4 (12.1%)	20 (12.9%)*
Reactive	9 (19.1%)	26 (35.1%)	8 (24.2%)	43 (27.9%)*
Conflictive	14 (29.7%)	17 (22.9%)	9 (27.2%)	40 (25.9%)*
Total	47	74	33	154

Note: Percentages represent percentage within level of education of committed participants.

*Percentage within the total of committed participants. Percentages may not equal 100 due to rounding.

rationalize the disparity in opportunities between the majority and minorities, thus leading them to blame the victim for his or her inability to succeed.

Due to the low response rate, the results of this survey must be approached with caution. It is difficult to determine why the response rate was so low; it could be that the social workers surveyed were not comfortable with the topic, or that they did not have the time or the inclination to complete the survey. However, the results suggest that some of the social workers in this sample (over one-third) may not be equipped to practice with cultural sensitivity.

Limitations

Technical issues impacted this study, as some prospective participants had difficulty accessing the link to the survey by typing in the web address to their browser. The participants that emailed the researcher requesting a direct link were then able to access the website; however, it is not known how many prospective participants did not take the time to request the direct link. Additionally, a lack of internet access may have been a factor in the response rate. Two participants requested hard copies of the survey, which were provided to them. These two participants returned the completed instruments, but there is no way of knowing how many others did not have internet access. These issues may have contributed to the low response rate.

The sample used also limits the generalizability of this study. There are approximately 840,000 social workers in the United States (Center for Health Workforce Studies, 2006), but only about 150,000 NASW members

(NASW, 2009). As with any study that does not have a control group, those choosing to participate may have been different in some way than those who did not access the survey. Additionally, only 2% of the membership of NASW is comprised of baccalaureate level social workers; there may be inherent differences in all of these members (both MSW and BSW) that lead them to join a professional organization, which may have impacted the results of this study. The very nature of racial categorizations is subjective; this study used participants who self-identify as White, which may mean different things to different people. The study did not address where the participants received their social work education, or how their personal, professional, and educational experiences may have affected their attitudes.

Implications For Practice

It is clear that the NASW Code of Ethics requires social workers to strive toward the provision of culturally competent interventions that meet the needs of their clients. It is easy to see how social workers falling within the Dominative and Conflictive types (over one-third of this sample) may find it difficult to provide culturally sensitive services. The good news is that approximately 61% of social workers who participated in this study and were at least minimally committed to a racial attitude fell within the racial attitude types that are considered to be positive, Integrative and Reactive. These social workers, according to the

theory of White Racial Consciousness, would be more likely to provide culturally competent services to minority populations. However, in this sample, 38.8% of participants may have difficulty fulfilling the ethical obligation to their clients and the profession. It might have been more beneficial if there had been a relationship between level of social work education and racial attitude type, because this knowledge would indicate that something is taught on some level of social work education that is helpful in promoting positive racial attitudes. However, this was not the case in this sample, and there is no way of knowing where the differences lie based upon this research.

Finding ways to research actual practice and how racial attitudes translate into behaviors with clients is a direction for future research. The publication of indicators (NASW, 2007) that operationalized culturally competent practice for the NASW's (2001) Standards for Cultural Competence in Social Work Practice is a step in the right direction. Incorporating those indicators, with the knowledge gleaned from this research, might lead to a deeper understanding of what really constitutes effective diversity education and culturally competent practice. It is important to note that attitudes or racial attitude types do not necessarily reflect behaviors; social workers falling within the negative racial attitude types may be able to transcend these attitudes and provide culturally sensitive interventions. Teasley (2005) recommended more research exploring the links between social work educational programs and professional development in the area of cultural competence. While some instruments have been developed that purport to measure cultural competence, it is unknown how attitudes may impact practice behaviors. This study may be the first step in recognizing that White social workers may not be developing positive racial attitudes during their professional preparation. Finding ways to teach cultural sensitivity in social work education is imperative, as the results of this study may indicate that many social workers at all levels of practice are operating within negative racial attitude types, thus impacting their ability to provide culturally competent services.

Ethically, White social workers must actively combat racism and oppression and must strive to practice in culturally competent ways. Allen-Mearns (2007) reminds us that practitioners "must take special care to reject stereotypical socialization, both explicit and implicit" (p. 85). This active self-reflection is imperative as research supports that one's own racial attitudes influence interactions with clients who are racially diverse (Burkard & Knox, 2004; Cumming-McCann & Accordino, 2005; Gushue, 2004; Neville, Spanierman, & Doan, 2006), indicating that so-

cial workers must take the impact of race into account. In a perfect world, race would no longer be a factor in opportunity. However, the United States remains a racialized society where race continues to impact the prospects of many of the most vulnerable members of our society. There are many social inequities yet to be addressed. The APA Public Policy Office (2007) pointed out that society must first recognize how race impacts interactions and opportunities in order to move beyond a racist society. Most licensed social workers are White but are increasingly serving minority clients (Center for Health Workforce Studies, 2006). Although striving toward cultural competence is not the exclusive duty of White social workers (those of different races and ethnicities have the same charge according to the NASW Code of Ethics), the focus of this study was on White social work practitioners as they constitute the majority of licensed social workers. The profession must continue to address the need for cultural competence on the part of all social workers, as well as the need to increase the diversity of the profession as a whole.

On a practical level, social work practitioners must engage in activities and education that encourage personal and professional growth, increasing their level of understanding of the minority experience in today's society. Social workers must look within, "examining their own concepts of privilege, experiences with racism, and underlying perceptions of themselves" (Allen-Mearns, 2007, p. 91) in order to move along the continuum of culturally competent practice. To enhance cultural sensitivity, social workers need to acknowledge that growth does not end once a person graduates; in fact, their social work education is only the beginning of a lifetime journey of movement along the cultural competence continuum. Practitioners and educators must seek opportunities to expand their knowledge and understanding of race and its continuing impact in the United States. Experiences impact attitudes: It is time for cultural competence to move from cognitive and categorical training and education to becoming more about interactions and relationships. Knowledge is imperative, but true understanding lies in the heart of social workers who are willing to step outside of their own comfort zones and experience diversity in ways that increase knowledge, but perhaps more importantly, enhances understanding of the minority experience in a racist society.

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