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Highlights

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Discovering Thoughts, Inventing Future

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Life Satisfaction of Highly Qualified Professionally Achieving Women Post Retirement

By Dr. (Ms) Samta P Pandya

Tata Institute of Social Sciences, India

Abstract- In this paper life satisfaction of highly qualified professionally achieving (HQPA) aging women post retirement is investigated. Respondents were 306 HQPA older women who were surveyed in the city of Mumbai. The Satisfaction with Life scale, Silver Lining Questionnaire and Meaning in Life Questionnaire were used. Results showed variations on life satisfaction as a result of certain independent socio-demographic variables and the type of careers that HQPA women retired from. Findings have relevance for designing and promoting different types of activity engagement for HQPA older women. This is a move away from the solely poverty focused approach to addressing issues of aging population in India. Implications for practice with HQPA older women have also been discussed.

Keywords: life satisfaction, highly qualified professionally achieving aging women.

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Life Satisfaction of Highly Qualified Professionally Achieving Women Post Retirement

Dr. (Ms) Samta P Pandya

Abstract- In this paper life satisfaction of highly qualified professionally achieving (HQPA) aging women post retirement is investigated. Respondents were 306 HQPA older women who were surveyed in the city of Mumbai. The Satisfaction with Life scale, Silver Lining Questionnaire and Meaning in Life Questionnaire were used. Results showed variations on life satisfaction as a result of certain independent sociodemographic variables and the type of careers that HQPA women retired from. Findings have relevance for designing and promoting different types of activity engagement for HQPA older women. This is a move away from the solely poverty focused approach to addressing issues of aging population in India. Implications for practice with HQPA older women have also been discussed.

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I. Introduction

espite the significant increase in women's participation in the labour force in recent years, little is known concerning the life cycle implications of work for women. Since independence there has been a marked increase in the work force participation of women in mid-life, including with children at home (Rosenthal, 1978). Furthermore, lifetime career patterns for women show a great deal of variation and may or may not include income producing work. Although a few women pursue continuous work or career involvement throughout their lives, many women remain homemakers. Others enter the labour force when their children leave home, or at the loss of their spouse through widowhood or divorce (Atchley & Corbett, 1977). It has generally been assumed that family roles remain central for women, even when they are involved in career workers employment. Atchley (1976), however, has reported data showing that 60% of a large sample of working women ranked being considered good at their work among the three most important goals in their lives.

Furthermore, although a great deal is known concerning the effects of retirement for men (e.g., loss of the meaning of work and disruption of interpersonal relationships in work (Carp. 1972)), retirement has not been extensively studied in women. It has been assumed that retirement from paid employment has little significance for women, due to their greater involvement in family roles (Blau, 1973). There are indications, however, that women's retirement from the work force produces significant changes in their lives (Atchley, 1976) and requires further investigation. A feminist analysis that recognizes interchanges between family and work roles, between public and private, and between personal and political will illuminate how and why women experience retirement in ways that are often very different from men's experiences. Hooyman and Gonyea (1995) endorse a holistic perspective that considers the interconnections between different spheres, such as the interactions between the larger economic and social context and family caregiving.

Traditional theories of retirement insufficiently explain how many older women experience retirement. Although Atchley (1988) and others have proposed more dynamic theories of continuity, which was the primary theory used to understand retirement for many years, they still fail to adequately consider the experiences of many older women who encounter substantial reductions in their resources, especially economic, after they retire. An alternative theory of retirement that better explains why some people experience more discontinuity in retirement resources than others is critical gerontology, which is based on critical theory. This school of thought concurs that helping retired women achieve an emancipatory ideal, that is to identify and overcome oppressive forces dominating them and or preventing them from achieving "autonomy, wisdom, and transcendence," preeminent goal (Held, 1980; Moody, 1988).

Ovrebo and Minkler (1993) were one of the first to appreciate critical gerontology's understanding of older women's life transitions, and, specifically, connections between gender and aging. They asserted that "critical gerontology embraces a broad framework of political economy of aging and considers how political, socioeconomic, and related factors interact to shape and determine the experience of growing old" (p. 289). They state it is "deeply concerned with the intersection of gender and aging and views gender (along with race and class) as a pivotal variable influencing the trajectory of growing predetermining an individual's location in the social order'' (Ovrebo and Minkler, 1993, pp. 289-290). These views concur with Cox and Parsons' (1994) emphasis on empowerment and powerlessness, which they define, "as a lack of access to the resources, knowledge, and skills that are necessary to solve one's own problems, including the ability to participate effectively in social change" (p. 18). The primary goal of empowerment- oriented practice, according to Cox and Parsons, is empowerment, which is "a process through which people become strong enough to participate within, share in the control of, and influence events and institutions which affect their lives" (p. 61).

In contrast to prevailing male models of retirement that have dismissed the contributions of other roles, specifically family responsibilities, this paper endorses a feminist and holistic conceptualization of retirement that focuses on empowering older women. This perspective takes into account the intersection of gender and aging and interconnections among the many roles that women occupy. The first step in empowerment-oriented practice is assessment, which and Parsons (1994) conceptualize consciousness raising. They state that "this process considers sources of problems from personal to external (or structural) and from historical to contemporary, thus opening up the personal and political dimensions for consideration" (Cox & Parsons, 1994, pp. 46).

II. LITERATURE

Several studies have conclusively argued that women's work is influenced by the dynamics of patriarchy. To take this argument further, even women's retirement and work in older ages is influenced by this (e.g., O'Rand, Henretta, and Krecker, 1992). Further a study by Ozawa and Lum (1998) found that when women retired after widowhood they were more likely to experience poverty during retirement in contrast to those women who became widowed after they retired.

In contrast to retired men, many retired women experience marked reductions in income following retirement, and they often lack pension coverage. Poverty among older women is caused by multiple factors. The most salient include: (1) lifelong gender inequities; (2) systematic inequities in retirement policies that discriminate against women; and (3) women's lifelong involvement as homemekers and in caregiving. The lack of pension coverage among working women means that substantial numbers of women depend solely on social security benefits during retirement (Gonyea, 1998; Grad, 1996; Jain, 1996; Hirway, 2002; Mazumdar and Neetha, 2011).

More women than men retire for caregiving reasons and often involuntarily (Matthews & Brown, 1987; Richardson, 1993). Unfortunately, those who retire involuntarily, against their wishes, have more problems adjusting to retirement; they tend to have lower morale,

less life satisfaction, and unhappy retirements than do voluntary retirees. They also tend to be more depressed with higher suicide rates than those who retire voluntarily (Richardson, 1993).

Several researchers in the western contexts have documented that when it comes to decisions about retirement women consider their family situations more often than men do (O'Rand, Henretta, and Krecker, 1992; Ruhm, 1996; Szinovacz and Ekerdt, 1995; Weaver, 1994). Hatch and Thompson (1992), who looked at various factors that predicted the decision to retire among women, found that having an ill or disabled household member who required assistance was the greatest predictor of retirement among women. In the Indian context this is a part of unpaid care work of women (Neetha, 2010).

Hooyman and Gonyea (1995) argue that three trends will exacerbate these gender inequities in caregiving. First, the trend toward privatization of long term care services will substantially increase women's caregiving burdens. Second, the medicalization of care and shift to highly technical care at the same time that managed care pressures result in shorter stays in hospitals will complicate caregiving. More and families, specifically women, are being required to carry out this medical technical care that was formally provided by professionals. This greater complexity in home care means that care- givers must spend more time and energy away from work and at unpaid caregiving tasks at home. According to Hooyman and Gonyea (1995, p. 103), "this trend is consistent with the ideology of community care and familism, which has assumed that family care is more cost effective and more attuned to the needs of the care receiver." As women spend more and more of their time at caregiving, which is likely to increase in the next millennium, they spend less and less time at work or become increasingly stressed. They spend fewer years vesting in pension programs, and more women will retire involuntarily.

Research has also indicated that women's and men's adaptation to retirement differs. For example, Szinovacz and Washo (1992) compared the effects of multiple life transitions on retirement adjustment on men and women. They found that as the number of life events experienced increased, women's adaptation to retirement declined. This relationship was not significant, however, for male retirees. Retired women are apparently more vulnerable to the accumulation of life changes than men are. A more in-depth analysis of the types of life events that retired men and women experience as well as the differences in the contexts in which men and women retire will illuminate other factors that may account for these differences. They bolster recent indications that gender differences presumably exist in psychological and social experiences during retirement. Richardson and Kilty (1995), who examined gender differences in mental health among retired women and men, obtained statistically significant gender effects in the expression of symptoms of mental health across three different time periods: (1) at preretirement; (2) six months after retirement; and (3) one year later. They found that gender was significantly associated with psychological anxiety, immobilization, drinking problems and health. A gender time interaction effect was also observed for physical anxiety as well as psychological anxiety. These data suggest persistent gender differences across time rather than transient or temporary responses.

Recent research in the western context on women's retirement has focused almost exclusively on women's satisfaction and adjustment (Moen, Fields, Quick & Hofmeister, 2000; Dykstra, 2006; Price & 2009). Few Nesteruk, studies, however, investigated what women do once they have retired; for example, how they fill their time and what they identify as important. Stereotypical images of retired women babysitting grandchildren and volunteering do exist (Feuerbach & Erdwins, 1994; Price, 2002). Family and caregiving responsibilities influence how women experience retirement and whether they feel retired (Szinovacz & Ekerdt, 1995). Discontinuous work histories, divorce or widowhood, and years of inequitable pay contribute to the financial insecurity of retired women (Moen, 1996) coupled with longer life expectancy which can influence general well-being post retirement (Glass & Kilpatrick, 1998). These factors combine to make retirement a unique and multifaceted transition for women and support the need for additional research.

Good health and adequate finances have been identified as particularly important factors in satisfaction of retired women (Streib & Schneider, 1971; Jaslow, 1976; Chatfield, 1977; Fox, 1977; Riddick, 1982; Szinovacz, 1983). Low income is generally a greater problem for non-married than for married women (Spector, 1979; Warlick, 1985) and may thus negatively affect their retirement. Investigators with a non-rural focus have found number of friends and neighbours and contact with those friends and neighbours to be associated with satisfaction in retired women (Lowenthal & Haven, 1968; Blau 1973; Fox, 1977; Candy et al., 1981; Riddick, 1982). Organisational participation is seen to contribute to satisfaction in retired women (Sheldon et al., 1975; Fox, 1977; Riddick, 1982). The quality of friend and confidant relationships among retired women contributes to greater retirement satisfaction compared to the quantity of interactions (Dorfman & Moffet, 1987). Further retired women who have more frequent and more diverse types of social contacts are more likely to be satisfied with their retirement timing and their leisure activities than those women who have less contact (Reeves & Darville, 1994).

Some studies have also indicated that women have more problems than do men in adjusting to

retirement (Atchley, 1976; Szinovacz, 1982). comparison with men, greater difficulties experienced by women have been reflected in things they miss in retirement — the feeling of doing a good job, social contacts — and in loneliness, less satisfaction with retirement, and financial strain. Levy (1980), found that a significant number of women adapted well to retirement despite chronic life's adversities/challenges. Negative retirement attitudes had more prolonged effects on adjustment for women than for men. Never-married women were more likely to have had more sustained work histories than formerly married women, and their career fatigue (Rapoport & Rapoport, 1975) may parallel that of men and thus contribute to their approval of retirement. Never-married women also enjoyed more favourable economic circumstances at retirement than widowed and divorced/separated women. Despite their higher occupational status, never-married women held more positive attitudes toward retirement compared with formerly married women. Although lifelong singleness may represent a deviant status, studies indicate that in old age at least, these never-married persons were not disadvantaged relative to the formerly married.

Price's (2002) study compares the retirement experiences of professional and nonprofessional women. The analysis is based on 48 interviews with women ranging in age from 63-83 years. Participants provided personal and occupational histories and described their retirement decisions, transitions, and lives in retirement. The women's retirement experiences differed in five areas: (1) attachment to work, (2) professional identity, (3) social contacts, (4) family roles/obligations, and (5) community involvement. Findings indicate investment in the work role does affect how women transition to retirement as well as how they structure their time in retirement.

However the impact of employment history on women's retirement has received limited attention. Employment history consists of occupational background (i.e., professional and nonprofessional) as well as duration of employment (i.e., continuous and discontinuous) (Cook, 1991; Skirboll & Silverman, 1992). Generally, women employed in professional roles have more education and training, more continuous work histories, and higher incomes (Price-Bonham & Johnson, 1982). One aspect of high attainment is also the concept of being 'gifted'. Holahan (1981)investigated the relationship between lifetime achievement patterns and retirement to life satisfaction for 'gifted' aging women. Participants were 352 women in Terman's study of the gifted who were surveyed in 1977 at a mean age of 66. Lifetime achievement pattern was defined by either homemaker, job, or career work Dependent variables included history. health. happiness, life satisfaction, work attitudes, ambitions and aspirations, and participation in leisure activities. Results showed variations on life satisfaction measures

as a function of lifetime career, with job holders generally less satisfied. There was a significant interaction between marital status and work pattern on overall life satisfaction suggesting an additive negative effect on the older woman of loss of spouse and a work history of working for income alone. Activity involvement varied as a function of retirement status and was differentially related to life satisfaction as a function of retirement status and career pattern. Women employed in nonprofessional jobs, often referred to as 'working class', perform more physically demanding labour in service-oriented occupations, earn less pay, represent continuous and discontinuous work histories (Perkins, 1993). Price and Dean's (2009) study explores the relationship between retired women's employment history and their social integration and social support networks in retirement. Employment history is defined by former occupation (professional, paraprofessional, nonprofessional) and job continuity (discontinuous and continuous). The sample consisted of 330 retired women ranging in age from 50 to 83 years, with diverse occupational histories, who were retired an average of 3.5 years. Results indicated that occupational status may influence women's social integration, part-time employment, caregiving tasks, and satisfaction with social support. Continuity of employment appears to only marginally influence social integration with no impact on social support or satisfaction with social support.

Very few studies exist in the Indian context on women's retirement and older women and lifelong work. This could primarily be due to the complex and competing discourses on women's work and fewer women in regular employment vis-à-vis other nations. The general trends in literature show that more of such literature on women's retirement in India is wanted. Although economics has paid attention to women's employment ((NSSO, 2011 (various rounds), Neetha (2009a, 2009b), Neetha and Mazumdar, 2006) more studies are wanting on the psychological, social and economic consequences and implications of aging women's post retirement lives, or simply, their lives after formal work life retirement transitions in general – either of themselves or their spouses.

The few studies that exist have generally looked at women's coping, adjustment and adaptability post retirement (Singh et al, 1987; Thane, 1998; John, 1999; Kalia, 1999; Nair, 2000). Denoting retirement as a 'stressful life event' in a study based in Punjab, Popli (2005) focuses on various aspects of health of aged women after retirement, exploring their present health status, change found after retirement, various ailments reported, mode of treatment, taken care by during life's adversities/challenges, change in diet, reasons for change and also various other factors responsible for change in health after their retirement. Girija Devi's (2009) study selected 200 retired women from two

districts of Kerala. These women belonged to two different religions, social groups and age ranging from 50 (going to retire) to 65 (retired). It was found that majority of them experienced satisfaction and adjustment differently after the retirement.

In the post independence era (from the late 1970s) and with a certain degree of impetus to women's education in India, several women entered the labour force and into paid regular employments. Most of them are thus highly qualified and would have been achievers in their professional arenas. They could be thus called highly qualified professionally achieving women (henceforth HQPA women) These women would technically have either retired or would be nearing retirement. It is thus crucial to look at this cohort of older women in terms of their life satisfaction after retirement and what it means for feminist gerontology in the Indian context.

III. METHODOLOGY

The main objective of this study was to look at the life satisfaction for highly qualified professionally achieving aging women. HQPA women for this study are construed as highly qualified women (having postgraduate and doctoral degrees and above) having continuous work histories and high professional achievement as per regular parameters (institutional position, salary, perks and professional networks). Retirement is defined as relieving from formal employment at superannuation and hence does not include resignation/termination/voluntary retirement. A cross sectional survey of HQPA women in Mumbai city has been undertaken.

a) Sampling

Respondents were 306 older women who were surveyed between December 2013 and April 2014 in the city of Mumbai. A two stage sampling strategy has been adopted. At the first stage institutions/ organisations have been selected from where initial lists on retired/superannuated women employees (during last 20 years) in senior/managerial positions have been educational institutions, obtained. Three nationalised banks, three public sector undertakings, three corporate houses and three public hospitals in Mumbai city were identified from where it was be possible to get base data on superannuated senior women employees. Probability proportional to size sampling was used to help identify the sample of women from the base data¹. Here the modification has

¹ Probability Proportional to Size sampling (PPS) is the probability of selecting a sampling unit proportional to the size of its population which then gives a probability (i.e. random, representative sample). This method facilitates planning in field work because a predetermined number of respondents are interviewed in each unit selected. In the general procedure in large scale surveys, the first step is to determine the number of sites to be visited and the total sample size desired. The

been that the sites i.e. organisations/institutions were predetermined as also the sampling interval (k=10). The response rate was 87.32%. The cross-sectional sample comprised of adequate variations in class, education, lifetime occupation and living arrangements. This sample of women provided the opportunity for .the investigation of the satisfaction later in life for HQPA women in later life.

b) Tool and Analysis

An interview schedule was used administered in English since all respondents had good working knowledge of the language. The tool contained basic questions on socio-demographic profile. The dependent variables was life satisfaction, measured by the Satisfaction with Life scale, Silver Lining Questionnaire and Meaning in Life Questionnaire. Satisfaction with Life Scale developed by Deiner et al (1985) contains a list of five statements for agreement/ disagreement. It is a Likert type scale with the score range is 0 - 35, the higher end score indicating higher levels of satisfaction with life. The cronbach α of the scale for this study was 0.87.

Silver Lining Questionnaire developed by Sodergren and Hyland (2000) contains a list of 38 statements assessing the attitude to illness and similar such life's adversities/challenges with a score range of 38 to 190; higher end scores indicating an ability to view the positive side or the silver lining in the event of life's adversities/challenges. The cronbach α of the scale for this study is 0.79. Meaning in Life Questionnaire developed by Steger et al (2006) contains a list of ten statements examining what makes life and existence significant and important to an individual. The score range on the Likert type rating is 10 – 70 with higher end scores indicating higher meanings in life. The cronbach α of the scale for this study is 0.83. Scales were crosschecked in terms of permissibility of utilisation as well as cultural relevance/ adaptability and a pretesting of the entire schedule was done with few members of a senior citizen's association for validity and reliability. Data has been analysed largely using descriptive statistics and

total population divided by the number of sites to be visited results in the sampling interval. An integer between one and the sampling interval at random is called a random start. Then a series is calculated in the following manner: random start, random start + 1 * sampling interval, random start + 2 * sampling interval, random start + 3 * sampling interval and so on till random start + 9 * sampling interval (where 9 would be the last one in the series if ten sites had to be visited and similarly 19, 29, 39 if 20, 30 or 40 sites had to be visited}. Each number generated in the series corresponds to a site on the list of population. The sampling units selected then are those for which the cumulative population (of all sites put together) contains the number in the series. For instance, if the random start is 125, then the 125th unit would be the first site followed by the next in the series as calculated by the formulae. After the sites are selected, predetermined number of interviews are conducted in the sites/villages selected through random sampling method.

cross tabulations, combining thereby bivariate and univariate forms of data representation and analysis.

c) Respondent Profile

The mean age of the sample was 65.86 years (SD = 3.48). Around 8.5% respondents were single and had always been single, 61% were married, 0.5% separated, 10% divorced, and 20% widowed. Roughly 49% had postgraduate degree and 21% had doctoral qualifications and 30% had professional qualifications. At the time of the survey all women had retired from any kind of paid employment. Around 25% had retired from corporate houses, 25% from educational institutions, 15% from nationalised banks, 15% from public sector undertakings and 20% from public hospitals and health care sector. Around 56% of the older women belonged to the upper middle class as understood by their place of stay in the city and lifestyles and 44% belonged to the middle-middle class. Around 28.5% of the respondents lived alone, 61% lived with their spouse and children/kin and 10.5% lived with their siblings or distant kin. Around 56% of the women were Hindus, 22% Christians, 12% Zoroastrians and 10% were Buddhists.

d) Study Limitations

The study has limitations of a cross sectional survey and sampling as well as the fact that HQPA women were selected from limited settings. Further although organisations/institutions were asked to share data of 20 years, the more recent and easily available records were shared and hence the mean age of the respondents was between 60 and 70 years thereby excluding the old-old and oldest old age groups. Further from within the settings and from the available number of records, due to time and resource constraints, only one-tenth of the total number of respondents could be contacted and interviewed. A larger sample could have revealed more nuances to the data. Further although the scales have been used to understand satisfaction with life and ability to see meaning in life and address adversities, the study could have also been embellished with qualitative data and narratives which has not been included here. However in the absence of any such study in the Indian context, this data can be used as a starting point for further investigations.

IV. Scale Scores on Life Satisfaction of hqpa Women

Table 1 depicts the satisfaction with life scale score of HQPA aging women. Around 68.63% of the HQPA women expressed satisfaction with life through their score ranges on the scale being 19-25. Around one-fifths (21.57%) were very highly satisfied with life. Hence in general HQPA women expressed satisfaction and very high satisfaction with life post retirement.

Around 1.63% were dissatisfied with life and 8.17% were moderately satisfied with life.

Table 1: Satisfaction with Life Scale Score

Satisfaction with Life Scale Score	Frequency	Percentage
5-11 (dissatisfied)	05	01.63
12-18 (moderately satisfied)	25	08.17
19-25 (satisfied)	210	68.63
26 and above (very highly satisfied)	66	21.57
Total	306	100.00

Table 2 depicts the differentials in satisfaction with life scale score by select background characteristics. In terms of marital status, the levels of dissatisfaction were higher among widows (16.13%) and never married/single elderly women (13.04%). Religion wise distribution of the levels of satisfaction/dissatisfaction was almost similar. HQPA women with doctoral and professional level qualifications had higher

scores indicating that they were more satisfied in their post retirement lives. This could be due to the fact that their training permitted them to be engaged and hence satisfied. A higher proportion of HQPA women living alone and retired from educational institutions and corporate houses were less satisfied in their post retirement lives.

Table 2: Satisfaction with Life Scale Score by Select Background Characteristics

	Satisfaction with Life So	cale Score (In%)	Total number
Background Characteristics	Dissatisfied and Moderately Satisfied	Satisfied and Very Highly Satisfied	
Marital status			
Currently married	02.08	97.92	182
Never married/single	13.04	86.96	26
Widowed	16.13	83.87	61
Divorced	04.76	95.24	36
Separated	00.00	100.00	01
Religion			
Hindu	06.10	93.90	171
Christian	06.25	93.75	67
Zoroastrian	06.25	93.75	37
Buddhists	07.32	92.68	31
Education Qualifications Level			
Postgraduate	21.15	78.75	150
Doctoral	07.89	92.11	64
Professional Qualifications	04.76	95.24	92
Type of living arrangement			
Living alone	10.98	89.02	87
With spouse and children	04.54	95.46	187
With children, grandchildren and other relatives/extended family	04.12	95.88	32
Retired from			
Educational Institutions	38.09	61.91	77
Corporate houses	12.42	87.58	76
Nationalised Banks	02.19	97.81	45
Public sector undertakings	00.00	100.00	46
Public hospitals and health care settings	00.00	100.00	62
Total			306

Table 3 depicts the silver lining questionnaire score of HQPA women. Majority (67.32%) had a fair view of life's adversities/challenges – they were able to view the positive side of life in the event of life's adversities/

challenges thereby demonstrating resilience and optimism. Around 2.61% were not positive about life's adversities/challenges and one-tenth (10.46%) had an average view of life's adversities/challenges. Close to

two-fifths (18.95%) had good positive view of life's adversities/challenges demonstrating thereby a good level of optimism and a miniscule number 0.65% had very good scores as they resorted to techniques such as autosuggestion and meditation.

Table 3: Silver Lining Questionnaire Score

Silver Lining Questionnaire Score Range	Frequency	Percentage
0 – 38 (not positive about life's adversities/challenges)	08	02.61
39 – 76 (average positive view of life's adversities/challenges)	32	10.46
77 – 114 (fair view of life's adversities/challenges)	206	67.32
115 – 152 (good positive view of life's adversities/challenges)	58	18.95
153 – 190 (very positive view of life's adversities/challenges)	02	00.65
Total	306	100.00

Table 4 depicts the differentials in the silver lining questionnaire scores of HQPA women by select background characteristics. A higher proportion of ever single and widowed HQPA women had lower end scores. A higher proportion of currently married women had higher end scores. Further the table also shows that a higher proportion of Hindu women, those living with spouse and children and those retired from educational institutions, public sector undertakings and nationalised banks had higher end scores.

Table 4: Silver Lining Questionnaire Score by Select Background Characteristics

	Silver Lining Que	stionnaire Score I	Range (in%)	Total Number
Background Characteristics	Not Positive and average view	Fair View	Good and Very Good View	
Marital status				
Currently married	05.21	58.33	36.46	182
Never married/single	21.73	56.54	21.73	26
Widowed	20.16	75.81	04.03	61
Divorced	00.00	76.19	23.81	36
Separated	00.00	73.69	26.31	01
Religion				
Hindu	11.45	58.02	30.53	171
Christian	21.27	68.09	10.64	67
Zoroastrian	15.63	78.12	06.25	37
Buddhists	15.63	74.99	09.38	31
Education Qualifications Level				
Postgraduate	48.07	42.32	09.61	150
Doctoral	07.37	84.74	07.89	64
Professional Qualifications	00.00	36.51	63.49	92
Type of living arrangement				
Living alone	16.48	72.54	10.98	87
With spouse and children	11.36	54.55	34.09	187
With children, grandchildren and other relatives/extended family	05.15	74.23	20.62	32
Retired from				
Educational Institutions	00.00	50.00	50.00	77
Corporate houses	17.64	72.36	10.00	76
Nationalised Banks	00.00	67.75	32.25	45
Public sector undertakings	10.10	59.60	30.30	46
Public hospitals and health care settings	15.52	78.27	06.21	62
Total				306

Table 5 shows the meaning in life questionnaire score ranges for HQPA women. Majority (43.46%) had scores tending towards a moderate meaning in life and a little more than one-fifth (22.86%) had scores demonstrating a fair meaning in life. Around 1.96% and 7.84% respectively had very high and high scores.

Around 14.05% had scores demonstrating a low meaning in life and 5.55% and 3.27% respectively had scores in the poor and very poor range. Hence by and large the scores tended to be in the moderate and fair range, depicting a moderate and fair meaning in life.

Table 5: Meaning in Life Questionnaire Score

Meaning in Life Questionnaire Score	Frequency	Percentage
70-61 (Very high meaning in Life)	06	01.96
60 – 51 (High meaning in life)	24	07.84
50 -41 (Moderate meaning in life)	133	43.46
40 – 31 (Fair meaning in life)	73	22.86
30 – 21 (Low meaning in life)	43	14.05
20 – 11 (poor meaning in life)	17	05.55
10and below(diminished meaning)	10	03.27
Total	306	100.00

Table 6 depicts the differentials in meaning in life questionnaire score by select background characteristic. A higher proportion of currently married women had higher scores and half of the widowed respondents had low scores. A higher proportion of Buddhist and Hindu women had higher scores. Close to half the women with postgraduate level qualifications had lower end scores. HQPA women with doctoral and professional level qualifications generally had moderate and fair scores. A higher proportion of HQPA women

living with spouse and children had high scores. Close to one-fifth of the HQPA women living alone and those living with extended kin had lower end scores. Two-thirds of the HQPA women who had retired from educational institutions had higher scores indicating that post retirement they were able to see good meaning in life and have a sense of equilibrium. HQPA women who retired from nationalised banks (48.38%), from public sector undertakings (35.35%) and from hospitals and health care settings (32.92%) had lower end scores.

Table 6: Meaning in Life Questionnaire Score by Select Background Characteristics

	Meaning in Life C	Questionnaire Sco	ore Range (in%)	Total Number
Background Characteristics	Very High and High	Moderate and	Low, Poor and	
	, ,	Fair	Diminished	
Marital status				
Currently married	15.62	79.17	05.21	182
Never married/single	10.87	82.61	06.52	26
Widowed	04.03	45.97	50.00	61
Divorced	14.28	85.72	00.00	36
Separated	10.52	89.48	00.00	01
Religion				
Hindu	11.45	58.02	30.53	171
Christian	04.25	74.47	21.28	67
Zoroastrian	09.38	74.99	15.63	37
Buddhists	15.63	68.74	15.63	31
Education Qualifications Level				
Postgraduate	15.87	36.51	47.62	150
Doctoral	07.89	76.32	15.79	64
Professional Qualifications	09.61	71.16	19.23	92
Type of living arrangement				
Living alone	06.59	71.43	21.98	87
With spouse and children	11.36	77.28	11.36	187
With children, grandchildren and other relatives/extended family	05.15	77.33	17.52	32
Retired from				
Educational Institutions	66.67	33.33	00.00	77
Corporate houses	09.41	78.83	11.76	76
Nationalised Banks	06.45	45.17	48.38	45
Public sector undertakings	08.08	56.57	35.35	46
Public hospitals and health care settings	06.21	60.87	32.92	62
Total				306

V. Discussion and Conclusion

The present study has shown variations in life satisfaction HQPA women in their aging years.

Women had retired from a range of organisations includina educational institutions. corporate houses, nationalised banks, public sector undertakings and public hospitals and health care settings. In general HQPA women satisfaction and very high satisfaction with life post retirement. On the satisfaction with life scale scores, a higher proportion of HQPA women living alone retired from educational institutions and corporate houses were less satisfied in their post retirement lives. This could be attributed to lack of the same level of activity that they were used to during their active work lives. Further living along is another variable that added to the level of dissatisfaction. Majority of the HQPA women who had retired had a fair view of life's adversities/challenges they were able to view the positive side of life in the thereby event of life's adversities/challenges demonstrating resilience and optimism. HQPA women who had retired from educational institutions, public sector undertakings and nationalised banks had higher end scores on the silver lining questionnaire. This could be attributed to the nature of work that they were engaged in which enabled them to have and maintain an optimistic worldview in the face of adversities. On the meaning with life questionnaire most HQPA women had moderate to fair meaning in life. Majority of the HQPA women who had retired from educational institutions found good meaning in life in the post retirement years. This meant that they were able to understand their life's meaning, were seeking purpose with a clear sense, had an understanding of what makes life meaningful and significant and had a purpose and mission in life in the post retirement years. As per the study data, HQPA women who retired from nationalized banks, public sector undertakings and hospitals/health care settings had lower scores on meaning in life questionnaire. In the post retirement years, these HQPA women were not able to that well discern life's purpose, significance and meaning as their counterparts from the educational sector.

A number of other socio-demographic variables also influenced life satisfaction of HQPA women in later years. This is in consonance with research on aging that suggests that life satisfaction is related to several other variables such as marital status and religious/ethnic background (Pillemer & Glasgow, 2000; Gregoire, Kilty, & Richardson, 2002; Reitzes & Mutran, 2004; Solinge & Henkens, 2005; Price & Dean, 2009; Price & Nesteruk, 2009). The present study adds another dimension to the studies on women's satisfaction and adjustment (Moen, Fields, Quick & Hofmeister, 2000; Dykstra, 2006; Price & Nesteruk, 2009) post retirement through scale scores.

In terms of implications of this study's findings for interventions with HQPA women, we can draw from the model of Cox and Parsons (1994) and their four dimensions to intervention for empowerment – personal, interpersonal. micro environmental environmental. On the personal level, practitioners must better inform HQPA women about current retirement policies and encourage all women to carefully examine how their unique life circumstances will affect their retirements. The discrepancies, for example, that exist between HQPA women's expectations about retirement compared to what they actually encountered as hence what then influences their life satisfaction and meaning underscore the importance of preretirement planning for women.

On a micro environmental and organizational level, this calls for better services for HQPA women nearing retirement that are sensitive to the diverse experiences that women encounter in work and family roles. Although many agencies that serve older adults have support groups for destitute elderly women and aging persons below the poverty line, few offer groups specifically for retired women. Fewer still offer groups that take into account the intricate connections between work and family, between the informal and formal, and between the private and public, that are imperative to consider if we expect to successfully assist HQPA aging women to meet their challenges and be better equipped for later life. Both preretirement and postretirement groups that take into account these intersections and connections are needed to help HQPA women decide when and how they will retire and to what extent they will be better adjusted in retirement.

Several changes must occur on the macro environmental or socio- political level in the Indian context if HQPA retired women ever expect to achieve parity with retired men. Some of the suggestions that Hooyman and Gonyea (1995) recommend and which can be applied include: modifying the definition of work to incorporate unpaid labour in the home and community; providing credit for years lost resulting from caregiving; financing paid caregiving over the family life cycle through a social insurance approach; and providing direct financial support for caregiving. This may go a long way in determining their life satisfaction in later years.

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A Higher Calling? Academic Aspirations in Guatemalan Religious Schools

By Darin M. Mather

Crown College, United States

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A Higher Calling? Academic Aspirations in Guatemalan Religious Schools

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Abstract- This study examines the effect of religious schools onacademic aspirations in a developing world context. Data from 21 Catholic, evangelical and secular private schools in Guatemala are used to compare student aspirations in each school type. Hierarchical linear models are constructed to examine differences controlling for keytheoretical determinants. Results reveal that surprisingly high percentages of private school children in the sample (75%) aspire to complete university. School comparisons demonstrate that evangelical school students (particularly girls) are more likely than students from other private schools to aspire to attend university. Theoretical and practical implications for development are discussed.

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I. Introduction

igher levels of education are key contributors to well-being in the developing world. (See UNICEF, 2015 for a review.) This is particularly true for girls. A post-primary education for girls has been linked to various individual and societal benefits. Individually, girls with higher levels of education have a greater sense of personal empowerment (Moulton, 1997). They are more economically prosperous (Psacharopoulos and Patrinos, 2002); their overall health is improved (UNICEF, 2004); their fertility rates decrease (Forste, 1994); and they experience the advantages of wider social, political and economic participation (Mensch et al., 1998). These benefits also extend beyond the individual to society as a whole in the form of enhanced development, improved educational economic outcomes for the next generation, and healthier families (DeJaeghere, 2004; Klasen, 2002).

Because higher levels of education have such a significant effect, it is important to examine the factors that contribute to academic attainment. One key component is students' academic aspirations. Since the seminal findings of the Wisconsin studies (Sewell et al., 1969; Sewell et al., 1970), a large longitudinal project that examined the underpinnings of success, researchers have established a clear link between students' educational aspirations and their eventual attainment. In their review of the literature, Bozick and his co-authors (2010)note that educational expectations emerged as one of the primary drivers of stratified

educational achievement. This connection between aspirations and attainment conforms to common sense. We would naturally expect that those who hope to pursue higher levels of education are more likely to do so than those who have lower academic expectations for themselves.

With the clear link between academic aspirations and achievement in mind, the Wisconsin researchers and many who followed set out to determine which factors contribute most to students' desires to pursue higher levels of education. In addition to the key influence of students' family backgrounds and their peer relationships, numerous studies have shown that schools play a significant role in the development of academic expectations. (See Berzin, 2010, for a thorough review.)

This study, which is part of a larger investigation on girls' education in Guatemalan private schools, examines thekey role that religious schools play in forming academic aspirations, particularly for girls. In it, lanalyse the association between different types of religious schools in Guatemala and different levels of expectations in their female students. I make direct comparisons between Catholic, evangelical and secular schools to examine the following: (a) differences in aspirations for all students in each school type; (b) differences in aspirations for girls in each school type; and (c) the differentials between girls and boys in each type of school. I also develop full regression models to determine if significant associations remain when controlling for key aspirational determinants.

Though limited to the specific context of Guatemalan private schools, results from this study make an important contribution by addressing significant gaps in the literature. First, much has been written about educational aspirations, but little has been done to examine gender differences in expectations. (Marini and Greenberger, 1978, and Hanson, 1994, are two notable exceptions.) Only one study, conducted by McDaniel (2010), undertakes a cross-national comparison of gender differentials in educational aspirations. McDaniel's research, however, focuses exclusively on countries in the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), leaving out countries in the developing world. Because 85% of school-age children worldwide live in developing countries (UNICEF, WHO and UNFPA, 2003), this gap is a significant oversight. The findings in this study, which do not conform to patterns in the West, highlight the importance of conducting more research on academic aspirations, especially for girls, in developing contexts.

Another gap exists in our understanding of the contributions of religious schools. Although religious schools are significant educational providers in the developing world at the primary and secondary levels—the Catholic Church alone has more than 250,000 schools worldwide, serving nearly 42 million students (Thavis, 2007)—these schools have been almost completely overlooked by educational development scholars (Mather, 2013) and virtually nothing has been done to understand the effects that religion and religious schools have on girls' educational aspirations.

This study seeks to address some of these gaps. It uses a common approach to measuring academic aspirations employing, as a dependent variable, a question that asks if students expect to obtain a tertiary degree. First, direct comparisons between school types are made using this measure. Later, full multilevel logistic regression models are developed to assess outcomes using relevant controls. With this design in mind, the literature review that follows will first summarize the existing literature on tertiary education in the developing world. I will then provide an overview of the importance of academic aspirations for achievement. Finally, I review the predictors that are commonly associated with increased aspirations.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

a) Tertiary attendance and aspiration rates

Global tertiary Gross Enrolment (GER)¹ are climbing rapidly. Just in the last decade, worldwide rates have jumped from 18.1% in 1999 to 27.1% in 2009 (Klein, 2011). While these rates are increasing across the different regions of the world, there are wide discrepancies between countries. At the high end of the spectrum, the United States and countries in Scandinavia have rates at or above 70%, while at the low end, many countries in Sub-Saharan Africa have rates less than 2% (Klein, 2011; NationMaster, 2013). The Latin American average GER is 37%, a rate that is above the world average but well below OECD rates (Klein, 2011). In Guatemala, however, the GER is much lower than that-8.5% (NationMaster, 2013).

Those who study girls' education have given much attention to gender differentials in tertiary

education. The Gender Parity Index (GPI), which is a ratio of the number of enrolled females to the number of enrolled males, is a common measure of gender equality in higher education (Koronkiewicz, 2013). Female participation in higher education has been steadily rising, and it recently passed an important global milestone. In 1999 the world GPI was 0.98. Ten years later it was 1.08, signifying that globally the female GER is now higher than the male GER (Klein, 2011). Currently, female enrolments at the tertiary level have exceeded parity in over 35% of countries (Ortega, 2008). but again these rates vary from region to region. With an average GPI of 1.25, Latin American and Caribbean countries fare quite well, scoring slightly ahead of Europe and Central Asia's 1.22 GPI. Again, Sub-Saharan countries constitute the low end of the spectrum with an average GPI of 0.64 (Klein, 2011).

In Guatemala, however, gender parity continues to be an important issue. A recent study by Stith, Gorman and Choudhury (2003) found that girls in rural regions were significantly less likely than boys to continue their education beyond the primary grades into secondary school. At the tertiary level, the GPI in Guatemala is only 0.72 (Nation Master, 2013).

While GER and GPI have been the focus of much scholarly work, very little has been done to explore the topic of academic aspirations in the world community. Anne McDaniel (2010) was one of the first to conduct a comparative study on this topic in the developed world. Her study of OECD countries showed that, on average, 47% of 15-year-olds in OECD countries expect to complete tertiary schooling—that number is closer to 60% in the United States (McDaniel, 2010). She also found that, except for Japan and Korea, girls' tertiary expectations exceed boys' expectations in all 29 OECD countries (McDaniel, 2010). But, as McDaniel herself indicates, no research has been done on academic aspirations in the developing world. Given the established link between aspirations and attainment, this is an important oversight. Are students in the developing world aspiring to attend higher educational institutions? How do their rates compare with those in the developed world? Are schools and parents encouraging children to pursue higher education? Are there differences between religious schools in student tertiary aspirations? Are there gender differentials in aspirations among the student population as a whole and among religious student populations in particular? These are unanswered questions in the literature that this article seeks to address by looking specifically at the Guatemalan context.

b) Theories of academic aspirations

In the study of academic aspirations, researchers focus on three broad theoretical frameworks: status attainment, blocked opportunities

¹ The Gross Enrolment Ratio is the "number of students enrolled at a certain level of education as a percentage of the population of the age group that officially corresponds to that level."

⁽Soubbotina 2004). The tertiary GER usually uses the number of people in the five-year age group following secondary school for its calculations

and social support. Often these are viewed as competing theories, but recent research (Kao and Tienda, 1998: Mau and Bikos, 2000: Berzin, 2010) has examined them concurrently in an attempt to assess their complementary contributions to our understanding of student aspirations.

Status attainment has been the primary theoretical framework for explaining differences in educational aspirations. Beginning with a study by Blau and Duncan (1967), a number of studies have linked academic achievement and aspirations with family socioeconomic status (Barr and Dreeben, 1983; Featherman and Hauser, 1978; Sewell et al., 1969). This theory maintains that family factors such as parental education, status, and educational expectations strongly affect children's aspirations (Berzin, 2010), and in this way social status is transmitted intergenerationally.

Although little has been done to investigate educational aspirations in the developing world, studies on academic achievement tend to support status attainment theory in these contexts. Research studies conducted in Latin America by Post (1990), Forste, Heaton, and Haas (2004), and Psacharapolous and Velez (1993), together with a study conducted in Thailand and Malawi by Lockheed, Fuller, and Nyirongo (1989) affirm the relationship between household socioeconomic status and children's educational attainment although correlations are not as strong as in the West.

Blocked opportunities theories, which focus mainly on educational institutions, take a negative approach to academic aspirations, arguing that students can be prohibited from aspiring to higher education based on messages that they get from schools and sometimes their parents and peers. A number of studies have shown that student difficulties in elementary and secondary schools can lead to discouragement, which makes students less interested in pursuing higher education (Mau, 1995; Ogbu, 1991; Wilson and Wilson, 1992).

Blocking in schools can also be gendered. Schools can hinder girls' aspirations through the following: curricula that track girls away from higher education, pedagogies that limit girls' expectations, a lack of female teachers to serve as role models, and the absence of educational and career guidance systems that encourage girls to aspire to higher education. (See DeJaeghere, 2004, for a review.)

While not generally considered in blocking theories, gender ideology also plays a role in suppressing girls' educational expectations. A number of studies have shown that girls with less gender egalitarian viewpoints tend to have lower academic aspirations (Davis and Pearce, 2007; Eccles, 1994; McDaniel, 2010). This is often attributed to the perception that girls with more traditional gender attitudes have fewer opportunities and incentives to pursue higher education (McDaniel, 2010).

The third theoretical framework points to social support as a key contributor to increased academic aspirations. According to this theory, encouragement and support from family, friends, teachers and others can positively affect students' academic expectations (Berzin, 2010). While peers do have an influence on an adolescent's educational and life goals, expectations and support of parents have the strongest influence on aspirations (Berzin, 2010; Hill et al., 2004; Kandel and Lesser, 1969). A supportive school environment is also correlated with higher levels of academic attainment (Marjoribanks, 2004).

Neo-institutionalists argue that global norms about schooling have contributed to the expansion of higher education, especially in the developing world where, in many instances, higher education rates are greater than they were in European countries just a few decades ago (Schofer and Meyer, 2005). According to neo-institutionalists, this rapid growth is driven by prevailing world models of education, which have dramatically expanded mass schooling at the primary and secondary levels. Schools that follow these models tend to extol the values of increased tertiary education as well (Chabott, 2002; Meyer et al., 1992; Schofer and Meyer, 2005). These prevailing world models have also had a significant effect on girls' education. The international 'Education for All' movement, which had a primary aim to expand girls' access to primary and secondary education, has had a corresponding unprecedented and unforeseen impact on women's higher education enrolment (Bradley and Ramirez, 1996; Ortega, 2008). Though neo-institutional perspectives are typically not included in social support theories of educational attainment, the global norms about seeking higher education that are regularly propagated at the primary and tertiary levels clearly apply within the social support framework.

In this study of private religious schools in Guatemala, the religious context is also an important consideration. While little, if any, research has been done on the connection between religion and academic aspirations, there is reason to believe that religious institutions could have a blocking or supporting effect. Schools that endorse more traditional gender ideologies may block girls from aspiring to attain tertiary level schooling. On the other hand, religion is often a key source of support (see Edgell et al., 2013, for a review). It is conceivable that religious groups could provide a supportive environment that encourages girls to aspire for higher levels of education. For this reason, religious school types are included in the models for this study to determine what, if any, effect they have on their students' academic aspirations.

III. Data and Methods

a) Data

This paper draws on data collected for a larger study on girls' education in private religious schools. Guatemala was selected for this project because a high percentage of its schools are private and many of these schools have religious affiliations (MINEDUC, 2008).In this context, 21 different private schools (seven Catholic, nine evangelical and five secular) were studied to assess the tertiary aspiration levelswithin their schools.(Secular institutions were included as a comparison group.)The school sample was chosen from a list, provided by the Guatemalan Ministry of Education, of all schools in the Department of Sacatepequez, which lies just to the west of the capital city. Schools were selected for consideration if they were private and if they had students at the primary and junior levels (first through tenth grades). Efforts were made to choose one Catholic, one evangelical and one secular school from each region of the Department in an attempt to include similar sample demographics for each type of school.

Public schools were not included in the sample for two reasons. First, a main thrust of this study is to understand the effect that religion and religious schools have on educational outcomes. Since the key comparison is religious versus secular and not private versus public, the school types included are sufficient. Second, adding public schools to the sample would introduce unnecessary complexity because there tend to be substantial differences between Guatemalan public schools in teacherdedication, and resources. Since private schools are generally more similar to each other in these and other areas, restricting the sample to private institutions makes it easier to focus comparisons on religious factors.

It is important to note that, although there are a number of elite private schools in Guatemala, these are the exception to the rule and thus, they were not included in this study. Many Guatemalan private schools cater to lower middle class and even poor students. In fact, some of the private schools in this study enrolled students who could not afford to go to the public schools, which often have fees for uniforms, books and other expenses. Thirteen of the 21 schools in the sample reported that 50% or more of their students were poor or very poor. Only threesampled schools reported that less than 20% of their students were poor or very poor.

The data for this study were derived directly from student surveys, which were administered to students in grades five to nine of each school. In addition to gathering demographic information about the students' gender, ethnic, family and religious background, the surveys also asked about students' educational aspirations and religious beliefs and values.

b) Methods

Using this survey data I compare the educational aspirations of students in Catholic, evangelical and secular private schools. The analysis has two parts. I begin with a direct comparison of the three different school types using crosstabs to contrast the proportions of students in each who intend to finish university. In these crosstabs, I include comparisons of all students: girl students separately, boy students separately, and a differential between boys and girls for academic aspirations in each type of school.

Next, I develop multivariate models to assess correlations between religious schools and academic aspirations when control variables are added. Drawing from the theoretical frameworks reviewed above, controls from this study have been specifically chosen to measure the effect of status attainment, blocked opportunities and social support on students' academic attainment. Additional controls have been introduced to test the influence of religion.

Because the students in these surveys are clustered in schools, multilevel models are employed instead of traditional ordinary least squared methods. Multilevel methods minimize distortion in estimates that could be caused from intraschool correlations by partitioning error variances into between-school and within-school components (Raudenbush and Bryk, 2002). In this way between-school effects, such as school type, and within-school effects, such as students' gender, grade, family background and religious beliefs, can be assessed simultaneously. Hausman tests determined that random-effects models are most appropriate for analysing differences between these school clusters. Tests have also been conducted to ensure that independent variables are not highly correlated. Finally, results for each model have been checked to ensure that outliers do not have an undue impact on coefficients.

Given this study's comparative analysis of different school types, one area of special concern is the possibility that outcomes may be influenced by school selection biases. While it is very difficult to control for such biases without interviewing parents and students about their school selection processes, steps have been taken to address this concern. Most importantly, controls for parental educational levels are included along with measures of parental academic expectations² and involvement in their children's schoolwork. Though these controls in no way eliminate the potential effect of selection bias, they do provide some indication of whether such bias is an important factor for the assessed outcomes.

² This measure was not included in final models because it had no significant effect on the outcomes addressed in this study.

IV. RESULTS

a) School type comparisons of academic aspirations

The first analytical step in this paper is a direct comparison of academic aspirations between different school types. This analysis is conducted using a survey variable which asks fifth through ninth graders, 'When do you think that you will stop going to school?' Students who answered 'after university' are coded 1

and all others are coded 0. Crosstab comparisons of the academic aspirations dummy variable are used to determine if there are significant differences between Catholic, evangelical and secular schools in the aspirations for all of their students, and for girl and boy students specifically. I also compare the girl-boy differential for each school type. Results for this analysis are provided in Table 1 below.

Table 1: Crosstab Comparisons of Academic Aspirations between Religious Schools

	Ν	All Students	Girls	Boys	Girls - Boys
All Schools	1682	75.56%	78.08%	73.54%	4.54%*
Catholic Schools	725	75.03%	75.71%	74.70%	01.01%
Evangelical Schools	661	75.79%	81.79%*	71.31%	10.48%***
Secular Schools	296	76.35%	76.71%	76.39%	0.32%

Significantly different from all other school types at *p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001 (two-tail test).

The first thing to note is the incredible result that 75.56% of all students across all different types of private schools sampled in the Department of Sacatepequezaspire to finish university. This number exceeds aspiration levels in the United States and across Europe. The only OECD countries that surpass these Guatemalan students in academic expectations are Turkey and Korea (McDaniel, 2010), and these expectations are present despite the fact that actual Guatemalan enrolment rates are only (NationMaster, 2013). The similarity of the proportions for each type of school suggests that despite the fact that opportunities are limited, all of these schools are fostering high expectations among their students for academic attainment.

Gender comparisons reveal that, across the board, girls aspire to finish tertiary education at significantly higher rates than boys. While this trend mirrors that of most OECD nations (McDaniel, 2010), it is somewhat surprising in a context like Guatemala where machismo has been an established feature of society and where opportunities for women have traditionally been limited (Stromquist et al., 2000).

Given the limited data available on academic aspirations in Guatemala, it is nearly impossible to pinpoint the causes for these high levels of aspirations for students, and especially for girls. However, these findings do lend further support to neo-institutional claims that schools around the world are picking up on prevailing world models of education which place a high value on tertiary education in general and which encourage girls to achieve at higher educational levels (Bradley and Ramirez, 1996; Ortega, 2008).

Finally, it is surprising to note that girls at evangelical schools expect to finish a university level education at higher rates than Catholic and secular school girls. The girl to boy differential is significantly higher at evangelical schools as well. This finding is unexpected given Guatemalan evangelicals' greater propensity to be non-egalitarian (Mather, 2013). Catholic schools, which are most likely to be completely egalitarian, have the lowest rates of tertiary aspirations among girls. This, at least initially, suggests that gender attitudes have little affect on academic expectations in this context, a proposition that will be more fully explored in the next section.

b) Multivariate comparisons of academic aspirations

Next, the bivariate findings above are further tested to see if they stand when appropriate control variables are introduced. Table 2 below provides the descriptive statistics for each of the independent variables that are included in these models. The first three independent variables (female, evangelical school and female at evangelical school) represent the key findings in the bivariate tables above—namely that girls have higher academic aspirations than bovs and that evangelical girls in particular have the highest aspirations. A grade variable has also been included to determine if aspirations are higher or lower in the upper grade levels. Each of the remaining independent variables has been chosen to test the influence of key theoretical factors.

Table 2: Descriptive Statistics of Independent Variables in Academic Aspiration Models

Independent Variable	Description of Variable	Sample Mean or %	Evan. Schl. Mean or %
Female student	Student is female.	50.33%	46.18%
Evangelical school Female at evangelical	Student goes to evangelical school.	39.30%	100.00%
school	Student is female at evangelical school	18.20% 7.09	46.18% 7.19
Student grade level	Student's grade in school (Range 5-9)	(1.41)	(1.43)
	Father's education 0=did not complete primary school; 1=completed primary school; 2=completed middle school; 3= completed secondary school;	2.24	2.17
Father's education	4=attended university Mother's education 0=did not complete primary school; 1=completed primary school; 2=completed middle school; 3=	(1.43)	(1.48)
Mother's education	completed secondary school; 4=attended university	2.03 (1.42)	1.96 (1.48)
	Student's strongly agree that men should be the head of the family; men are better leaders than women; women can't do the same jobs as men; and they would not		
Non_egalitarian	like to see a woman president.	26.58%	28.29%
Parents help	Parents help student with homework	62.31%	58.40%
Teacher experience	Years of teaching experience for student's teacher.	2.38 (2.89)	3.26 (3.89)
Female teacher	The student's teacher is a female Response to: "The things I am learning in	59.69%	42.81%
Learning helps	school will help me in life." 4=strongly agree; 1= strongly disagree	3.84 (0.42)	3.83 (0.40)
Evangelical student	Student identifies self as evangelical.	31.36%	55.56%
Female evangelical student	Female student identifying as evangelical.	15.87%	26.15%

Standard deviation in parenthesis.

The first set of controls includes measures for father's and mother's education. These variables will be used to assess the status attainment theory that family status, which is often measured through parents' education levels, has a significant effect on students' aspirations.

The blocked opportunities theories focus on the ways in which academic aspirations can be discouraged. This discouragement can often come from schools and teachers, but it can also be imparted through the prevailing non-egalitarian gender ideology of the students' social context. These factors are represented in the multivariate model with variables including school type and non-egalitarian gender ideology.

Next, social support theories argue that support from family, teachers and others can positively influence

students' academic aspirations. To assess this theory, four variables have been added. First, on the family side, a variable is included that assesses whether the students' parents help them with their homework. On the school side, variables measuring teachers' experience and gender are used. (The teacher gender variable is important because female teachers are often seen as instrumental in providing role modelling and support for girls' aspirations.) Finally, a 'learning helps' variable, which assesses the degree to which a student views the things that they are learning as beneficial for their lives, has been added to the model. Although no link has previously been made in the literature, this attitude among students could influence aspirations because those students who have learned the value of education from their parents and teachers may be more likely to seek to attain more of it.

Finally, an evangelical and a female evangelical variable have been placed into the models. In the bivariate analysis above, evangelical schools were shown to have significantly higher rates of girls'

aspirations; therefore, these two measures have been added to determine if these differences can be attributed to the religious tradition of the students.³

					7	Table 3: Multivariate Models of Academic Aspirations.	Multi	'aria	e Moc	els of	Aca	demic	Aspii	atio	ns.			
	Model 1	Ξ		Model 2	2		Model 3	<u>e</u> 3		Š	Model 4		Ĭ	Model 5	2	Ž	Model 6	9
	OR		SE	OR		SE	OR		SE	OR		SE	OR		SE	OR		SE
Female student	0.99		(0.15)	66.0		(0.17)	0.94		(0.14)	0.88		(0.16)	0.98		(0.16)	0.74		(0.16)
Evangelical school	0.76		(0.25)	0.80		(0.23)	0.77		(0.25)	09.0		(0.21)	0.76		(0.26)	0.62		(0.21)
schl.	1.80	* *	(0.46)	2.04	* *	(0.58)	1.81	* *	(0.46) 2.14	2.14	* *	** (0.61) 1.82 **	1.82	* *	(0.51)	2.45	* *	(0.86)
Student grade level p	1.32	· *	(0.06)	1.37	· *	(0.07)	1.31	· *	(0.06) 1.29	1.29	· *	(0.07) 1.32	1.32	< *	(0.06)	1.32		(80.08)
Father's education				1.16	*	(0.07)										1.16	*	(0.08)
ion				1.18	*	(0.08)										1.19	*	(0.09)
Non-egalitarian							0.65	*	(0.00)							0.58	*	(0.14)
										1.10		(0.16)				0.93		(0.16)
Teacher experience										1.06		(0.04)				1.03		(0.04)
Female teacher										1.16		(0.19)				1.21		(0.21)
Learning helps										1.45	*	(0.23)				1.43	*	(0.27)
Evangelical student													0.98		(0.20)	1.01		(0.27)
Female evangelical stud	lent												1.02		(0.29)	1.27		(0.47)
~	1659			1316			1659			1241			1651			666		
Wald chi-square	46.8 3			60.8 2			56.5 0			36.7 0			45.9 0			54.42		

³ Various variables for religious beliefs, values tried, but these had no significant effect so they were not included in the final models.

Table 3 shows results from analyses using all of the above listed independent variables. These multivariate models were constructed using Hierarchical Linier Modelling. Because the dependent variable is a dummy assessing whether students aspire to complete a university education, logit models are used. The coefficients are displayed as odds ratios to ease interpretation. Any result that is greater than one indicates increased odds, whereas results less than one represent decreased odds.

Six different models are displayed in Table 3. The first is a base model that replicates the key findings in the bivariate analysis above. Here we see that girls at evangelical schools have significantly higher academic aspirations than others. This significance holds when controls are added. In fact, the odds ratios increase in the presence of other controls in successive models.

Model 1 also contains a grade variable, which is significant even when relevant controls are added. Though it is not possible to make a clear determination without longitudinal models, this finding could indicate that the longer students stay in school, the more influence the schools have on their higher educational aspirations. Of course the findings could also result from dropouts that might occur among those with lower aspirations. More needs to be done to examine this significant correlation.

Models 2, 3, and 4 individually assess the influence of independent variables that serve as indicators for the status attainment, blocked opportunity and social support theoretical frameworks. In Model 2 both father's and mother's education have a significantly positive effect on students' academic aspirations. This significance holds even in Model 6, which includes all independent variables, giving strong support to status attainment theorists' contention that students from higher SES families aspire for higher levels of education as a means to maintain the status position of their parents.

In Model 3, the non-egalitarian variable is significant, suggesting that students' aspirations might be inhibited by gender ideologies that do not affirm the importance of women's roles in either the private or the public realm. This variable remains significant in Model 6, demonstrating that the non-egalitarian attitudes are correlated with decreased aspirations even when relevant controls are added to the analysis.

Model 4, which tests the social support theories, provides little evidence to uphold it. While it is conceivable that other variables measuring parental and school support could be correlated with increased aspirations, the three variables employed in this study—teacher experience, teacher gender and parental homework help—are not significant. It is important to note that the 'learning helps' variable is significant, suggesting that students who believe in the value of education are more likely to pursue it at higher levels.

Finally, Model 5 adds an evangelical student and a female evangelical student variable to the analysis. These were included to see if there was something in particular about evangelicalism that might explain the increased aspirations in evangelical schools. Results for these variables were insignificant, suggesting that there is something specific about evangelical schools and not evangelicalism in general that contributes to the heightened academic expectations of their female students.⁴

Overall these findings support the status attainment model, which holds true even in a developing context like Guatemala. Students at higher grade levels have higher aspirations, as do those who believe that education provides some benefit for their lives. Two other significant findings include the result showing that female students in evangelical schools are much more likely than other students to aspire to a university education and the indication that non-egalitarian gender attitudes are negatively associated with academic aspirations.

V. Discussion

The results of this study point to a number of important issues that warrant further attention in the educational development community. First, as noted above, students in the Guatemalan private schools surveyed for this study aspire to finish university studies at astonishingly high rates—higher than those in most OECD countries. This result begs the question as to whether this is a phenomenon that is exclusively limited to private schools in Guatemala or if it is more widespread. Would these rates be as high in Guatemalan public schools? Would they be as high in other Latin American countries, or in developing nations throughout the world? As Anne McDaniel (2010) notes, very little research on educational aspirations has been conducted outside the United States and almost nothing has been done in the developing world. The surprisingly high levels of aspirations in this study suggest that much more needs to be done to understand trends in tertiary aspirations in developing countries and to consider their implications.

Furthermore, it is important to better understand why these students have such high aspiration rates. Answers put forth by previous studies in the West are at least partially supported by this research in a Latin American context. Scholarship dating back to the 1960s has established the importance of status attainment as a driver for academic aspirations and achievement in more developed countries. This study demonstrates that parents' educational status is also highly correlated with students' academic expectations, indicating that status transmission is also a concern in Guatemala and that education could be viewed as an important vehicle for status maintenance there as well.

While this study supports status maintenance theory, it cannot fully explain the extraordinarily high aspiration rates among children in these schools. Although the schools in this sample are private schools, they are by no means elite. On average, mothers of students in this sample have a middle school education and only 21% have any tertiary schooling. Father's average education is slightly above the middle school level, with 27% attaining some level of tertiary education. These education levels for parents do not explain the 75% tertiary aspiration rates among students. The two other aspirational theories (blocking and social support theories) were also partially supported by the results above, but again, they cannot fully explain the size of the rates.

Unfortunately, the last remaining major theoretical framework for explaining academic aspirations—neo-institutionalism—could not be tested in this study. However, the fact that attainment, blocking and social support theories provide inadequate explanations for the high educational aspirations of these Guatemalan students indicates that it would be worthwhile to test neo-institutional theory in this context. Much of neo-institutional theory is formulated at the macro level, relying on quantitative studies. More microand meso-level neo-institutional studies would be beneficial to see if global educational scripts that include an emphasis on tertiary education have indeed entered the classrooms of schools such as those in this study's sample and if so, to determine what impact these scripts are having on the students.

Next, in addition to these theoretical issues, this study also has a number of practical implications. More than 75% of students in this study indicate that they expect to complete a university degree. At the same time, only 8.5% currently enrol in universities. This wide gap between expectations and reality raises a number of important issues. First it suggests that, at least in Guatemala, more needs to be done to provide students with opportunities to achieve their academic goals. The Guatemalan higher educational structure is not adequate to meet student demand for good quality, low cost opportunities to get an education. The gap between aspirations and reality also highlights the potential for student frustration. How will students respond if they are encouraged to aspire to something that is virtually unattainable due to limited supply and high costs? What effects could arise from this dissatisfaction? Finally, the gap raises larger questions as to the advisability of fostering high expectations in countries such as Guatemala. Does it make sense to encourage students to pursue something that is likely out of reach? While higher education may be important in Western economies, is it essential in developing economies that may not even be able to support large numbers of jobs for university graduates? These are key development questions that need to be addressed in contexts where academic aspirations are so high.

Another practical outcome is the finding that students who believe that their education is beneficial to their lives are more likely to want to stay in school longer. This may seem obvious, but it is not widely addressed in the literature on academic aspirations. It also suggests that schools that want to foster high aspirations should give more attention to providing their students with a sense of the practical relevance of schooling for their lives.

Finally, this study set out to specifically compare different types of private schools to determine if there is a significant difference between them in academic aspirations, particularly for girls. The results indicate that when boys and girls are considered together, these private schools seem to do equally well; however, females in evangelical schools tend to have the highest aspirations of all the students. This finding that evangelical schools score highest in girls' aspirations is curious given the fact that evangelical schools have significantly lower levels of father and mother education, parental homework help, and female teachers than other types of schools. Evangelical schools also have significantly higher numbers of students who are non-egalitarian in their gender attitudes. All of these outcomes would generally suggest student aspirations, especially for Evangelical schools do tend to have more experienced teachers than other schools, but this is not a significant variable in any of the models. Other measures, such class size and teacher education, were tested but not included because they produced insignificant results. While data acquired for this current research provide no clear explanation for this phenomenon, it may be best explained by the Protestant Ethic (Weber, (1930) 2002).This Protestant ideal, which emphasizes individualism, self-discipline and initiative, is alive and (Sherman, 1997). Guatemala achievement and a calling in the world can best be achieved, for girls especially, through education, this may explain why evangelical schools do so much to encourage their girls to aspire to higher levels of education.

VI. Conclusion

This study breaks new ground by examining the role of religion and religious schools in particular in educational aspirations. It is one of a few studies that explore gender differences in aspirations and the only study to examine aspirations in a non-Western

⁴ Specific religious beliefs such as biblical literalism and the belief that Christ is returning soon were tested, but none of these were significant so they were excluded from the final models.

context. Though much more needs to be done to fully explore the implications of these new lines of research, the results do point to a number of significant findings that have implications for education and societal change around the world. The high rates of academic aspirations for boys, and especially for girls, point to the potential for growing demand for education in developing countries like Guatemala. They also suggest that private evangelical schools in some way contribute to this demand. The implications of these high aspiration rates are, as yet, unforeseeable, but given the gap between expectations and reality, they clearly merit further attention.

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The Psychological Resources of Terrorism According to French Philosopher André Glucksmann

By Dr. Nicolae Iuga & Dr. Laurentiu Batin

Western University Vasile Goldis, Romania

Abstract- The religious fundamentalist terrorism makes its presence felt yet again, in Europe as well in other parts of the globe. It is therefore important to find out what are its psychological resources. To this end, we have studied the thematic analyses written by the French specialist in political philosophy, André Glucksmann. The particularities of Glucksmann's research are the ironic-essayistic and the fact that he guides his conclusions after presenting fictional literary characters from the classical universal literature. It is our conclusion that, in such cases, the presentation of unique literary characters, representative for an idea, can be more relevant than the presentation of several empirical facts.

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The Psychological Resources of Terrorism According to French Philosopher André Glucksmann

Dr. Nicolae luga α & Dr. Laurentiu Batin σ

Abstract- The religious fundamentalist terrorism makes its presence felt yet again, in Europe as well in other parts of the globe. It is therefore important to find out what are its psychological resources. To this end, we have studied the thematic analyses written by the French specialist in political philosophy, André Glucksmann. The particularities of Glucksmann's research are the ironic-essayistic and the fact that he guides his conclusions after presenting fictional literary characters from the classical universal literature. It is our conclusion that, in such cases, the presentation of unique literary characters, representative for an idea, can be more relevant than the presentation of several empirical facts.

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I. Introduction

t may seem unusual that the feeling of hatred lay at the basis of all human relationships, from the simplest relations between individuals – interpersonal relations – to the more complex ones – relations between ethnic groupsand international relations at a global scale.

Therefore, Schopenhauer postulates the Will. Kant argued that the thing itself, correlative to the phenomenon, is impossible to know. "Schopenhauer tells us however that the thing itself is the Will"1. For example, our body is nothing but objectified will, the will to exist. And it isn't just our bodies, but also in the entire animal and plant kingdom, even the mineral one; they are all nothing else but the objectification of a hypostasized instance. In the mineral kingdom, the will manifests as magnetism and electricity, in the plant kingdom as tropisms and tactisms and in animals and humans as sexuality and a struggle for existence. As a metaphysical principle, such a will could have been presented as an impersonal force or energy, as a "vital impetus" as Bergson coined it later. However, Schopenhauer preferred to use the Will as "the descriptive term best known to us"2.

It was the samein the case of Freud, insofaras the psychoanalysiscompels us to go beyond the

Author α σ: Associate Professor, Social Sciences Departament, Western University Vasile Goldis. B-dul Revolutiei nr. 94 – 96, 310025, Arad Romania. e-mail: nicolaeiuga@yahoo.com

analysis technique of some psychological contents, to issues that are philosophical and principled in nature. In essays such as Beyond the Pleasure Principle or Civilization and its Discontents, Freud tackles not only the functioning of the mental activity, but has also stated his ambition to contribute to the "unlocking of life's enigma". Freud hoped to achieve this goal by presenting two fundamental forces of life, namely the instinct of life (Lebenstrieb) and the death instinct (Todenstrieb)³. The manifest, exteriorized governed by the principle of pleasure and necessity, which were known since ancient Greece, as "Eros" and "Anake"; but the hidden root of life is made up of the intertwining of two opposing and inseparable principles. which condition each other reciprocally - the instinct of life and that of death. This Freudian theory of instincts, developed in old age, surpasses the psychological significance, attaining an ontological dimension.

But can hatred be a universal life principle, unequivocally explaining – or at least primarily explaining – people's behavior? Is hatred a ubiquitous human presence? Is it a byproduct or is it innate? By adopting a highly exuberant, ironic and caustic style, André Glucksmann seems to give an affirmative answer. In one of his classic texts, Glucksmann unequivocally writes: "The thesis that I stand by here is that claiming that hatred exists, we've all encountered it. At the microscopic scale of individuals, as well as within large communities. The fervor to harass and destroy cannot be banished with skilled words"⁴.

Traditionally, it was argued that hatred as such, capital hatred does not exist. Destructive, criminal behaviors are explained by "circumstances". The gratuitous wickedness of an individual is placed in the charge of psychiatrists or psychologists. Everything is explained, everything is forgiven understood and all is forgiven.

For example, a pedophile might be considered a victim of older abuse, of an unhappy childhood. A thief or an assassin might invoke an urgent need for money, a rapist that he is the result of a precarious education,

¹ Frederick Copleston, The History of Philosophy, vol. VII, All Publishing House, Bucharest, 2008, p. 261

² Idem, p. 262

 $^{^{\}rm 3}$ Sigmund Freud, *Works*, vol. I, Scientifical Publishing House, Bucharest, 1991, p. 339 and the following.

⁴ A. Glucksmann, *Hate speech*, Humanitas Publishing House, Bucharest, 2007, p. 9.

an incestuous of promiscuity. The common feature of antisocial acts, hatred, is reduced to a variety of external causes, which some might claim precede it: poverty, humiliation, moral and physical misery, frustrations, offenses, misunderstandings, misfortunes. Although, in terms of terrorism, counter-arguments can also be found, the terrorist activity cannot be explained satisfactorily by the social misery they might be recruited from. For example, it has been noted that "the Basque Country is one of the most prosperous provinces"⁵ and, despite this, it is an inexhaustible source for terrorist activities. Similarly, Islamic terrorism is financed by some of the planet's wealthiest countries, such as Saudi Arabia, which financed Bin Laden's organization, as well as other fundamentalist ones which are active in Algeria and Europe. One might rather say that "the Islamic terrorism is the result of a religious obsession, unrelated

According to Glucksmann however, hatred exists as a psychological root, preceding the social causes of an antisocial behavior. It is comparable to the "display of the will to destroy, just for the sake of destruction"⁷. In Glucksmann's conception, Hidegger, Care is the innate determination and the only innate human "phenomenon", all others (understanding, anxiety, curiosity, ambiguity, emotional positioning etc.) directly deriving from Care⁸. Similarly, for Glucksmann Hatred seems to be the determination, the innate human emotion. In support his thesis, Glucksmann provides proof from the entire history of human spirituality, starting with ancient Greece.

to the causes of global poverty"6.

Since Homer and up till now, the ancient Greek civilization and the Latin one afterwards explored the souls of men and in the societies' mentality "the tenebrous, intimate workings of some destructive powers"9, called by different names from one age to another and from one civilization to the other, but all subordinate to the contemporary notion of hatred. Thus, in Homer's Iliad, the poet speaks from the very beginning of the fabled "anger" (mania) of Achilles, then of the furious madness of Aiax, describing in detail the unleashing of the most violent human passions, that "primary hatred which is so difficult to explain" 10. Things add up. King Agamemnon sacrifices Ifigenia, his daughter, to appease the gods and calm the opposing wind on the sea. This beginning, provoked by destiny and the gods, suffices for the number of manifestations of hatred and vengeance to begin. Clitemnestra, the mother of Ifigenia and Agamemnon's wife, overcome by

grief and hatred, will kill Agamemnon to avenge Ifigenia's death; afterwards, Orestes, Agamemnon's son, will murder Clitemnestra to avenge his father - and so on¹¹.

In order to illustrate his idea, Glucksmann analyses Medea's tragedy, as depicted by the roman writer Seneca¹². As a character of an ancient tragedy, Medea is a legendary witch from the Argonaut's cycle, daughter of the king of Colchis. When Jason, who went in search of the Golden Fleece, landed on the shores of Colchis, Medea fell in love with him. In order to help Jason obtain the Golden Fleece, Medea battles against the ferocious creatures guarding this valued item, and doesn't even hesitate killing her own brother, Absyrtos, when Jason is in danger. Afterwards, Jason and Medea take refuge in Corinth; they get married and have two sons, Mermeros and Pheres. However, after a while, Jason rejects Medea, so he may remarry, out of interest, Creusa, the daughter of Corinth's king, Creon. Humiliated, Medea offers her rival a chest with a poisoned robe and crown, which kill Creusa and burn set the royal palace on fire. But Medea's vengeance does not stop here. In order to inflict greater emotional trauma upon Jason, she kills her two sons by him, Mermeros and Pheres, in front of him - an outburst of hatred which greatly surpasses the vengeance caused by Jason's infidelity. This hatred becomes "affirmative", not "reactive" 13. This is what makes man superior to animals, in terms of hatred. An animal may also be provoked to violence, it can be riled up etc. and it is then when it becomes aggressive. But the animal will be reactive, it will react in accordance with the given circumstances, it will not be "affirmative", i.e. capable of hatred beyond the reasons given to it. Only man is capable of a passionately organized, gratuitous hatred, for a period of time coextensive with his own life - at least that's what one can conclude from Glucksmann's overall discourse. If Bergson had defined man via laughter¹⁴ and Huizinga via his ludic behavior¹⁵, then we could have stated that, in the case of Glucksmann, man is defined as an animal that can hate without a reason or beyond the reasons themselves.

Glucksmann's ad-hoc conducted analysis on Medea tragedy¹⁶ shows us phenomenology of hatred, a certain processuality of this terrible feeling's origin, by going through three main stages: (a) the pain, (b) the anger and (c) revenge. In this case, the pain (dolor) stands for self-mourning.

Jean-François Revel, The anti-American Obsession, Humanitas Publishing House, Bucharest, 2004, p. 99.

⁶ Idem.

⁷ A. Glucksmann, op. cit., p. 9.

⁸ Martin Heidegger, Being and Time, Humanitas Publishing House, Bucharest, 2003, p. 245-247.

⁹ A. Glucksmann, op. cit., p. 39.

¹⁰ Idem, p. 39.

¹¹ D.M. Pippidi, Variations of Classical Themes, Eminescu Publishing House, Bucharest, 1981, p. 105 and the following

¹² André Glucksmann, op.cit., p. 42 and the following.

¹³ *Ibidem*, p. 45.

¹⁴ Henri Bergson, *The Theory of Laughter*, Institutul European Publishing House, Iaşi, 1992, p. 24.

Johan Huizinga, Homo Ludens, Univers Publishing House, Bucharest, 1977, p. 70.

¹⁶ André Glucksmann, op. cit., p. 46 and the following.

Rejected and abusively stripped, Medea stopped being just a hateful woman in Seneca's tragedy, personifying hatred manifested as a woman. In these circumstances, Medea recalls all her unhappiness, all the beatings she endured, all the injustices that happened to her. Her husband, Jason, banished her, took her children and remarried. She had to leave empty-handed, abandoning everything, her home, her family, the city. She continuously thinks of the betrayal she was subjected to, fueling her suffering. It doesn't occur to her, not even for an instant, to leave after having negotiated certain monetary compensations, but keeps on gratuitously fueling her anguish. She transforms the injustices suffered by her, at the hands of others, into selfviolence. Pain and sorrow are taken to the ultimate threshold, until the loss of her social and individual identity by the heroine. Medea kills herself, symbolically, so she may be reborn under a different aspect, a vengeful one coming from beyond death.

The second element, Anger, is relentless, devastating and impersonal, "like a telluric catastrophe or the madness of a god" 17. The anger which the one overcome by pain turns against himself is now directed against someone else, as blind rage. The angry person imposes on the world his inner emptiness. Medea has committed crimes before - she betrayed, poisoned and committed fratricide - but all these were not driven by hate, but by the love she bore for Jason. Now, it's something different, hatred replaces love; now she doesn't wish to do something good for Jason, at the cost of removing others; now she only wants to do harm, because she wishes harm on others and nothing else. The hatred of the angry person reveals in fact the secret of their strength. The person who hates has no moral limits or prohibitions, but, at the same time, they speculate their opponents who continue exhibiting moral compunction. Appealing to Creon's compassion, Medea requests and obtains from him a one day respite before leaving the city, exactly the amount of time she uses to burn and murder. Thus, "the hatred driven person obtains an edge compared to the love driven persons, who can never spot pure hatred" 18. Hatred is more powerful than love. Love is not the prisoner of its object; the one who loves, loves something or someone, a woman, a child, fame or fortune. Instead, hatred is completely free of all ties, it is completely independent; it cares for nothing and nothing can hold it back when it means to do harm.

Finally, revenge itself is made disproportionate by hatred, in relation to the pain caused by the initial injustice, by Jason's betrayal for example, in the case of Medea. In ancient times, revenge was called *nefas*, when it was taken to paroxysm. The term *nefas* implied a lot more than a mere murder committed out of vengeance; it meant, on all levels – religious, moral,

juridical – a crime accompanied by such an unusual, infamous profanation, that it exceeded the competences of the courts and the penalties provided by the codes. All taboos are suspended, all ties to the city and family are abolished; there is no turning back. Mentally insane Roman emperors such as Caligula or Nero, have committed or at least mediated such infamous acts, of such a gratuitous cruelty, that they cannot be explained in a way other than having stemmed from pure hatred. Medea kills her own sons. Atreus kills the sons of his brother and then serves them to him, for dinner. Achilles defeats Troy in a war fought according to military combat rules, but after Achilles' death, Agamemnon wipes out all of Troy's inhabitants, in an act of unwarranted cruelty, stemmed solely from hatred.

Hatred is omnipresent and omnipotent. We can detect it everywhere, spanning over centuries and millennia, in other areas and civilizations. Lenin's example is conclusive. In 1981, there was a great famine in Russia, resulting in hundreds of thousands of deaths from among the peasants. The Church, representatives of the intellectuals, writers, priests, poets, students, representatives of the tsar, all of them initiate an impressive humanitarian campaign to help those affected by the famine. In the city of Samara, the young Lenin, who was not much older than 20 years of age, was the only one to vehemently condemn, in newspaper articles, this humanitarian initiative. Even since then, Lenin's purpose was aimed at producing an immense amount of hatred within the people, which would eventually lead to a generalized outbreak of violence. "To hell with this mercy! It would be better for those muzhiks to lose their illusions, to forsake all hope in God and the Tsar; it would be better for them to see their families starving to death" 19, because this would pave the way for the outbreak of a revolution. For a better understanding of things, hatred, as a universal human feature, should be particularized. We must obtain the explanation how the transition from hatred in general to specific cases of hatred is made, from hatred against people in general to hatred against someone in particular, from hatred against humans in general to hatred against Jews, to anti-Semitism. This Glucksmann's view on hatred, in a summarized presentation, by following Glucksmann's endeavor from literary analyses to historical facts.

At first glance, André Glucksmann's writings have two obvious features. First of all, aside from his debut book, *Le Discours de la guerre*, published in 1967, all his other books are written in an essayistic style, in the philosophical sense of the word; they are placed alongside the genre's best French works, since Montaigne and Montesquieu forth. They are books of the utmost originality, in terms of two features: the text's

¹⁷ Ibidem, p. 49.

¹⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 52.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 56.

literary quality and the use of irony, a vigorous, ubiquitous, sharp and corrosive irony, following a Socratic-Hegelian line. Undoubtedly, irony is a virtue of writing and a superior form of the manifestation of philosophical intelligence. But the texts of an ironic nature no longer fully showcase the argumentative apparatus of the idea; oftentimes their arguments are not explicit, but implicit, like wings grown on the interior, and the adverse argumentation is no longer entirely reiterated and disputed counter-argumentatively, in the open, but is cut down from the root, by irony turned into ridicule.

Irony, which, for the author, is precisely virtue and strength, represents a significant obstacle for person researching his work. Exemplifying with cases where irony was successfully employed is not sufficient for the research. According to its own rules, the scientific research implies an applied examination of the text and a rational understanding of the ideas and arguments in it, a critical evaluation of the ideas and the prediction of some consequences for the future cognition of the field; such demands are rendered unattainable because of the irony. The research requires the reiteration of certain narrative parts of the text which is the study subject, possibly the reproduction of some quotes, the possibility of in-depth, insightful and non-equivocal analyses. But irony cannot be narrated, cannot be didactically presented and then analyzed, without dulling out its wit. Irony has something ineffable and unique about it, like poetry. Therefore, the research of an ironic text should follow the mental reconstruction of the researched author's endeavor, in order to reach un-equivocal meanings, to emit ideas pertaining to the author; only then can the researcher divine these ideas and reformulate them in his own terminology, with inherent approximations and a less than accurate fidelity compared to the original. In short, researching ironic texts is much more difficult than researching the usual scientific texts, without the ironic quality.

Secondly, André Glucksmann also argues his political philosophy ideas with facts from the immediate reality, with examples of wars or terrorist acts, but, most of all, he argues his ideas with characters from classical literature. Thus, the mechanisms by which the frenzied hatred operates are illustrated through a detailed analysis of Seneca's ancient tragedy, *Medea*. War characterized by battle to the death is illustrated by Sophocle's*Antigone* and the nihilistic terrorism by Dostoievsky's*Demons*.

Why does Glucksmann resort to classical literature? Why would the analysis of a tragedy written two thousand and five hundred years ago be more conclusive than the contemporary historical event? This option is explained by Glucksmann himself in an extensive interview with French magazine "Le Point" Referring to contemporary facts might be more misleading than referring to classical literature. For

example, when it comes to hatred, it is known that there are sociologists and political analysts that claim the terrorists' hatred is caused by external factors, by poverty, oppression, humiliation. But experience has shown us that not all poor people, not all those suffering give in to hatred. In this manner, we can take one particular case of violence, based on which we can claim, in a lawyerly fashion, one idea or its opposite, and by doing so we generate endless and fruitless disputes that have no conclusion. On the contrary, we can notice that, in most cases, modern terrorism is not represented by a single, poor, ignorant and frustrated person, but rather an individual coming from Muslim countries but educated in the West; therefore, we're talking about a person whose family has considerable financial resources, who can afford to pay the high tuition fees of Western or American universities, as well as leading an expensive occidental lifestyle. Despite all this, these people still become terrorists, risking their own lives. Thus, the cause of social evil is not misery, but intrinsic human hatred. The modern terrorist is not a puppet whose will is bent by precarious pecuniary circumstance; he is an acknowledged criminal who enjoys killing.

That is why Glucksmann mainly resorts to classical literature, because it emphasizes human typologies, fictional characters more relevant than real people. Because - as Glucksmann himself states -"literature is a science of evil"21. Literature reveals the evil in man and exorcises him via the catharsis effect, which was observed even by Aristotle. By highlighting evil, literature is a doorway to knowing the evil in man, that evil which is not accidental but rather constitutive and perennial to man; therefore, literature is a "science of evil". Thus, in André Glucksmann's political philosophy books we will see characters from Sophocles. Seneca, Euripides, Montaigne, Shakespeare, Dostoyevsky, Chekhov, Beckett, Ionesco revived. These great writers are not only poets, but prophets of evil as well. They reveal what goes wrong in the human drama, what is painful, they see "the flowers of evil" better than others; they can decipher more easily than others the ill omens of fate. And the fate from ancient times has been replaced with politics (as Napoleon stated) in the modern era, followed by hedonism and manipulation in the postmodern age. Writers are a permanent reminder of the danger that lurks about, the living memory of the inhumane. Let's take two other examples, alongside the one of Medea, that we have previously presented, in Glucksmann's reading.

The second example would be Sophocles' Antigone— one of the most valuable literary works of

²⁰ Entretien avec Roger-Paul Droit, in "Le Point", no./jeudi 4 nov. 2004

ancient times²². The heroin was the daughter of Oedipus, king of Thebes, born of Oedip's incestuous love with his mother, Jocasta. She witnesses the fight between her two brothers, Eteocles and Polynices, who fight with all the bitterness and hatred they can muster, until they kill one another. Since both brothers died in battle, the city's throne is occupied by Creon, Jocasta's brother. The new king was, in fact, a hypocritical and brutal tyrant. He commands that a grand funeral be organized for Eteocles, a funeral fit for a defender of the city; as for Polynices, who marched with a foreign army against the city, he dictated that not even a simple funeral be held and that his body remain unburied which, according to Greek tradition, was a great crime. Antigone, on behalf of the moral conscience and of the blood bond with his brother, symbolically returns Polynice's body to the ground. When learning that she had disobeyed him, Creon goes mad with anger and condemns Antigone to death. Beyond the impressive moral complexity and beauty of the tragedy, we are left, for posterity, with two literary paradigms of hatred and limitless cruelty, inherent to man as such – the fratricidal paradigm of fight to the death and that of the cruelty with which a tyrant sentences to death a character who is the exponent of love and moral conscience. These paradigms are mainly exploited by Glucksmann in Le Discours de la guerre.

Finally, the third example, Dostoevsky's Demons, or better said the demonized, possessed by the devil, characters largely revived by Glucksmann, especially in Dostoievski à Manhattan and in La troisiè mort de Dieu. Dostoyevsky's novel is one of spiritual darkness, of anger and despair²³, of crimes committed in the name of political ideas, the author anticipating the 20th century, with its domination via the political ideology and via the lie regarding the religious faith and culture. Who are these "demons"? Well, up to a point, they are almost ordinary people: Verhovenski, Stavroghin, Kirillov or Satov, people who seriously question their faith in God or the lack thereof, people who have socialist, anarchist and nihilist discussions. Afterwards we discover their fanatical atheism and fierce anarchism. They seem to be emanating what will be known as "terrorist nihilism", a century and a half later. They oppose aristocracy, art and religion, the Holy Trinity which these worship being: atheism, science and revolution. Their leader, Piotr Stepanovici Verhovenski, "a killer by trait and a clow by vocation"24, is the prototype of the ideologist that will haunt the next century. Nikolai Stavroghin, a man of a high intelligence, like Ivan Karamazov, is an unfathomable abyss. He has, at one point, opportunities to repent and return to normal, but these roads are closed behind him because, as he states, he has already passed a certain "threshold of evil" from which there is no turning back.

Therefore, alongside the true paradigms of hatred from some of the ancient Greek tragedies, Medea or Creon, the tyrant from Antigone - we have Dostoyevsky's Stavroghin, in modern literature, a scary and nihilistic genius. He knows what freedom is, but he either denies or abuses it²⁵. He can distinguish between good and evil, but refuses to implement it. Stavroghin feels a certain satisfaction, a real one, a certain delight in committing a sin; he draws pleasure from being blasphemous and from self-pride. They will be his downfall, eventually. At first, Kirilov does not care whether he lives or dies. Then, he wishes to do the atheist demonstration: whoever shall overcome suffering and pain, will become God themselves - and then there will be no other God. This is the reasoning behind his suicide: to prove that God does not exist!

In conclusion, we believe it is true that, on the one hand, literature emphasizes the evil in man and exorcizes him via the "catharsis" effect, a fact noticed since Aristotle. For Aristotle (in Poetics, 1449b) katharsis ton pathematon - which literally meant "cleansing of sins" - meant that if we witness the theatrical enactment of a tragedy or if we read a literary work with a tragic topic in general, it will stir up in our soul two feelings, also called passions: mercy and fear, so that in this homeopathic way the soul may "cleanse" itself of these "sins". Why mercy and fear and not something else? Aristotle explains this in detail. In the tragic situation, the hero (the character) is punished by Destiny and dies without guilt. The hero is not killed because he, as a hero, would be evil; he is killed because Destiny is evil and unfair to him. So, the hero is categorically not evil, but it is intended for him to be at least like us, as sometimes he can be better than us. Therefore, in the face of tragedy, we will feel pity for the hero who is just like us, as we will feel fear of the hero who is better than us. Naturally, we feel pity for the one such as us. who dies without a fault and with no possibility of escaping. Fear is explained in another way. If someone who is better than us, deserved to die tragically, then what could we expect to deserve, we who are lesser than him?

However, on the other hand, in the approximately two millennia that have elapsed since the Greek tragedy to the modern novel, there have been some significant changes. Meanwhile, the place of antiquity's Destiny has been taken by Politics, in modern times, as Napoleon stated. In the theater of ancient times, the hero's destiny was a tragic, every time; in the modern novel, the tragic is just a particular case of the dramatic. The attribute of evil also shifts significantly from Destiny to the individual, to the human, to the character of the novel. We no longer have destiny's impersonal and necessary evil, but the personal and

Sophocles, *Theater*, EPL, Bucharest, 1969, p. 5 and the following.
 Silviu Man, *The Demons*, www.bookblog.ro (consulted on April, 2011).

 $^{^{24}}$ lon lanoşi, $\it Dostoievski,$ Teora Publishing House, Bucharest, 2000, p. 36.

²⁵ Silviu Man, *op.cit.*, idem.

contingent evil of a novel's hero. In literature, we no longer have only a cathartic function, but also an authentic "science of evil". We share Glucksmann's view, according to which, in some literary works, we have an authentic and useful cognition of evil and hatred, of the contemporary terrorist's profile.

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- (h) Brief Acknowledgements.
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- Make a decision if each premise is supported, discarded, or if you cannot make a conclusion with assurance. Do not just dismiss a study or part of a study as "uncertain."
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- You may propose future guidelines, such as how the experiment might be personalized to accomplish a new idea.
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- Try to present substitute explanations if sensible alternatives be present.
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- Recommendations for detailed papers will offer supplementary suggestions.

Approach:

- When you refer to information, differentiate data generated by your own studies from available information
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Discussion	Well organized, meaningful specification, sound conclusion, logical and concise explanation, highly structured paragraph reference cited	Wordy, unclear conclusion, spurious	Conclusion is not cited, unorganized, difficult to comprehend
References	Complete and correct format, well organized	Beside the point, Incomplete	Wrong format and structuring



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