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MORAL MEANINGS OF COMMUNITY SERVICE LEARNING: AN EAST-WEST COMPARISON

Monirith Ly¹

ABSTRACT: This paper is based on my dissertation (Ly, 2013), an analytical case study sought to understand and build theories from Paññāsāstra University of Cambodia (PUC) educators' visions in supporting and implementing community service learning (CSL), the moral meanings of CSL experiences for the participating undergraduate students, and the CSL experiences that facilitated the volunteers' moral meaning-making. The study found that PUC educators' shared purpose was the cultivation of students' kindness to help needy Cambodian communities. Moreover, PUC CSL volunteers considered community service as an act of kindness instead of civic responsibility, an act of solidarity and connectedness versus community responsibility, and an act of social change through the cultivation of kindness in the hearts of other people rather than structural change. Furthermore, PUC CSL cultivated in volunteers such Buddhist ethics as *brahma-vihara* (goodwill, compassion, empathetic joy, and equanimity), *caga* (generosity), *amisa-dana* (donation), *dhamma-dana* (sharing knowledge and advice), *pañca-sila* (the five precepts), and *kataññu* (gratitude, especially to parents). The Buddhist ethics are contrasted and compared to Kohlberg's and Gilligan's ethics of justice and care. The experiences that notably facilitated volunteers' moral meaning-making were community didactic drama and such symbolic activities as participation in *kataññu* (parental gratitude) ritual, elderly gratitude ritual, and collaborative cooking. Theater has been used in other parts of the world to educate communities, but the utilization of culturally symbolic processes is new to the service-learning literature.

A large-scale review of literature in the field by Eyler, Giles, Stenson, and Gray (2001) has shown that service-learning has positive effects on college students' sense of social responsibility and commitment to service. However, Shaddock-Hernández (2006) pointed out, "little research has been conducted viewing the educational impact of this pedagogy on diverse student populations. The majority of the scholarship focuses on the experiences of white middle-class students ..." (p. 67). No research has looked into any Cambodian practice of service-learning. The outcomes of service-learning for Cambodian university students are unknown.

Purpose of the Study

The main purpose of this study is to explore how service-learning is enacted and experienced in the Cambodian context, in which 97% of the population were Buddhists (ECLAC/CELADE, 2010), and how service-learning develops undergraduate students' concerns and stimulates action for underprivileged communities.

Research Questions

The main research questions of this study are the following:

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1. What were Paññāsāstra University of Cambodia (PUC) administrators' and faculty members' visions in supporting and implementing community service learning (CSL)?
2. What were the moral meanings of CSL experiences for the participating undergraduate students?
3. What CSL experiences facilitated the volunteers' moral meaning-making?

Definition of Terms

Definitions of service-learning vary (Eyler & Giles, 1999), but Ehrlich (1996) broadly defined it as “the various pedagogies that link community service and academic study so that each strengthens the other” (p. xi). Likewise, the PUC Center for Community Service Learning (n.d.) defines community service learning as a program or teaching method:

... that provides opportunity to students to practice what they have learned in the classroom and to apply the theory in the real world by working in their community and analyze the problem with practical thinking. After doing the service students are suggested to do the reflection on the activities that they have done in the community. (p. 1)

The word “morality” is translated in Khmer as *sela-dhor*, defined by the official Khmer Dictionary (Buddhist Institute, 2009) as “manners, order” or “advice to do good deeds.” To clarify the Khmer definitions while remaining open to the research participants' perspectives, the term “moral” was defined as “doing good deeds for the good of oneself or others.” In this definition, “the good of oneself” does not mean selfishness; on the contrary, it refers to an individual's freedom from present life's worldly and, in the Buddhist belief, after-life's punishments by avoiding socially harmful acts. “The good of oneself” can be considered accumulation of *bon* (Buddhist merit) for a good or better life in the present or next incarnation. To collect *bon*, one can *twer bon* (perform rituals with monks) and *twer dana* (give material or immaterial donations to needy people). However, any action the research participants considered good for themselves or others, in the Buddhist sense or otherwise, was analyzed. The definition of “moral” also covers civic responsibility, and the closest Khmer translation of “civic” is citizen of a country; therefore, the use of the term “civic” is limited in this study.

Literature Review

Firstly, each of the major service-learning types being practiced and discussed in the service-learning literature incorporates a moral or civic purpose. The purposes offer a framework for discussing PUC educators' visions of their CSL models and the meanings made PUC CSL students. In addition, moral development outcomes indicated by service-learning research are discussed. Secondly, Kohlberg's and Gilligan's orientation theories provide a basis for understanding the moral orientations of the Cambodian CSL students.

Service-Learning Literature

This section discusses major moral and civic purposes of service-learning, the lack of service-

learning and service-learning research in Cambodia, and moral development outcomes of service-learning.

Moral and civic purposes of service-learning. Moral and civic purposes of the service component of service-learning can be divided into philanthropy or charity, social change or justice, and community responsibility. Each is described below.

Service as philanthropy or charity. The philanthropic tradition of service-learning is characterized by its political neutrality in developing professionals with intelligent self-determination (Abel, 2004). Morton's (1995) college student survey found, "Charity is ... a recognition of [the students'] obligation to help, and an expression of their recognition that our society affords them very few opportunities to make a contribution" (p. 25). The supporting survey items included helping or providing direct service to someone less fortunate, fulfilling community needs, and making a difference. Moely, Furco, and Reed's (2008) questionnaire items under Charity Preference were "become involved in helping individuals," "helping those in need," "making a major difference in a person's life," and "working to give others the necessities that they lack" (p. 39).

Service as action for social change or social justice. The civic engagement approach aims for active local and regional civil societies necessary for strong democracy by fostering students' understanding of social issues and equipping them with democratic skills for social change (Watson, 2004). Hoppe (2004) defined "social change" as "the impetus to address the ills of society through addressing systemic causes" (p. 139). Cipolle (2010) endorsed Colby and colleagues' definition of "social justice" in terms of "social change and public policies that increase gender and racial equality, end discrimination of various kinds, and reduce the stark income inequalities that characterize this country and most of the world" (p. 7).

Service as communitarian, civic or social responsibility. In the communitarian tradition, people are assumed to be social beings, and the focus is building ties and responsibility to the community (Codispoti, 2004). In a comparative analysis, Hatcher and Erasmus (2008) reported that the main goal of service-learning in the United States is "civic responsibility" linked to individual student learning outcomes (pp. 54-55). Yet, the U.S. service-learning literature uses "civic responsibility" and "social responsibility" almost interchangeably without clearly defining and differentiating them.

Literature on the purposes of service and the (American) National and Community Service Act of 1990 referred to "social responsibility" as "sustained involvement in community life" (Giles & Eyler, 1994, p. 330). Predictors of social responsibility include personal efficacy, a helpful attitude and commitment, and a less judgmental and more empathetic understanding of people and their problems (Eyler, Giles, & Braxton, 1997; Giles & Eyler; Rice & Brown, 1998; Vogt, Chavez, & Schaffner, 2011).

Service-learning in Cambodia. Sen's (2008) study of college student civic engagement in Cambodia concluded that educational institutions play one of the smallest roles in encouraging students to volunteer for non-profit groups or organizations. He pointed to the general lack of service-learning in Cambodian higher education. In 2009, PUC and California State University,

Fullerton organized a Southeast Asia Service-Learning Institute attended by four other Cambodian universities (Kim-Han, 2009). It is unknown whether those four universities established any service-learning program afterward. PUC, on the other hand, has been implementing undergraduate service-learning since 2002.

Moral development outcomes of service-learning. Research on moral development as an outcome of service-learning focuses on moral reasoning, and “development” refers to reaching higher developmental or maturity stages measured by judgment in moral dilemmas rather than the process by which individuals develop their morality. Boss (1994) and Gorman, Duffy, and Heffernan (1994) found service-learning students’ moral reasoning score increased, contrasted to non-service-learning students, in the Defining Issues Test. Cram (1998) found a similar result using pre- and post-surveys. In contrast, other researchers did not find significant gains in moral reasoning (Bernacki & Jaeger, 2008; Fenzel & Leary, 1997; Greene, 1997; Leary, 1994; Pratt, 2001). Bernacki and Jaeger went a little further to identify students’ moral orientation (justice versus care) and concluded that service-learning did not significantly affect, within one semester, students’ moral development and orientation but that service-learning students indicated in a Likert-scale questionnaire they had become more compassionate and sensitive.

Moral Orientation Theories

Kohlberg’s six-stage moral reasoning theory once dominated the moral development field (Brabeck & Shore, 2003). The stages were harm avoidance, reciprocity, family and community obedience, societal obedience, and fairness (Brabeck & Shore). Looking to develop a moral development theory that better encompassed women’s moral decision making, Gilligan conducted research interviews with women having gone through moral dilemmas on abortion and derived a three-stage moral development theory. At the *survival* level, the women had to give in to the everyday demands of her life. At the second level, women sacrificed their own needs in exchange for love or acceptance. At the top level of the ethic of care, *the morality of nonviolence* existed when women sought a decision that minimized hurt after consideration of sensitivity, compassion, *and* personal needs (e.g. ambition) (Gilligan, 1994).

Methodology

Merriam’s (1998) analytical case study methodology was used. Data were collected toward the end of one semester from 39 participants by interviewing, observation, and document-mining. The one-on-one and focus-group interviews were conducted with 23 active undergraduate CSL students, four professors of five CSL courses, the PUC Founder/President, and a CSL Program (CSLP) administrator. The interview data were transcribed and coded in HyperResearch 3.5 software. Finally, theories were developed.

Findings

As a result of the educators’ implementation of their visions, CSL students developed various moral meanings of their CSL experiences. They had moved out of ignorance and developed new understanding of the Cambodian society. They developed the positive attitudes of compassion,

goodwill, empathetic joy, and equanimity. They also developed new views of their societal role: that the Cambodian society needed their help, that they had solidarity in helping communities, that they were “lightening the government’s burden,” and that they wanted to give even more assistance to communities when they earned an income. One volunteer changed her career goal to teaching so she could continue to share knowledge with others. Another volunteer resolved to lead a moral livelihood that neither exploits nor negatively impacts others. Other moral meanings were reported in terms of changing personal behaviors and taking actions to help others. Several volunteers changed their lifestyles and became more hard-working. Most volunteers viewed their community service as contribution to *helping* (rather than “serving,” associated with a lower status) needy Cambodians in terms of material giving, knowledge sharing, and educational aspiration. In addition to helping communities themselves, volunteers motivated their families and other college students to join the efforts. They also encouraged the communities to help themselves and others.

CSL volunteers developed moral meanings as they witnessed and sympathized with the community’s hardship, gained more facts about the community, reflected on their own lives as more privileged than the lives of the struggling people they had just learned about, found something to be unforgettable, and felt proud of their social work achievements. Positive experiences such as friendly welcome, enjoyment, and appreciation by the community made volunteers feel their time and effort were well spent.

Furthermore, volunteers’ moral meaning-making of their CSL experiences was facilitated by participation in community dramas and such symbolic activities as performing parental and elderly gratitude rituals, using ritual and contests as educational tools, constructing a house, and cooking the “solidarity soup.” Rituals brought people closer and redefined love and respect. Building an elderly woman a house was more than giving her proper shelter; it gave her the respect she deserved and reminded students not to neglect their own parents. A soup and its making could symbolize cooperation.

Discussion

The PUC Founder envisioned the restoration of “the Khmer tradition of volunteerism,” which focused on generous acts of “helping others less fortunate at the moment,” especially destitute people. This purpose resembles the philanthropic tradition of service-learning, characterized by its political neutrality (Abel, 2004). However, the Khmer philanthropic tradition can be understood by the Buddhist notions of *caga* (generosity) and *dana* (charitable giving). Khmer people often combine the two terms as *borichag-tian*, which means their giving comes from kindness, without exploiting the act. PUC student volunteers applied both forms of Buddhist charitable giving: *amisa-dana* (material giving) by giving school supplies to children, building a house for an elderly woman without proper shelter, and buying household necessities for families living in extreme poverty; and *dhamma-dana* (immaterial giving) by sharing with children and adults in various communities some knowledge and the motivation to learn and help others. The volunteers viewed their giving as a way to help the individuals or communities. This dominant perspective means they were oriented toward activities in what Morton (1995) called the charity paradigm. There is a clear match between the PUC Founder’s philanthropic vision and the volunteers’ orientation toward charitable acts. According to Moely and colleagues (2008), such

a match helps volunteers learn and change. In addition to course credit and work experience, the volunteers spoke about their *tik-chet* (heart of unobligated kindness), instead of “civic responsibility” or “social responsibility” commonly found in the service-learning literature, as a motivation for helping less fortunate individuals and communities.

The U.S. communitarian purpose of service-learning is to build ties and responsibility to the community (Codispoti, 2004). The PUC Founder and the Khmer Studies and History (KSH) professor shared the vision of a cohesive Cambodian society with mutual love and respect between people in all classes and heartfelt connections between educated and poor communities. While the spirit of community and solidarity had deteriorated in the Cambodian society (Kamm, 1998), the KSH professor and his students spoke about the Khmer solidarity they had and were promoting in the communities they visited. While mistrust had plagued the Cambodian society (Morris, 2000), PUC volunteers felt a sense of what the PUC Founder called “weld[ed] *tik-chet* (heart of kindness)” or “heart connection” with communities while developing the attitudes of *karuna*, *metta*, and *mudita*. Like other volunteers in the U.S. service-learning literature, the Cambodian students felt compassionate (*karuna*) for the disadvantaged people they met. Whereas service-learners in a racially stratified society are often described as having become more *tolerant* of people of other races, volunteers in a homogeneous and traditionally classist society developed *metta* (a friendly, loving attitude) toward communities of the same Khmer identity they had viewed negatively. *Metta* helped the volunteers enjoy the interactions with the people they served, thus bringing about the joy for the happiness of others or *mudita*. In short, both U.S. and Cambodian communitarian perspectives build community ties. However, the former emphasizes responsibility to the community, whereas the latter fosters solidarity and heartfelt connections between people of all classes.

Rather than the Western notion of social change as political, systemic, or structural reform, many PUC educators and volunteers talked about a Buddhist type of social change: changing the people around them by planting the seeds of kindness to help society. The PUC Founder spoke to faculty, staff, and students about his humanitarian visions. The former PUC President was also supportive of CSL. CSL faculty and staff brought the visions to reality by paving the way for students to witness and help disadvantaged communities. As the volunteers were helping young children and youths, they infused the virtue of helping others in the younger generations. They also spread the seeds of generosity to their friends and other college students by encouraging them to give donations and volunteer. Some volunteers instilled in their unenthusiastic families the value of helping underprivileged communities. To summarize, the PUC leaders were sowing the seeds of change in the University community, who planted the seeds further in other communities. This chain reaction keeps multiplying the number of Cambodians enthusiastically sharing their resources—time, money, knowledge, educational aspiration, and kindness—with those “less fortunate at the moment.” This strategy is, in the Founder’s words, “not making [political] noise, but effective” in changing the Cambodian society.

PUC CSL cultivated in volunteers a variety of Buddhist ethics. Firstly, it developed *brahma-vihara*, a set of four attitudes: *karuna* (compassion), *metta* (goodwill), *mudita* (empathetic joy), and *upekkha* (equanimity). As discussed above, community experiences nurtured in CSL volunteers the first three attitudes. Moreover, the volunteers focused on positively changing

people rather than being critical of the system and stressful for trying to change it overtly. Therefore, I believe they have also developed *upekkha*, equanimity that provides mental balance that helps one focus on what she or he is able to do to lighten the suffering of others (Bhikkhu, 2011).

Secondly, the PUC volunteers practiced both forms of *dana*: giving materials (*amisa-dana*) to and sharing knowledge and inspiration (*dhamma-dana*) with communities. They did so out of *caga*, as evident by some interviewees' assurance of their *tik-chet* (heart of kindness) and socially beneficial use of their money and time.

Thirdly, PUC CSL made several volunteers more adherent to *pañca-sila* (the five precepts), especially abstaining from lying; killing any living being; adopting any exploitative, harmful, or wasteful livelihood; and stealing. One student said she had stopped lying. Another reported having stopped killing animals, as she had used to for cooking. She also resolved to seek an honest livelihood that neither exploits nor negatively impacts others. A few volunteers did not waste their allowances, income, or food anymore; instead, they saved the money for their community work. When group leaders raised funds, they ensured financial transparency by presenting new recipients at the fundraising event and showing videos of people receiving past donations.

Fourthly, many students have reflected on their parents' sacrifice and become more respectful and helpful to their parents. Having been exposed to communities living in poverty, volunteers became more appreciative of everything their parents had provided them with. Through the community experiences and the *kataññu* (parental gratitude) ritual, they learned to show thankfulness to their parents, such as helping in the house, studying hard, and reducing unbeneficial activities.

Kohlberg's ethic of justice focuses on the protection of individuals' rights (Nunner-Winkler, 1994). In contrast, the Buddhist notion of justice is about the consequences of good or bad deeds and the causes of privilege or the lack thereof that apply to everyone as guidance for individuals' actions for the good of themselves. This is the law of *kamma*—you will get what you do, in this lifetime or the next and in between. To avoid bad deeds, a layperson needs to understand and personally adopt a minimum of five precepts (*pañca-sila*).

“An ethic of care constitutes a view of self, relationships, and social order that may be incompatible with the emphasis on individual rights that is so predominant in Western, liberal, democratic societies” (Tronto, 1994, p. 522). On the contrary, the care ethic is compatible with a Buddhist society. First, *brahma-vihara* (the four sublime attitudes) resembles Gilligan's ethic of care at the highest level. Building *karuna* (compassion) and *metta* (goodwill) toward others, the students felt the need to take action to help the needy people. As Nunner-Winkler (1994) summarized Gilligan's ethic of care, “the most eminent goals of the ethic of care are the wish to care for and help others, to meet obligations and responsibilities, a concern for others and feelings of compassion, a responsibility to discern and alleviate trouble in this world” (p. 262). “The wish to care for others” resembles *metta*, and “a concern for others and feelings of compassion” is *karuna*. The highest level of the care ethic is nonviolence (Gilligan, 1994) as one finds “the balance between caring for the self and caring for others” (Tronto, p. 518). This is

strikingly similar to *upekkha* (equanimity), which PUC volunteers acquired from the CSL models that did not put them at political risk or give them mental distress while they were helping others. Actually, they were happy to see the grateful faces of the people whose needs were met. As they shared the joy of others, the students developed *mudita* (empathetic joy).

Second, Nunner-Winkler (1994) related charity to Gilligan's ethic of care. Therefore, the Buddhist ethic of sharing (*caga* and *dana*) qualifies as an ethic of care. PUC volunteers learned to psychologically depart from their possessions (*caga*) and give them to people who need them most (*amisa-dana*). Out of generosity (also *caga*), they shared knowledge and inspiration (*dhamma-dana*) with people in many communities.

Furthermore, performing a *bon* (*kammic* merit) ritual can be considered an act of care. PUC students performed the *kataññu* (parental gratitude) ritual to their parents and the elderly gratitude ritual to non-relatives (two *bon* rituals) because they cared about the older adults who needed love from them.

Kerr (1981) reported that in Africa educators had begun to utilize the performing arts to educate adults (p. 145). Similarly, it is common to find adult educational films and group performances on Cambodian television broadcasts. Some PUC CSL volunteers directed or acted in community didactic dramas that reached the heart of the audience. Still, Kerr warned that the educational effectiveness of theater required the application of "a full range of dramatic skill, intellectual complexity, psychological depth, and emotional resonance" rather than simple "second-rate" quality (p. 155).

Amann (2003) defined *affective learning* as knowledge acquisition or life decision "as a result of paying attention to and honoring our feelings and emotions" (p. 6). By this definition, a PUC CSL volunteer affectively learned to lead a more moral life. In a didactic theater, she acted as a soul receiving tortures in *niraya* (hell for temporary torture) after breaching the Buddhist precepts in the human lifetime: "I acted as falling into a hot oil pan miserably and being whipped." The acting must have made her emotionally feel the heat of boiling oil and the pain from being whipped so much that she decided not to risk doing anything that would possibly lead to such post-death tortures of her soul: "I've never been there; it was so miserable just acting it." Similarly, Ward, Mills, and Anderson (2013) found that acting in a community drama in England had strong personal effects on first-time actors/actresses.

The KSH professor utilized culturally symbolic processes, such as rituals and collaborative cooking, in cultivating his students' morality. The rituals brought the participating students, their parents, and senior citizens closer emotionally, and possibly spiritually. The same can be said about those volunteers who made the "solidarity soup" together. The ritual and soup-making experiences relate to one of Tisdell's (2003) assumptions of spirituality as they signify the Khmer spirit of mutual love and solidarity. Each participant of the rituals and cooking went through a *symbolic experience*, which I define as a moment of feeling heartfelt connected to other people through a symbolic process. Using Heron's (1996) notions of *primary* and *secondary meanings*, a symbolic experience helps service-learners construct primary moral meanings before they describe the meanings linguistically.

Conclusion

As the PUC educators envisioned, their volunteers considered community service as an act of kindness, development of solidarity and heartfelt connections, and action to cultivate kindness in the Cambodian society. PUC CSL volunteers considered community service as an act of kindness rather than civic or social responsibility commonly found in the service-learning literature. Whereas the American communitarian stance of service-learning highlights responsibility to the community (Codispoti, 2004), the Cambodian view promotes solidarity and heartfelt connections among and between educated and underprivileged people. The distinction between the American and the Cambodian views of working for social change is that the former critically proposes structural change while the latter works within the system to cultivate kindness in people's hearts.

One theoretical implication of these differences is that the terminology associated with service-learning in the United States may not be interpreted and internalized well by people in other countries. As postmodernists contend, "Language inevitably and inherently is built on the assumptions and worldview of the social group that has constructed it and the culture of which it is part" (Denzin & Lincoln, as cited in Patton, 2002, p. 100). Beyond language, however, the design of service-learning models for other political and cultural contexts requires consideration of those contexts. For instance, the American team that designed the program for the Southeast Asian Service-Learning Institute in 2009 was cautious not to impose American values or processes onto the cultures of the participants from different countries; thus, the trainers decided to share "the philosophy and foundation behind service-learning, why it works in the U.S. and how it could be used in Southeast Asian institutions of higher education" (Kim-Han, 2009, p. 2).

When adapted, service-learning works well in the social context heavily influenced by Buddhism. CSL cultivated in the Cambodian students such Buddhist ethics as *brahma-vihara* (goodwill, compassion, empathetic joy, and equanimity), *caga* (generosity), *amisa-dana* (donation), *dhamma-dana* (sharing knowledge and advice), *pañca-sila* (the five precepts), and *kataññu* (gratitude, especially to parents). The discussion of Buddhist moral development took a turn from the dominance of measuring moral reasoning as indicators of moral development in service-learning.

With regard to moral orientations, the Buddhist ethic of justice (the *kammic* law and *pañca-sila*) differs from Kohlberg's emphasis on individual rights in that it defines good or bad consequences, across lifetimes, of individuals' good or bad deeds. Yet, the Cambodian CSL students were much more oriented toward the Buddhist ethics of *brahma-vihara* (the four sublime attitudes) and *caga-dana* (generosity-charity) dyad, which are strikingly similar to Gilligan's ethic of care, especially the top level called *the morality of nonviolence*. Beyond Gilligan's theory, *bon* (*kammic* merit) rituals provide participants with opportunities to express love and care for their families and non-relatives. The explanations for the students' orientation toward care are that the Buddhist ethic of care is more practical than the Buddhist ethic of justice and that the care ethic was more promoted by PUC educators, especially the Founder. In a predominantly Buddhist society, a service-learning model oriented to a care ethic is more compatible than one oriented to a justice ethic.

As practiced by community educators in some other parts of the world, some PUC volunteers used didactic dramas to educate communities. It turned out that drama could educate not only the audience but also the performers as evident by a volunteer's *affective learning* from the drama she performed. This study contributes to adult and community education literature by providing an example of the use of drama as a powerful way to educate both communities and performers on moral issues. In addition, it brings up the utilization of didactic theater in service-learning.

This study brought cultural symbolism into the theoretical discussion of service-learning. The *symbolic experiences* and the *primary meanings* associated with culturally symbolic processes, such as rituals and collaborative cooking, were unforgettable to the service-learners; thus, the use of cultural symbols in service-learning facilitates students' moral meaning-making.

Although this study has found junior and senior students' commitment to community service since their freshman year, a follow-up study on volunteer commitment to community service after graduation would uncover long-term effects of CSL on participants. Also, long-term effects of volunteer assistance to communities are very important to know. The attitudes of students' families, especially parents, toward CSL can be a topic for study. It is vital to understand faculty attitudes toward CSL if PUC or any other educational institution would like to motivate faculty to embed CSL in their courses. The educational effects of popular drama on audience and the volunteers who organize and act in it are promising and ought to be researched further. Finally, spiritual development and the use of cultural symbols in service-learning should be studied in depth.

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