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# Table of Contents

**Biography of Dr. Ronald E. McNair** .......................................................................................................................... 1

**Introduction**  
Dr. Samuel A. Attoh .................................................................................................................................................. 2

**McNair Program Staff** ............................................................................................................................................... 3

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**2013 McNair Research Articles**

**Determination of Phase II Metabolites in Chicago Surface and Wastewater**  
Florence Adole ...................................................................................................................................................... 4

**Judges’ Efforts Toward Detention Reduction**  
Yvonne Cardenas & Vivian Frutos .......................................................................................................................... 8

**Partnering For Social Change: Using Pay For Success Initiatives And Expanding Social Impact Investing**  
Edgar Cruz ........................................................................................................................................................... 14

**The Impact of Perceived Discrimination and Stigma Consciousness on Chronic Stress in African American Couples**  
Sotonye Hart ....................................................................................................................................................... 24

**New African Social Media**  
Antoinette Isama .................................................................................................................................................. 28

**Stigma Consciousness and the Effects of Sexism on Women and Confiding in their Partner**  
Monica Kulach ...................................................................................................................................................... 33

**Why Does the Gender Earnings Gap Exist in Self-Employment in the United States?**  
Madeline L’Esperance ......................................................................................................................................... 38

**The Effects of Geographical and Meteorological Conditions on Air Pollution in Beijing**  
Jorge Luis Meraz ................................................................................................................................................... 44

**Likelihood of Sharing: Perceived Discrimination and Implicit Self-esteem in African-American Couples**  
Melissa Orozco ....................................................................................................................................................... 49

**End of Days: The “Puerto Rican Riots” of 1971**  
Pedro Regalado .................................................................................................................................................... 54
Transnational Identities of Undocumented Mexican Bilingual Youth
Carlos Robles..................................................................................................................59

The Catholic Church and Latin American Immigration: Viewing Latin American immigration with a Theological Lens
Grace Trujillo..................................................................................................................65

Exploring Oxygen Escape Pathways in Clam Dimeric Hemoglobin Using Molecular Dynamics Simulations
Kevin Trujillo..................................................................................................................71

Violence Exposure & Mood Among Latino Middle School Students
Jefferson Uriarte...............................................................................................................75

Italian Eritrea 1935-1941: The Intersection of Gender and Racial Hierarchies in Italian Fascist Colonial Society
Sebastian Villa..................................................................................................................79

Conceptual Art: Graffiti and the Urban Environment
Giselle Villatoro..............................................................................................................86

The Impact Of Democratization On The Formulation And Implementation Of African Foreign Policy: Case Study Of Ghana
Hilton Adolinama............................................................................................................90

Are Pten/- and Fak/- MA9- Leukemic Cells More Sensitive to Anti-Leukemic Drugs?
Rafael Gutierrez..............................................................................................................93

Catholicism, Human Rights, and Women: A Comparative Study on the Catholic Church in El Salvador and Peru
Linette Mejia....................................................................................................................98

The Effectiveness of School-Based Interventions for Treating Trauma in Schools
Janet Ocampo................................................................................................................106

Primary Education in Northern Uganda
Timothy Rose................................................................................................................112
“Whether or not you reach your goals in life depends on how well you prepare for them and how badly you want them. You’re eagles! Stretch your wings and fly to the sky.” - Dr. Ronald E. McNair

Ronald McNair was born in 1950 in a small town of Lake City, South Carolina, in a family of an auto repairman and an elementary school teacher.

He graduated with honors from Carver High School in his hometown and enrolled into North Carolina A&T University, from which he graduated magna cum laude with a B.S. in Physics. In 1976, he accomplished a Ph.D. in Physics at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), during which he studied laser physics with many authorities in the field, and performed some breakthrough developments in that area. In 1978, he was selected by NASA as an astronaut candidate, completed a 1-year training program and qualified for an assignment as a mission specialist astronaut on Space Shuttle flight crews. He logged a total of 191 hours in space before the 1986 explosion of Space Shuttle Challenger that took his life and the lives of five other astronauts.

Becoming an astronaut in the United States space program is a major accomplishment for anyone, let alone an African-American born in mid-20th century in a small poor rural town, but setting high standards and overcoming obstacles was part of life's journey for Ronald McNair.

Dr. McNair was not only an astute scientist, he was also an accomplished saxophonist, black belt in Karate, and earned several awards in his lifetime. He recognized the importance of a good education and the impact it could have on an individual's life, and he encouraged young people to prepare for the future and get their education. He spent many hours encouraging individuals from minority and low-income backgrounds to set the highest standards for themselves.

Sometime after Dr. McNair’s demise, Illinois Senator Paul Simon introduced a bill to create a program in his memory. In 1989, the U.S. Congress provided funding for the Ronald E. McNair Post-baccalaureate Achievement Program in recognition of his accomplishments. The McNair Scholars Program is designed to increase the number of low-income, first-generation and underrepresented minority college students who pursue and complete doctoral degrees and is dedicated to excellence in teaching, research, service, and practice.

From left to right: Astronaut candidates Ronald McNair, Guion Bluford, and Frederick Gregory
INTRODUCTION

I would like to extend my congratulations to Loyola’s McNair Scholars for embarking on a journey of critical reflection and discernment about pressing research questions that reflect scientific challenges, the human condition, and pressing societal needs. Also, my thanks to all the faculty mentors who collaborated with our McNair Scholars on some thought-provoking research projects that contribute to the advancement of knowledge.

Research collaborations of this nature provide opportunities for our undergraduates to develop reflective thinking, analytical reasoning, and team-building skills that are so necessary in contributing towards a better understanding of the complexities inherent in our communities. Such partnerships help build a community of scholars that will be tomorrow’s leaders in developing new and impactful knowledge, shaping cutting-edge technologies, and designing creative solutions to real-world problems.

More importantly, I hope our Scholars take to heart the integral aspects of research integrity that promote ethical and responsible conduct in research. These include responsible authorship, appropriate management of data, ethical treatment of human and animal subjects, and the avoidance of scientific misconduct and conflicts of interest.

Continued success in all your academic and professional endeavors.

Samuel A. Attoh, PhD
Dean of the Graduate School & Associate Provost for Research
Loyola University Chicago
McNair Program Staff

John P. Pelissero, PhD
Principal Investigator
Provost

Samuel Attoh, PhD
Co-Principal Investigator
Dean of the Graduate School
and Assistant Provost

Eileen Rollerson, PhD
Program Director
Journal Editor

Marcela Gallegos, M.Ed.
Assistant Director
Journal Editor

Nickecia Alder, M.Ed., MA
Graduate Assistant
Journal Editor

Ashley Karcher, BA
Graduate Assistant
Journal Editor

Crystal Jackson, MA
Graduate Student Advisor

Dakari Quimby, MA
Graduate Student Advisor

Not Pictured:
Gwendolyn Purifoye, MA, Graduate Student Advisor
Yuling (Alice) Xiong, Graduate Student Advisor
Determinaion of Phase II Metabolites in Chicago Surface and Wastewater

By Florence Ene C. Adole, Senior, Biochemistry and Psychology
Faculty Mentor: Dr. Paul Chiarello

Acknowledgments

I would like to extend my heartfelt gratitude to my mentor, Dr. Paul Chiarello, for designing the study and for his support and advice throughout my work. I would also like to thank the director of the McNair program at Loyola University, Dr. Eileen Rollerson, and the Assistant Director, Marcella Gallegos for their support and guidance. I also thank my supervisor, Matthew Reichart, for his understanding and for answering my questions.

Abstract

This study sought to identify novel water pollutants, specifically glucuronide metabolites, in Chicago wastewater and natural water. Water samples were collected from Stickney water treatment plant, and Lake Michigan near Loyola University Chicago. The water samples were pretreated using solid phase extraction and the samples were analyzed using liquid chromatography and mass spectrometry. The mass was analyzed with a triple quadrupole mass spectrometer. We predicted that glucuronide metabolites derived from pharmaceutical products and personal care products that are deposited into the water system, undergo treatment processes without being eliminated from the water. Exposure to the treated water, when it is made potable or released into the environment, can cause adverse health effects. Constant Neutral loss analysis revealed compounds with similar retention time and structure as glucuronide metabolites, thereby showing the presence of multiple glucuronide metabolites in the water samples. Cleavage of the glucuronide for further identification revealed structural information of unknown glucuronide metabolites in the water.

Industrial waste such as lead, chromium, pharmaceutical drugs, herbicides, atmospheric deposition, and radioactive waste make water pollution a major concern many years ago. Although water treatment processes have long since been established to eliminate these harmful compounds from water, as recently as 2011, hexavalent chromium, a toxic chemical which causes lung cancer and asthma symptoms was discovered in drinking water (1). Lead has also been discovered in tap water in Chicago. Lead exposure is extremely dangerous and has been found to cause heart attack and stroke in people. Trace amounts of DEET (2), an active ingredient in bug spray, gemfibrozil, a drug used to fight cholesterol, testosterone, and progesterone sex hormones, bisphenol A, and (tris-2-butoxyethyl) phosphate, a flame retardant were discovered after testing tap water in Chicago (3). This gives an idea of how much chemicals people are exposed to on a daily basis from treated water in addition to the chemical and pharmaceutical wastes in Lake Michigan. The process of determining pollutants uses methods of quantification to target analytes. It also involves the identification of a compound whose physical and chemical properties are accessible in a database. This study used constant neutral loss (CNL) method which examined the fragmentation patterns of glucuronic acid to identify the unknown glucuronide metabolites in natural water and treated water. When the fragment with the target neutral loss is produced, the mass shift with respect to the molecular ion initiates a scan. The structure of the ions scanned is then examined and compared to a database to determine if it matches the compound of interest. Glucuronide is a Phase II metabolite. It is formed when glucuronic acid conjugates with a substrate. This occurs through an oxidation process where one of its alcohols is oxidized. They are formed by the equations shown in Figure 1.

![Figure 1: Glucuronidation reactions of aromatic amines (aniline) and phenol catalyzed by the UDP-glucuronosyl transferase.](image)
The glucuronidation reaction shown in figure 1 is characteristic for aromatic amines and phenols. When the human body absorbs a compound that is not water-soluble, the enzyme UDP-glucuronosyl transferase in the liver will facilitate the coupling of a glucuronic acid to a free hydroxyl or amine group of a compound of limited water solubility. The glucuronic acid that may be attached to different compounds is formed by the oxidation of glucose, a sugar that is abundant in our diet.

Glucuronide performs a vital role in human’s metabolism process, one of which is detoxification. It can conjugate with toxic compounds and promote their excretion from the body. Glucuronidation binds to toxic chemicals that are not water soluble and increases their solubility and in the process, aid in their transport. It allows us to detect things that are consumed by humans. Ethyl glucuronide (EtG) for example, can serve as direct biomarkers for alcohol consumption (4). They are sensitive enough to detect alcohol after one consumption. It has the ability to bind covalently to proteins and influence the water’s toxicity level when it conjugates to toxic compounds in the water. The ability of glucuronide to make compounds more soluble enables toxic compounds to be spread more easily through the environment. Glucuronidation has also been found to be potentially toxic in cases where pharmacologically active metabolites such as (-)-morphone is glucuronidated in humans to formine-3-glucuronide in the liver. Morphone-3-glucuronide is an antagonist of the more analgesic (+)-morphine-6-glucuronide (5). Glucuronidation can cause drug hypersensitivity and amines-induced carcinogenesis that may result from the formation of glucuronidates that are biologically active.

This study focused on identifying metabolites that have a mass range of 404 Daltons and that is present in treated wastewater and natural water such as Lake Michigan. Hence, water samples for this study were obtained from these locations. Care is taken to differentiate BPA and Resveratrol from glucuronide as the structures and retention times of the three compounds are quite similar.

The determination of glucuronide metabolites in water may provide insight into what kinds of chemicals and pollutants Chicago residents are exposed to and what adverse human health effects and environmental effects can be reduced through this knowledge. This study will also further more research on modifications that can be made to the water treatment processes currently in use that would be more effective in degrading glucuronide metabolites and other toxins.

**Materials and Methods**

Grab samples of water were collected from Lake Michigan near Loyola University Lakeshore campus and from around the pier by north avenue in the city center. The samples were filtered with Whatman GF/A microfilter filters. The pH of the water samples were adjusted to a 2 with 37% HCl.

Oasis MCIX cartridges were conditioned with methanol, and water. The conditioned cartridges were loaded with the water samples after which the cartridges were allowed to dry for 5 minutes using a steady vacuum. The analyte was eluted from the cartridges with 3ml of methanol then 3ml of 2% ammonium in methanol. The eluates are collected in glass vials and dried with nitrogen gas (N2).

Enzymatic digestion was used to produce analyte in some of the eluates for product ion analysis (6). To do this, 100μL of enzyme solution (1000 units/ml β-Glucuronidase/sulfatase from Helix pomatia H1) was added to 200μL of water sample in a 2ml sanitized amber vial. The sample was mixed and placed in a 370 water bath overnight. Sample is diluted with 700μL of 1M ammonium acetate with a pH of 5 and mixed. The solution was loaded on a 10mg Focus cartridge (Agilent, Lake Forest, CA, USA) for solid phase extraction on cartridges conditioned with methanol and water. The sample was eluted from the cartridge using a mixture containing 250 μL each of 4 aliquots methanol, 30 aliquots of acetonitrile, 10 aliquots of water, and 0.1 aliquots of formic acid mixture. The eluates were collected in glass vials and dried with nitrogen gas (N2). The residue is dissolved using 200μL of 10% methanol and water.

A tandem mass spectrometer, an Agilent 6460 Triple Quadrupole Tandem Mass Spectrometer interfaced to a source with 1290 LC system, (Agilent Lake Forest, CA, USA) was used to detect the compound of interest based on its molecular weight and fragmentation patterns. The samples were analyzed in the negative ion mode using electrospray ionization. The flow rate of the LC was set at 0.2ml/min under gradient conditions. An X Terra C18 column (100 x 2.1mm, 5 micron) and a C18 guard column (10 x 2.1mm, 5 micron), (Waters Corp, Milford, MA, USA) with a 0.25% formic acid/methanol gradient were used in the separation process. The high resolution LC separation was performed with a Waters 2690 HPLC interfaced to a Waters Synapt Q-Tof operated in the V-mode. The gradient began at 10% organic and increased linearly to 40% organic over the first 10 minutes. The original conditions were restored on the next seven minutes. The total run time was 35 minutes.

To identify the molecular weight and the retention time of glucuronidated molecules, constant neutral loss scanning was performed with a mass offset of 176 daltons. Injection volumes of 20μl were used to carry out scans over sequential five Dalton mass ranges. From a total of 80 injections, a 400 Dalton mass range beginning from m/z 300 to m/z 700, was analyzed. To affirm the presence of glucuronidated molecules, single reaction monitoring (SRM) was used. SRM provided structural information for the molecules of interest.

**Results**

We wish to identify a novel pollutant observed in that is has a retention time of 16.9 minutes when treated wastewater (influent) is analyzed by liquid chromatography and tandem mass spectrometry (Figure 3). The appearance of this ion in treated wastewater suggests that it is not being removed during the wastewater treatment process. The fact that this metabolite is passing through the wastewater treatment process without degradation suggests that it may be building up in the environment. Treated wastewater is released into natural water sources such as the Chicago or Calumet Rivers. We tested Lake Michigan water for the presence of m/z 403 suggested to be derived from a glucuronide. The Lake Michigan water extract showed m/z 403 ions (fragmenting by loss of 176 daltons) at both 15.5 minutes and 16.9 minutes (Figure 4). Influent wastewater (untreated water entering the plant) was analyzed as a control, and the m/z 403 ion suggested to be a glucuronide was observed as well here, indicating that it entered the plant with the raw sewage (Figure 5). Resveratrol- and Bisphenol A glucuronide standards were run as standards in an attempt to identify the unknown metabolite observed in the effluent wastewater extract LC/MS/MS spectrum shown in Figure 3. The m/z 403 ion in the Figure 4 chromatogram eluting at 15.5 minutes in the analysis of the Lake Michigan water extract is identified as the bisphenol a glucuronide by cochromatography with a standard compound (Figure 6). Lake Michigan also shows an m/z 403 m/z 227 transition at 16.9 minutes, consistent with the two wastewater samples analyzed in Figures 3 and 4.

In the next set of experiments the accurate mass of the unknown ion at m/z 403 was
determined. From the 26 monoisotopic masses found, over 100 potential formula were created with only a handful actually being matched to any compound through database searches. Of these formula, none were found to match a compound with a glucuronide moiety to within 5 ppm mass accuracy. A minimum of six oxygen atoms was specified in the empirical formula fit due to the nature of the glucuronide group.

After enzymatic digestion to cleave the glucuronide, product ion spectra were collected from 75 to 230 Daltons. A sample of BPA was analyzed and the retention time was 17.050 minutes. Resveratrol also showed a shift to a later retention time from it glucuronide metabolite to 13.924 minutes. These shifts are expected due to the decrease in polarity of the molecules as a result of the glucuronide cleavage. Reasoning a similar shift in retention time for the suspected unknown, it is believed that the unknown has a retention time of 19.318 minutes and was observed in the influent sample (Figure 6). The resulting mass spectrum shows an intense peak at m/z 297.8 and a smaller peak at m/z 111.1 (Figure 7). In addition to this peak, there were observed intense peaks at 15.369 minutes also in the influent sample and 21.401 minutes in the effluent sample.

**Discussion/Conclusion**

Figure 3 shows the retention time of BPA-glucuronide and resveratrol glucuronide at 16.9 for untreated wastewater samples, and figure 4 shows the same for treated wastewater samples that is released to the environment. In the chromatograms for the treated and untreated wastewater, and for Lake Michigan water, BPA-glucuronide and resveratrol-glucuronide were present with the same amount of retention times. It appears from Figure 4 that treating the wastewater did not eliminate the presence of the glucuronide metabolites. Figure 6 is the total ion chromatogram. It shows the retention time of 11.9 for BPA-glucuronide and resveratrol-glucuronide for a standard solution sample. This sums up the intensities belonging to the mass peaks of the scan.

The product ions produced by the 227 m/z ion; m/z 95, m/z 11, and m/z 161, have the same retention time as the m/z 227 fragmented ion at 19.3 minutes. This shows that the unknown ions are glucuronide metabolites.

The influent wastewater and Lake Michigan water samples tested positive for multiple types of glucuronide metabolites at different retention times. The use of enzyme digestion and accurate mass and product scan was successful in identifying the
presence of novel pollutants in wastewater and natural water around the Chicago area.

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Judges’ Efforts Toward Detention Reduction

By Yvonne Marie Cardenas, Senior, Criminal Justice and Criminology and Vivian Frutos, Senior, Criminal Justice and Criminology
Faculty Mentor: Dr. Michael J. Rohan

Abstract

As the home of the first juvenile court in the history of the United States, Cook County has been at the forefront of the juvenile justice arena for many decades. The county has made significant progress in the declining use of secure detention through the use of community alternatives or the risk assessment instrument. Cook County is a model site for the Juvenile Detention Alternatives Initiative and continues to reduce the population in secure detention (Cook County Juvenile Temporary Detention Center) and the number of juveniles sent to the Illinois Department Juvenile Justice (IDJJ). Many juveniles are subjected to secure detention due to violations in probation, non-compliance with court orders and new arrests. While detention reduction requires the effort of all departments in the criminal justice system, judges play an important role in making decisions regarding secure detention. Thus, it is perceived that if judges are aware of the profiles of juveniles their colleagues are detaining, they may be more mindful and seek other alternatives, leading to a reduction in the population held in detention.

For at least a decade, Cook County Juvenile Probation has attempted to reduce the number of juvenile confinements in secure detention while maintaining public safety through the use of risk-assessment instruments (RAIs). However, in collaboration with the Annie E. Casey Foundation, Cook County has made significant progress in the reduction of placement in secure detention and the increased use of community alternatives. According to the Casey Foundation’s juvenile justice reform agenda, its mission “is designed to improve the odds that delinquent youth can make successful transitions to adulthood, primarily by reforming juvenile justice systems so that they lock up fewer youth, rely more on proven, family-focused interventions, and create opportunities for positive youth development” (The Casey Foundation’s Investment in Juvenile Justice, n.d.). Specifically through the efforts of the Juvenile Detention Alternatives Initiative (JDAI), launched by the Casey Foundation in 1992, Cook County has demonstrated progress through the use of cost-effective alternatives to incarceration. In the early 1990’s, the daily population held in JTDC was roughly 725 minors, with a significant decrease to an average daily population of 270 detainees to date (The Casey Foundation’s Investment in Juvenile Justice, n.d.). This unprecedented decline is attributed to a series of strategies that include community-based alternatives, case processing strategies, the introduction of risk assessment tools, and the crucial collaboration among the various court agencies as well as the community. At a nationwide level, a reexamination of the juvenile justice system was partly due to the need to review juvenile justice system fiscal structures (Gaylene et al. 2011). The sudden switch from being tough on crime to a rehabilitation perspective is largely related to budget cuts and the demand to invest in cost-effective alternatives and programs that sustain change with this population. As a nation, states are spending almost $6 billion annually on youth corrections, with the average cost per bed, per year exceeding $200,000. Thus, many states imposed higher fines for counties who sentenced juveniles to their department of corrections, leading to the sudden need for a reduction in confinements.

Though much of the reform of the juvenile justice system can be attributed to financial crisis, research has demonstrated the negative impact confinement has on detained youth. Many studies have found the use of confinement futile and detrimental to the development of juveniles, leading the initiative for change and reform across the country. According to the Annie E. Casey Foundation, 75 percent of youth released from secure detention are rearrested within three years of release, with 45 to 72 percent convicted of a new offense (2011). To put the negative effects of confinement in perspective, a 2007 study in Florida found that low-risk youth placed into residential facilities not only re-offended at a higher rate than similar youth who remained in the community, they also re-offended at higher rates than high-risk youth placed into correctional facilities (No Place For Kids, 2011). In addition to financial burden, the Casey Foundation reiterates reasons for the national reduction of juvenile confinement, which include: detention does not reduce future offending by confined youth; confinement provides no overall benefit to public safety; and confinement exposes youth to high levels of violence and abuse (No Place For Kids, 2011).

A review of the literature analyzes general components of this initiative through various angles. A study measuring the efficacy of risk assessment instruments (RAIs), similar to the RAI implemented in Cook County, analyzed the effects the introduction of such instrument had on the population in detention. An RAI is an instrument used to determine if a juvenile will be sent to a secure facility upon arrest (or not), depending on a score influenced by the nature of the current offense and flight risk as well as other factors. Such an instrument also allows for less bias from law enforcement officials, since the score is comprised of legal factors rather than race or age. However, if not implemented correctly, the use of the instrument can have unintended effects. According to Gebo (2004), while the population in areas using the instrument has decreased, there remains a disproportionate amount of minority juveniles in detention, a concept otherwise known as...
disproportionate minority contact (DMC). Thus, the instrument can be effective in addressing the confinement issue, yet may bring other issues to light (Gebo, 2004). Arguably, the implementation of risk assessment tools should increase the accuracy and consistency of decision-making, since the tools were designed to assist personnel in reaching appropriate sanctions and interventions in a structured and unbiased manner (Vincent, Chapman, Cook, 2010). However, if not implemented properly, its use can have serious consequences. In Cook County, the RAI is used at the point of arrest if an officer believes the facts of the case may warrant secure detention based upon the information the officer has before him/her. Youth are scored based on the seriousness of the offense, their pending cases or record of delinquency, current case status (i.e., probation, supervision, etc.), and detention alternative restrictions. Juveniles who score between zero and nine are released, and those who score between ten and fourteen have a non-secure detention option form completed. Juveniles who commit adult offenses, pending a secure warrant, or acquire a score of fifteen or above are authorized for secure detention. In some instances, juveniles may score less than fifteen and have their score overridden by authorized personnel at the detention center, when deemed necessary by one of only two staff identified to approve this (A. Das, personal communication, August, 2013).

Though tools like the RAI are crucial to maintaining fairness and unbiased detentions, it is important to note that they are only used at the point of arrest. Judges making the decision to detain a juvenile in court do not use the RAI instrument. To be specific, youth detained because of failure to appear to court, or poor behavior at shelters/placements (staff-secure facilities) were not screened by the judge using the RAI. According to research on RAIs, “Discussions with several of the judges and court clerks, including those in the larger jurisdictions, revealed that many were unaware that the RAI should be used in these types of cases” (Vincent, Chapman, Cook, 2010).

**Detention Alternatives**

Cook County offers alternative programs for juveniles in order to provide services in the community instead of secure custody. Currently, Cook County utilizes about 12 different programs instead of housing a juvenile in the Juvenile Temporary Detention Center (JTDC). Some of the programs Cook County offers are: evening reporting centers (ERC), home confinement and electronic monitoring (EM) Sheriff’s Work Alternative Program (SWAP), staff-secure shelter, Kaleidoscope Respite foster home (KARE), multi-systemic therapy (MST), faith based detention alternatives, and mentoring (Juvenile Probation and Court Services Department, 2013).

A judge mandates programs when he or she is giving a juvenile his or her sentence. Often judges give their clients multiple programs and require them to comply with all conditions. There are also programs that probation officers (P.O.) can refer their clients to if they believe a juvenile can benefit from the services provided. Juveniles who enter the juvenile justice system are given many opportunities to avoid being detained. Judges will order their clients to the same program multiple times before he or she decides to detain the juvenile. Judges are more likely to order the juvenile to probation services in order to ensure success. Once involved with the juvenile probation department, the success of a juvenile is determined by their ability to avoid a new offense, avoid missing mandatory appointments set by the P.O., or failing to comply with probation’s rules and regulations. The programs offered by the probation department also help the P.O. keep the juvenile involved in prosocial activities until his or her court date arrives.

Evening reporting centers are established as community-based alternatives to detention. There are six evening reporting centers in Cook County and they are strategically placed in areas where most juveniles who are involved in the juvenile justice system reside. ERCs target groups of minors who would otherwise be detained at the JTDC. The ERCs are designed to keep juveniles out of trouble while continuing to live in the community before their next court date. Out of the six centers, five are for male only youth and one ERC is designated for females. The population that is ordered to attend ERCs consists of minors who are pending a trial, have violated their probation or have been apprehended on a warrant and are pending sentencing. This program works to engage the juveniles in well-supervised group activities during time periods where juveniles are at a higher risk of offending. The staff and minor ratio is one (1) adult for every five (5) minors. Everyone who works with the juveniles must have a bachelor’s degree or comparable work experience. In every ERC there is a probation officer who controls and runs the program on a daily basis. Their goal is also to ensure court appearances and reduce the chance of re-arrest. ERCs typically run from 4:00pm until about 9:00pm, Monday through Friday. According to the developers of this program, research has shown this is this time frame where most juveniles tend to pick up new criminal cases in the community. While attending the program the juveniles are taught life skills and participate in workshops that teach them positive choices and decision-making. These activities and workshops are available in order to engage the juveniles and provide services that will improve the minors’ decision-making processes when he or she is in the community. The attendants also have dinner and are awarded recreational time at the end of the day. At the beginning and end of the program, all the minors are transported to and from their home and the ERC by the staff. When the juveniles first arrive at the program they are searched to make sure they
do not have any contraband (JPSCD, 2013). Most youth court ordered to the ERC are also on electric monitoring, and use this time to charge their EM bracelet to avoid a violation of the EM conditions.

Home confinement with EM is another option available to judges. Electronic monitoring consists of a Global Positioning System (GPS) bracelet that is attached to the juvenile's ankle and tracks the minor's whereabouts. The GPS uses satellite or terrestrial based location in order to track the client 24 hours a day and is monitored for location every three minutes (Yeh, 2010). The judge decides the length of time that a minor must remain on EM, averaging at 30 days or more. Other rules and curfew restrictions are ordered in conjunction with the device, which are verified through the monitoring of the bracelet's location.

An immediate violation will be documented if the minor leaves home overnight without permission, if there is any tampering with the equipment, and if the minor is identified with possible involvement in any criminal activity and/or has been arrested on a new case. The use of EM potentially deters most forms of violent crime among offenders (Yeh, 2010). Every day, EM officers analyze their caseload in order to ensure compliance or identify violations and act accordingly. If violations are reported to a judge, the judge has the authority to detain the juvenile for violations of terms and conditions of his or her probation.

Sheriff's work alternative program (SWAP) was established for males between the ages of 13-17 who are facing time in detention, have violated a condition of probation, or have been sentenced to SWAP in lieu of detention or to complete community service hours. Juveniles ordered to SWAP have to complete hours that would be equivalent to the amount of time they would reside in detention (5-day minimum-30 day maximum). A juvenile must report to the SWAP offices at JTDJC every Saturday and Sunday at 8am, where they are transported by a sheriff's bus to work in various sites, and return around 3pm. The SWAP program consists of cleaning, maintenance tasks, and handling heavy equipment. There is also an adult and juvenile ratio that must be maintained, five juveniles for every one sheriff deputy (JPSCD, 2013).

Another option available is Kaleidoscope Alternate Respite, or KARE. This program was established in April 2010 and designed to provide short-term foster family homes for females who cannot return to their permanent homes, though the program expanded its services to include males in October 2011. The KARE program allows minors to go to a safe environment rather than detainment, assuming the juvenile's home environment is not ideal. In addition, KARE staff ensures that all medical, psychiatric, therapeutic and school needs are met and transportation to school and court are available. Families participating as hosts for KARE must understand the risks involved with fostering the juvenile and are subject to the approval of the court. Before juveniles are sent to a temporary foster care home, a judge analyzes the possibility of the juvenile returning home with their parents and may require the families to participate in multi-systemic therapy.

Multi-systemic therapy (MST) provides juveniles with services by monitoring the families in their home environment. The program is facilitated by two agencies in Chicago licensed to provide MST and monitored by probation officers in the Advocacy Division as well as field probation staff. During MST, the staff engage with a family for an average of four months and must be available to the family twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week. The services provided attempt to help the families develop skills that will benefit the juvenile and consequently deter the minor from delinquent behavior (JPSCD, 2013). Families that are eligible for MST must agree on a place to meet and be willing to participate in this court-ordered intervention. Tools such as the risk assessment tool can help make this decision selection more feasible. Although the population detained at the Cook County JTDJC shares similarities, every juvenile faces different problems and obstacles at home that MST can potentially resolve.

Cook County offers a spectrum of programs in an effort to cater to the different needs of the population of youth it services. The newest addition to this list include faith-based programs. While the faith-based programs available are unique in their strategies and curriculum, most provide transportation in the form of a bus pass for every minor that needs it, and staff who run the department also transport youth when deemed necessary. Investing in bus passes for the clients allows for higher attendance rates, since most juveniles do not have access to transportation. Faith-based programs strive to help juveniles develop skills that will allow for cognitive-behavioral changes. Juveniles who attend these are often ordered by means of community service hours or have been required by a judge to attend and comply with the program. Faith-based programs are located in areas that correlate with zip codes of youth more commonly detained in JTDJC, per our data.

One very important and essential asset to detention alternatives is the mentoring program. Many of the programs listed above have a mentoring portion to their own agenda, but Urban Life Skills (ULS) in particular mainly focuses on mentoring youth on probation. Due to the high success rate of the program, ULS recently expanded their services to include the girlfriend, boyfriend, or spouses of the clients mandated to attend. ULS operates in two locations in the Little Village neighborhood due to the high gang activity and violence in the area. One other reason ULS developed in the Little Village neighborhood was to service a population made up of 70% of inhabitants under the age of 21, a population that can benefit from mentoring. The program was established in November of 2007 and has provided mentoring to at risk youth as well as job readiness classes, life skills, workshops, adventure outings, service learning projects, carpentry training, court advocacy, educational support, and recreational activities (Urban Life Skills, 2013). Each juvenile that is brought into ULS is assigned a mentor their first day of attendance, with mentors committed to their client for at least one year. The mentor can do anything from ensuring the juvenile attends school, to personally transporting the minor to school, or even help them discuss and work through personal problems taking place in the home or at school. The program operates Tuesday through Thursday from 4:00pm-6:00pm, however, mentoring is required on a daily basis. Because the Little Village neighborhood is highly gang involved, ULS strives to provide intensive gang interventions when they are mentoring the youth.

The judges at Cook County Juvenile Court have the discretion to detain a juvenile, especially if he or she is not complying with his or her conditions, including many of the programs mentioned above. For youth admitted to the JTDJC, services are provided in the detention center. For example, in order to prevent juveniles from dropping out of high school or falling classes in their home school while they are detained, JTDJC has an alternative high school that operates inside the detention center. Nancy B. Jefferson Alternative School (NBJ) is a Chicago Public School and serves boys and girls, ages 10-18. The majority of minors enrolled at NBJ lack basic abilities like reading, writing, and social skills. This alternative high school works to stress basic skills in reading, writing, art, math and music. JTDJC houses juveniles for a short period of time, thus, it becomes difficult to follow a yearlong curriculum. The school operates on a rolling admission, to bring a new juvenile on board in the middle of a school year can be challenging for the staff. If a juvenile is detained for a long period of time and he or she is demonstrating academic competency at NBJ, the juvenile may be eligible for a credit transfer for courses at his or her home school. Juveniles are required to be enrolled in an educational program at JTDJC even if they are expelled from their home school (Whaley-Anobah, 2012).

JUMPSTART is an education program that is offered to juveniles who are not detained, but are not able to return to their home school. JUMPSTART prepares minors to succeed in reading and writing in a span of twenty weeks. The JUMPSTART program is located in the probation division and is run by the education advocacy department. JUMPSTART works with juveniles between the ages of 16 and 18 who display uncooperativeness with other interventions implemented. If the juvenile is successful in this program, they could potentially earn a GED from the Juvenile Probation and Court Services.
Hypothesis

While much research has been done on detention alternatives and the profiles of juveniles in detention, there is little research on the factors compelling judges to hold juveniles in confinement. It is perceived that judges often lack communication between each other and the court services staff. Further, judges maintain the discretion to hold juveniles as they deem necessary. Thus, the purpose of this study is to identify what factors the judges in the juvenile court of Cook County consider when detaining juveniles. It is projected that judges may be amenable to adjust and reduce their request for minors to be held in detention if they had access to information on decision points or criteria utilized by their fellow judges. Our objective is to identify criteria which might increase diversion and thereby reduce the average daily population in detention without compromising public safety. Before we can accurately analyze how to decrease the detention population, we had to identify and analyze the juvenile population that is housed at JTDC, yet is not under the jurisdiction of the juvenile court system. This population is referred to as the Automatic Transfer Cases (AT), which consists of juveniles who have committed a serious offense that merits jurisdiction in the adult court system. When determining the daily population at JTDC, the number of AT cases is included even though they are not being held per the discretion of juvenile court. It is important to analyze this population because they account for roughly 80 detainees out of the total population on any given day. These are 80 juveniles that are held at JTDC because of their age, though they remain under the jurisdiction of the adult court system and cannot be offered services by the juvenile probation department.

Methods

Data was collected in various forms, including through the county’s Juvenile Enterprise Management System (JEMS), DSI database and the Cook County Clerks system. The purpose of such data systems is to collect information on the profiles of juveniles involved in the criminal justice system, including but not limited to demographic information, information on their case, court activity, court outcomes, etc.

All juveniles categorized as automatic transfers (AT) were tracked through the Clerks system in order to obtain background data. Data was collected from daily population reports provided by the DSI database. Reports were retrieved from the first day of the month, every three months, and reflect the automatic transfer population as of that day. This study collected: name, date of birth, offense, length of stay, bail amount, and court outcomes (whether the case was resolved or continued). The automatic transfer population held in the Juvenile Temporary Detention Center from May 1, 2012 to May 1, 2013 was analyzed. Although populations vary by report, this study identified a total of 156 juveniles detained between May 1, 2012 and May 1, 2013. Thus, a minor may be accounted for in more than one population report.

Court hold forms were used in order to collect data on judges’ decisions for every child detained outside of the AT cases. A court hold is defined as a judge requesting the minor to be held in custody, therefore taking him in custody from the community at the time of the court date. The Court Hold Data Capture Form features a checklist of factors judges might consider when finding urgent and immediate necessity to detain a minor in JTDC. Judges were asked to fill out the 14 item form for every minor detained per their discretion, along with the minor’s petition number and JEMS ID. Approximately, 77% of judges residing in Cook County’s juvenile justice court were willing to participate in the Court Hold Data project. Forms were collected from May 2013 through August 2013 and were categorized by calendars. A calendar is a geographical area that is assigned to a specific judge based upon a Chicago Police district. The forms were collected on a weekly basis and compared to the information entered in the county’s database.

The form includes a variety of possible factors a judge may consider when detaining a juvenile. The list goes as follows:

- Nature of offense/violation alleged at instant
- Minor’s record of delinquency offenses
- Minor’s record of willful failure to appear following issuance of summons or warrant
- The availability of parent/guardian/responsible adult
- The report(s) provided by probation
- Minor’s school performance as determined by: Truancy/Suspension/Expulsion/Grades/Other
- Minor’s mental health
- Minor’s drug use
- Minor’s home environment
- Minor’s past performance on: EM/ERC/Shelter/Pre-Trial/Other
- Minor’s cooperation with programs
- Gang related activity
- Minor’s attitude before the bench
- Detention needed as a consequence

At the end of the form was a section for an optional brief narrative on reasons for detaining in that particular case. Judges were able to checkmark multiple reasons, when applicable, for every juvenile.

Results

Automatic Transfer Cases

After analyzing each group of juveniles for a year, common factors across groups were found. This study analyzed each individual group of juveniles and followed up by comparing each set.

The following summaries describe the profiles of automatic transfers held in the Juvenile Temporary Detention Center from May 1, 2012 to May 1, 2013. The graphs provide a visual description of the trends identified in the data.

On May 1, 2012, there were 58 minors detained as automatic transfer cases based upon the Class X felony arrest. The population of minors in custody on this date consisted of 57 males and 1 female, with about 96% identified as black and 14% as Hispanic or other. Out of the 58 AT cases, only 9 minors were on probation prior to their adult offense. It is important to note that approximately 84% of the minors were not on juvenile probation when they committed their AT offense. There were 3 juveniles who were on supervision when they committed their adult offense and 4 who were pending a juvenile case at the time of their AT arrest. The most common crimes committed were armed robbery with a firearm and armed robbery without a firearm (22 cases). Further, another common crime committed was attempted murder and murder with the intent to kill (15 cases). Cumulatively, these offenses made up 64% of the entire AT cases for this month. The average bail amount determined by the judges was $231,034.48. On average, the minors were detained for 196 days including May 1, 2012.

On August 1, 2012, there were 67 minors detained as automatic transfer cases. The population of minors in custody consisted of 66 males and 1 female. About 90% were identified as black and 10% Hispanic or other. Out of the 67 AT cases, only 5 were on probation prior to their adult offense. It is important to note that approximately 93% of the minors were not on probation when they committed their AT offense. There were 2 juveniles who were on supervision when they committed their adult offense and there were also 11 who had a juvenile case pending. The most common crimes committed were armed robbery with a firearm, and armed robbery without a firearm (28 cases). The next common crime committed was attempted murder and murder with the intent to kill (18 cases). These offenses made up 75% of the entire AT cases. The average bail amount determined by the judges was $210,671.64. On average, the minors were detained for 198 days including August 1, 2012.

On November 1, 2012, there were 69 minors detained as automatic transfer cases. The population of minors in custody consisted of 67 males and 2 females. About 93% identified as black and 7% Hispanic or other. Out of the 69 AT cases, only 9 minors were on probation prior to their adult offense. It is important to note that approximately 87% of the minors were not on probation when they committed their AT offense. There were 4 juveniles who were on supervision when they committed their adult offense and there were also 10 who had a juvenile case pending. The most common crime committed was armed robbery with a firearm, and armed
robbery with no firearm (29 cases). The next common crime committed was attempted murder, murder with the intent to kill (17 cases). These offenses made up 67% of the entire AT cases. The average bail amount determined by the judges was $278,115.94. On average, the minors were detained for 180 days including November 1, 2012.

On February 1, 2013, there were 68 minors detained as automatic transfer cases. The population of minors in custody consisted of 67 males and 1 female and about 87% identified as black and 13% Hispanic or other. Out of the 68 AT cases, only 8 were on probation prior to their adult offense. It is important to note that approximately 88% of the minors were not on probation when they committed their AT offense. There were 3 juveniles who were on supervision when they committed their adult offense and there were also 10 who had a juvenile case pending. The most common crime committed, with 28 cases was armed robbery with a firearm, and armed robbery with no firearm. The next common crime committed was attempted murder, and murder with the intent to kill, with a total of 16 cases altogether. These offenses made up 69% of the entire AT cases. The average bail amount determined by the judges was $300,470.59. On average, the minors were detained for 201 days including February 1, 2013.

On May 1, 2013, there were 72 minors detained as automatic transfer cases. The population of minors in custody consisted of all males and about 87.5% identified as black and 12.5% Hispanic or other. Out of the 72 AT cases, only 14 were on probation prior to their adult offense. It is important to note that approximately 80% of the minors were not on probation when they committed their AT offense. There were 2 juveniles who were on supervision when they committed their adult offense and there were also 9 who had a juvenile case pending. The most common crime committed was armed robbery with a firearm, and armed robbery with no firearm (32 cases). The next common crime committed was attempted murder and murder with the intent to kill, with a total of 14 cases. These offenses made up 64% of the entire AT cases. The average bail amount determined by the judges was $262,152.78. On average, the minors were detained for 179 days including May 1, 2013. (See graph)

**Court Hold Data**

Collectively, we received a total of 348 court hold capture forms. Patterns among calendars were easily identified, with each calendar citing the same factor a significant amount of times. It is important to note judges often cited multiple reasons for detaining a juvenile. Results were as follows:

- *Calendar A* submitted a total of 50 forms, with 50% detained for past performance on EM, ERC, etc. Noncompliant (summons/var.) was chosen in 40% of cases. On average, minors were held in custody for 20 days.
- *Calendar B* submitted a total of 14 forms, with 50% detained for nature of offense/violation alleged at instant. Past performance on EM, ERC, etc. was also chosen 42% of the time. On average, minors were held in custody for 11 days.
- *Calendar C* submitted a total of 104 forms, with 50% detained for past performance on EM, ERC, etc. Record was chosen in 44% of cases. On average, minors were held in custody for 23 days.
- *Calendar D* submitted a total of 40 forms. Nature of offense/violation alleged at instant and past performance on EM, ERC, etc. were both chosen in 48% of cases. On average, minors were held in custody for 26 days.
- *Calendar E* submitted a total of 45 forms. Of those minors detained, 56% were held due to their past performance on EM, ERC, etc. In addition, 18% were held due to school performance. On average, minors were held in custody for 15 days.
- *Calendar F* submitted a total of 26 forms, with 77% detained as a consequence. Nature of offense/violation alleged at instant was also chosen on 65% of cases. On average, minors were held in custody for 22 days.
- *Calendar G* submitted a total of 9 forms, with 56% detained due to past performance on EM, ERC, etc. Nature of offense/violation alleged at instant and minor’s record of delinquency offenses were both chosen in 44% of cases. On average, minors were held in custody for 32 days.
- *Calendar H* submitted a total of 14 forms, with 50% detained due to the minor’s record of delinquency offenses. In addition, 36% were held due to the nature of their offense/violation alleged at instant or their past performance on EM, ERC, etc. On average, minors were held in custody for 23 days.
- *Calendar I* submitted a total of 53 forms, with 36% detained due to the minor’s record of willful failure to appear following issuance of summons or warrant. Nature of offense/violation alleged at instant was also chosen in 30% of cases. On average, minors were held in custody for 20 days.
- *Calendar J* submitted a total of 21 forms, with 78% detained due to the nature of their offense/violation alleged at instant. In addition, 71% were held due to willful failure to appear following issuance of summons or warrant. On average, minors were held in custody for 14 days.

**Discussion**

**Automatic Transfers**

The population of automatic transfer cases held in JTDC steadily increased from 58 juveniles in May 2012 to 72 in May 2013. Along with the increase in population, the average length of stay in the detention center also increased, with the exception of February 2013, where we see unusually high lengths of stay. To reiterate, automatic transfers are cases outside of the juvenile justice jurisdiction, therefore, this
population cannot be touched by juvenile court personnel and simply sits in JTDCC while awaiting trial at the adult criminal court. Of the cases analyzed, this study identified 156 individual juveniles held for an AT case in detention throughout the year. Only one of these cases was found not guilty, while one was sentenced to juvenile probation, and three had their charges dropped. Interestingly, 34 were sentenced to the adult Illinois Department of Corrections, while the remaining 117 cases were awaiting a continuance as of July 2013.

With almost a third of the population in detention consisting of automatic transfer cases, it is fairly difficult to maintain the efforts of the detention reduction project. In addition, most of these juveniles are in need of services juvenile personnel may be able to offer but cannot due to the lack of jurisdiction. For the juveniles sitting in detention for several years due to court continuances, nothing can be done to expedite their court processes from the juvenile court’s perspective. One particular juvenile in the data collected was held in JTDCC for 1,370 days, partly because of continuances and delays with reaching a trial.

Court Hold Data

Data accrued by the Annie E. Casey Foundation suggests forty percent of juveniles committed to detention were due to “technical violations of parole, residential violations, and status offenses (offenses that would not be considered crimes as adults, such as possession of alcohol or drugs)” (Casey Foundation, 2011). This suggests most youth are confined on the basis of offenses that are not clear threats to public safety. Our findings support this information, with the most common factor for detainment cited by a judge being past performance on electronic monitoring. Many of the juvenile cases analyzed were brought up to court on the basis of a violation of parole or supervision, compelling judges to hold juveniles in custody for such behavior. In addition, several trends were identified among the court calendars. For instance, certain calendars hold more juveniles for warrant or summons noncompliance, while others tend to hold juveniles on the basis of negative probation reports. In addition, the department witnessed an overall decrease in the number of court holds since the introduction of the court hold data capture form.

Limitations

Since only 77% of judges participated in this study, the results may not reflect the patterns of the remaining judges. We cannot be certain that a court hold form was filled out for every juvenile detained. Data is also limited because we only collected information over a three-month period. In addition, data was accrued during the busiest season of the year (summer season) for JTDCC.

Conclusion

It is our intention to influence future policies regarding the detention of juveniles and the introduction of less secure alternatives to those juveniles who would otherwise be classified as court holds. Although there are many instances where a secure hold is necessary for the safety of the minor and the public, it is evident the court holds are due to nonviolent infractions (i.e. past performance on EM). There is a potential for new programs to be created and be used as sanctions. Similarly, those held because of their drug use or mental health can be referred to facilities or programs specialized in those issues. Regardless of the problems faced by a minor, secure detention is only used for the protection of the public and as a last resort.

Policies regarding automatic transfer cases could be revised. Since the juvenile facility houses this population, services should be available for the juveniles being held.

Obtaining judges’ feedback regarding court holds was unheard of in the history of Cook County Juvenile Court. However, with the continued efforts of JDAI and the continued support and compliance by judges, the department can be successful in reaching its mission. The mission of the Juvenile Probation and Court Services Department states as follows:

“...To serve the welfare of children and families within the sound framework of public safety. The department is committed to providing the guidance, structure and services needed by every child under its supervision. In partnership with the community, the department promotes the healing and recovery of neglected children and directs delinquent children toward reforming their behavior in the context of increased accountability, enhanced community restoration, and expanded personal competencies.”

Though Cook County has seen vast improvement in regards to the reduction in detention and the introduction of innovative alternatives to imprisonment, there is always something new that can be done to improve the future of our court-involved juveniles.

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PARTNERING FOR SOCIAL CHANGE: USING PAY FOR SUCCESS INITIATIVES AND EXPANDING SOCIAL IMPACT INVESTING

By Edgar Cruz, Senior, Sociology
Faculty Mentor: Dr. Annmarie Valdes

Authors
The 2013 Fellows of the Public Policy and International Affairs Junior Summer Institute at Princeton University’s Woodrow Wilson School wrote this report:

Jennifer Arieta, Fidel Cervantes, Kirk Coleman, LaChrista Douglas, Gregory Earnest, Daniel Guerrero, Chenelle James, Anna Le, Samantha Rodriguez, Sohaye Sizar, Tevita Tapavala, Mitik Zegaye.

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Abstract
This paper seeks to expose the human capital, work-life balance, and segregation factors that perpetuate the gender earnings gap in selfemployment in the United States. Much attention has been paid to the income disparity between men and women in paid employment. Yet the growing population of self-employed workers has not been studied extensively despite the wider gap between genders than that of wage and salary employment. In this study, self-employment earnings are evaluated using data from the Annual Social and Economic Supplement of the Current Population Survey. Key: Contributing factors are identified and explored to gain insight into what factors play a part in the gender earnings gap in selfemployment.

Towards the beginning of 2008 the United States economy went through a recession that forced the United States to reevaluate its economic condition and its budget. Governments, both federal and state level, reexamined its budget to eliminate any unnecessary costs and promote economic activity. Ever since the recession there has been a huge emphasis on budget constraints, making budget cuts, of which social services are the first to go. Because of the financial need that social services require it has put service providers such as nonprofits and other government agencies in a tight bind where they either scale down their programs, to reduce their request for funding, or they simply dissolve. Due to limited government funding a new standard for current service providers has been put in place that limits the social issues that service providers can take on, and it prevents new service providers from entering the social change market.

State governments have felt the hit of the recession even more and are searching for alternative forms of funding that both reduce debt and continue to serve the communities through social services. Pay for Success Initiatives are an innovative way to solve budget constraint issues, extend accountability for the economic conditions that led to the recession, and develop preventative measures for another recession to occur. It also spreads accountability for providing services to communities, by quantifying whether the services provided address a critical social issue, as well as help reduce the government’s debt. Finally it bridges gaps between the public sector and private sector to take on social issues and formulate potential for permanent funding.

In order to analyze how Pay for Success Initiatives are a viable option for funding state-based social services, a project team, consisting of thirteen students from the Junior Summer Institute at Princeton University’s Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs, was assembled. Our work and educational experience in diverse fields such as political science, nonprofit work, international affairs, government, and sociology have made it possible for us to construct a thorough analysis of the Pay for Success initiative and its application in the New Jersey Social Innovation Act.

Our research analyzes the infrastructure, feasibility, advantages, and disadvantages of the Pay for Success program. In Pay for Success, a contract is created between the government and
one or more non-governmental agencies that administer measurable social services. This contract reallocates the responsibility of social programs to non-governmental agencies. These agencies are intended to (1) reduce taxpayer expenses and (2) provide effective social services that attain specific goals, which are agreed upon by all parties involved (Preston, 2012).

Although Pay for Success Initiatives (PSIs) is often called Social Impact Bonds (SIBs), we recommend that they be referred to as Pay for Success Initiatives. When we were first introduced to the concept of SIBs we were told that the word “bond” at the end was creating skepticism among legislators. The word bond was becoming the root of their arguments to vote against legislation that promoted the implementation of this policy model. The word bond is associated with additional governmental borrowing, which is the complete opposite of a PSL. With a traditional bond there is a borrower and there is a lender that expects interest payments and in some cases a return on the principle. A traditional bond has a fixed interest over a long period and can be sold on a secondary market. A traditional bond is guaranteed to be paid back regardless of time.

However, a Pay for Success Initiative is an investment that is created through a set of relationships between the government, investors, and nonprofit agencies, all of whom align to fund a social service. In the case of a PSL, the lender is the investor (private sector/funder), which lends money to the borrower. The borrower is not the government, but rather the nongovernment agencies such as a nonprofit. The nonprofit bears the costs and programs to help reduce government costs, which is the tool to measure if the investment was successful or not. An agreed upon percentage is given back to the investor as repayment and incentive to continue investing. The money provided by investors is not a traditional “bond-like” loan. The lender can also take the shape of a guarantor, where there are essentially two entities from the private sector, one as the investor and one as a guarantor that guarantees the investor will get their money back in case they cannot get a return on their investment. The necessity of a guarantor comes in play when the investor is afraid of taking a financial risk, thus a guarantor will guarantee that they themselves will give them a return on their investment if and only if the state costs savings are not enough for a full return.

Successful nonprofits provide essential resources, services, and opportunities to disadvantaged communities across the country. However as it often is the case, organizations that promote social welfare often have limited budgets, thus no capacity to sustain small-scale projects. Despite substantial expansions in the nonprofit sector over the last decade, there is still insufficient funding to sustain innovative and successful initiatives. Such challenges in nonprofit funding arise from inefficient and unreliable government funding opportunities. The Pay for Success method of funding seeks to alleviate this problem by creating a partnership between the government and the private sector to provide immediate capital to nonprofit service providers that have programs with proven success. Upon accomplishing predetermined goals, the funders (private investors and foundations) are repaid by the government. This gives the funders the opportunity to reinvest and expand their impact, and gives the government the confidence that taxpayer dollars are spent on initiatives that actually work.

Although Pay for Success is an innovative idea for funding, this type of initiative raises areas of concern such as privatizing of social services by investors through nonprofits, inefficient rate of return of investors, social outcomes not being achieved, lack of clarity to measure outcomes, service providers performing inefficiently. With all that said PSIs stand to significantly increase the capital available to successful nonprofit organizations that improve social conditions throughout the nation, refocus on social outcomes that change lives, reposition government spending to cost-effective preventative programs, attract new forms of capital to the social/educational/and healthcare sectors, develop transparency for all parties involved, and finally shift risk of nonperformance from government to private sector.

As such, PSIs continue to grow and are implemented in different geographical regions with key actors such as foundations and private companies, which can play a vital role in clarifying the definition and concept of Pay for Success Initiatives. We propose that from here on, the name Pay for Success be used to describe the Social Impact Bond experiment, as we do not want to dissuade critical stakeholders (i.e. the government and private investors) with a false title.

Innovative ideas designed to tackle social issues have been difficult to come by. Lingering unemployment and widening inequality, compounded with significantly smaller government budgets, have left a shortage of resources for social programs geared toward the most vulnerable in our society. Allowing these groups to exist at the mercy of market fluctuations puts them at risk. The current standard of allocating resources to initiatives with immeasurable outcomes cannot be sustained. While not designed for sweeping and immediate change, Pay for Success fills the gaps where individual nonprofits and the government have fallen short; sufficient funding and measurable results.

The purpose of this project serves to inform policy development by attempting to explain the principles of PSIs and the goals it seeks to achieve. It also gives all the key actors (Investor, nonprofit, government, intermediary, and guarantor) the tools to thoroughly examine their role in this new social policy model – Pay for Success method. Particular attention is paid to the New Jersey Social Innovation Act, which, if passed, would be New Jersey’s first ever implementation of Pay for Success. This study pays particular attention to the effects the program has on (1) building community, (2) evaluating nonprofit service providers, (3) what stakeholders should know before investing, and (4) the possible roles of foundations in these initiatives.

The research presented in this paper is designed to fill in the gaps of knowledge that exist about the Pay for Success process. It will do so by elaborating the different functions and roles in a PSI model. It further discusses in detail what the role of nonprofits, government, intermediary, independent evaluator, and the investor. The paper will then provide a short history on the topic, starting from its first concrete implementation in the United Kingdom in 2011 as well as the first implementation in the United States. From there, the research paper examines how a PSI can be used by a State, in this case by examining the New Jersey case study – thus identifying how a PSI related legislation comes to life as well the implementation of such a policy works within the context of New Jersey politics. With this information we can visualize how each actor would fit into the structure of the New Jersey Social Innovation Act – which is the current PSI legislation that is up for debate in the Senate Economic Growth Committee. The paper elaborates in detail the two potential roles that private companies such as foundations and corporations have both specifically for this particular legislation in New Jersey, but also in all future Pay for Success Initiatives. By examining these two roles, it helps to shine light on the unique position those investors have on the frontline of social innovation. In the end, by aligning the interests of public, private, and nonprofit entities, Pay for Success creates unlikely partnerships to effectuate the greatest impact possible on communities in need, but it also leads room for more questions for further research.

**Overview**

Pay for Success Initiatives seek to combine low-risk private investments with successful nonprofit practice in order to ensure efficiency in government grant allocation. The involvement of private investors makes Pay for Success unique, because they fund the social programs that non-government entities (nonprofit) administer. If the non-governmental entity accomplishes an agreed upon goal which reduces cost to the state, then the government will reimburse investors and compensate them with interest from the costs savings. If goals are not attained, then funders will not be compensated for their initial investment (Preston, 2012). This helps to reduce inefficiency in government funding of unsuccessful programs. It encourages private-public partnerships that
mitigate current social issues by increasing the availability of financial resources.

This enterprise is not flawless. Private investors expect a return and will only invest in social issues that are measurable and attainable. Nonprofits that yield successful initiatives can benefit from Pay for Success in order to scale, sustain, and reproduce their results. This makes Pay for Success extremely attractive in a time where federal and state governments are cutting social services.

In many ways, Pay for Success initiatives can be linked to program-related investments. Investors can receive a return in their initial investments which can then be recycled to support organizations for longer periods of time than traditional grant-making. Investments made in a Pay for Success pilot program thus contribute toward a foundation’s payout requirements if they choose to use funds from their endowment to invest in a Pay for Success project apart from their grant-making budget; the foundation should be free of the IRS restrictions (Lufkin, 2007). In other words, as long as a foundation makes Pay for Success investments that accomplish one or more of its exempt purposes, then contributions fall under the IRS legal definitions of a program-related investment.

**Examples of PSI Model: United Kingdom and NYC**

In 2011, the British government initiated a social financing contract (PSI) with the public sector. The project aimed to decrease recidivism rates in HM Peterborough Prison, UK (Liebman, 2012). Although the funder was not guaranteed a return on their investment, the government anticipated that savings on incarceration costs could ultimately pay for anti-recidivism services being delivered (Liebman, 2012). The PSI specified the amount of funds that were being expended, the services that were going to be delivered, and the methods to be used, rather than the outcomes to be achieved (Liebman, 2012). From the onset, it was deemed by many as an innovative enterprise to save the government millions of pounds by combining the resources of nonprofit organizations, financial intermediaries, and the government. Following the publicity of this social bond pilot, several major cities in the United States, including Boston, Kansas City, and New York gained interest in social impact bonds. This paved way for New York City’s PSI addressing recidivism.

In January 2012, policymakers from Mayor Bloomberg’s office met to discuss the benefits and potential problems of bringing a Pay for Success program to the city. On August 2nd, 2012, the City of New York, Bloomberg Philanthropies, Goldman Sachs, and the Manpower Demonstration Research Corporation (MDRC) announced the nation’s first Pay for Success Initiative (Project for Incarcerated Youth, 2012). It is still too early to determine the accomplishments of the New York Pay for Success Initiative. We will have to wait until August 2015, when the Vera Institute of Justice will conduct an independent evaluation of the project. The results will be measured in benchmarks depending on the success of the nonprofits in decreasing the re-incarceration rate of youth at Rikers Island.

The key actors involved in this PSI are the city of New York (government’s role), Goldman Sachs (playing investor), and the Osborne Association & Friends of Island Academy (the nonprofit). The two new key players are in this particular case study is the MDRC, playing the role of the intermediary—the middle man of this PSI which the monetary capital flows through, and Vera Institute of Justice which fulfills the role of the independent evaluator of nonprofit evaluates the success of the nonprofit which helps determine if Goldman Sachs gets reimbursed. All of these roles will be defined in detail further in the research paper.

This PSI was heavily scrutinized throughout the New York legislative and appropriation processes. One of the initial obstacles that it faced was skepticism from legislators who emphasized that such a program had never been effectuated in the United States. The critics of this model pointed out that there would be initial costs that the city taxpayers would have to undertake to establish the framework for the pilot. They also claimed that even debt financing part of community services under this model would be expensive, involving overly complex transactions (Pratt, 2013).

Here is how the New York City PSI model works. After the monies were secured by MDRC for the pilot, Friends of Islands Academy and The Osborne Association were given grants to implement a recidivism reduction program at the penitentiary on Riker’s Island. In January 2013, the program was expanded to serve all youth within the target population. The program plans to run for three years, from September 2012 to August 2015. It is too early to determine the accomplishments of the New York Pay for Success Initiative. Here is how results are being measured on whether or not the PSI was successful and if the investor receives a return. The Vera Institute of Justice will conduct an independent evaluation of the project in August 2015. The results will be measured in benchmarks, and depending on the success of the nonprofits in decreasing recidivism rates at Rikers Island, the City of New York will pay MDRC (and subsequently Goldman Sachs), while saving money simultaneously. Although the New York City Pay for Success Initiative has not yielded any measurable results, there are several takeaways that can be useful in implementing the prospective New Jersey Social Innovation Act.

The three main lessons learned from the NYC case study are that private investors are largely unwilling to invest in Pay for Success Initiatives if there is no substantial guarantee on their loan. The way this was able to work was by having Bloomberg Philanthropies take on the role of a guarantor—the entity that replaces the investment in the case that the PSI was not successful or if the cost savings are not enough to me the agreed upon return. If Bloomberg Philanthropies had not guaranteed Goldman Sachs $96 million loan by up to 100 percent, it can be assumed that the firm would not have invested. This introduces an alternative role that foundations can play in the Pay for Success process. As guarantor, the foundation would effectively work as an insurer on
the initial investment made by the private entity. Since Pay for Success has had limited case studies to pull from, the guarantor will play a particularly important role in building confidence in this new innovative method. The second reason is timing. Timing is imperative. Representatives of MDRC acknowledged it could have produced more efficient results if they had been provided with more time to develop their intervention programs. It is essential that a Pay for Success Initiative be handled exclusively and meticulously. All parties want the project to succeed, which is why it is in the interest of the stakeholders to have a well-written strategic plan that can be effectively carried out. Finally, the type of project that is most suitable for a Pay for Success Initiative was discovered through this project. It proved to be practical and measurable enough to qualify for government funding. Other Pay for Success Initiatives should analyze this pilot as a reference when working towards implementing their own social innovation acts. Now we will look at the individual roles in detail in the next section.

Even without the long-term results from the New York and UK projects, it is encouraging to note the seamlessness in which private enterprise and government work together to implement the initiatives. This is the way Pay for Success functions. Nonprofits, foundations, and the government partner with a new entity, an intermediary, in order to create an efficient and effective model for fostering social impact. Each stakeholder plays an essential role in the financial and logistical success of the project.

**Defining Pay for Success Initiatives**

The following section will describe the way a PSI should work ideally and part of this description includes the role of each player in a Pay for Success Initiative in order to allow for prospective participants to make a decision regarding whether or not to support them and, if so, what type of support to provide.

As noted before there the key actors are the state, the nonprofit, the intermediary, the independent evaluator, and the investor. In this section we will go in depth on what are the various roles that each actor plays or has the potential to play.

**Stakeholders**

*Intermediary.* We will first begin by defining what the role of the intermediary is and how a PSI functions with it. The intermediary is the middleman amongst the government, nonprofit organizations, and the investor (Sellman and Liebman, 2013). They are a neutral party that is hired by the government to manage the flow of money, determine successful nonprofits, track down potential investors, and help ensure that all of the actors involved are compensated if the PSI is successful. The State will pay the intermediary based on whether the associated nonprofits achieve the goals set forth by the government. The intermediary then pays a portion of the payment from the government to private investors, who provide startup capital to the nonprofit organizations.

The intermediary plays a vital role in the maintenance and execution of the Pay for Success program: without it, there would be no functioning Pay for Success model. The graph above depicts how the intermediary functions with the main stakeholders in Pay for Success. What is not noted in the figure above is how the intermediary comes to be. A nonprofit or private company that specializes in strategic planning, evaluations, econometrics, and consultation, applies for a government grant in the form of an opportunity to take the role of the intermediary. After going through an intense and competitive application process and then given the position, the intermediary will then facilitate numerous tasks as shown in the figure above. The figure above illustrates the flow of funds through and from the intermediary. The intermediary will be in charge of locating both a nonprofit with a high success record and potential investors. Once the potential investor is on board, they will be ensured using success records of the selected nonprofit that their financial risk will be rewarded with a financial return. Data of the success of the nonprofit will show that addressing a particular social issue will help reduce state costs; this same data will be used to persuade investors to take on financial risks. Once the investor is on board, their funds are then shifted over to the intermediary which will then distribute the allocated funds to the nonprofit, restating once again the state’s goals that were set and helping set up their evaluation methods to precisely document the state savings, all while providing exceptional services. Once the nonprofit provides its services, which will help reduce state costs, an agreed upon percentage of those savings (agreed upon by all actors in the PSI model) will be returned to the intermediary which will then also be compensated for its neutral middleman services and then the investor will be compensated.

The intermediary has three critical functions that aid in the distribution of resources and funds. First, the intermediary is responsible for applying for Pay for Success grants through the government. If the state confirms the intermediary, a Pay for Success contract will be drafted, stating the specific social goals for the society. If the goal is met, the government will pay the intermediary a premium. The fee paid to the intermediary should be less than the expected cost savings of the intervention, thus saving the government revenue overall. However, if the goals are not met, the intermediary is not paid. Second, the intermediary is responsible for finding nonprofits with a proven track record of undertaking the social program needed. The intermediary will then create a procurement contract with partner nonprofit organizations, outlining the specific goals set for them to accomplish. It is in the intermediary’s best interest to seek nonprofits who have exhibited consistent and remarkable results since the intermediary’s pay is contingent on the results. Third, the intermediary is responsible for finding private investor capital. The private investors provide the upfront capital for the intermediaries to utilize. The intermediary will then allocate a share of the payment from the government to private investors once the nonprofits have achieved the pre-set goals.

![Figure 1](image.png)

*Figure 1.* Describes the mechanisms of a Social Impact Bond or, as referred to herein, a Pay for Success Initiative.
A d v i s o r y  R o l e s  o f  I n t e r m e d i a r i e s  ( P r o j e c t  I n t e r m e d i a r i e s, 2 0 1 3)

In addition to the main roles mentioned, intermediaries should also be able to perform a host of other functions to ensure the viability of the social program, including:

- Providing data analysis and economic modeling for promising programs
- Integrating risk assessment
- Handling negotiations amongst partners
- Structuring transactions for partners
- Allowing an outlet for continuous communication amongst partners

Due to the fact that intermediaries introduce new costs and additional “middle men” to government funding of nonprofits, there is potential for new complications to arise. Toby Eccles, founder of Social Finance, explains that governments are generally skeptical of ‘middle-man’ agencies, seeing them as an unnecessary expense (Eccles, 2013). Furthermore, many officials are skeptical that intermediaries are not yet developed enough to handle the large-scale skill and experience that are required of them. There is a risk that intermediaries can falsify data to garner more investors and more government contracts at the expense of taxpayers’ dollars. However, the following factors mitigate the concerns of introducing intermediaries:

- Programs in which Pay for Success is applicable, the government stands to save funds that substantially exceed the cost of the intermediaries
- The increase in demand for intermediaries will increase their efficiency and decrease their cost
- Government oversight and third-party evaluations of programs ensure that they function equitably, cost effectively, and are equipped to support large-scale projects

In conclusion, a good intermediary has significant experience working with nonprofit organizations and establishing solid performance contracts. Intermediaries are responsible for identifying viable Pay for Success service providers and funders. Effective intermediaries will have large networks from which to draw potential partners.

Investor. Since the success of early pilots are reliant on long-term capital, financial involvement is one of the strongest and most direct methods of fostering Pay for Success as a tool to scale impact in the community. A vast amount of literature on “Social Impact Bonds” focus on the potential economic benefits of social impact investing such as: repayment, dividends, the ability to reinvest and increase impact. We have found that the overall assessment of investment is that early pilot investors will likely come from the philanthropic community. Since foundations have a vested interest in creating impact through their grant dollars, they are better positioned to serve as investors that prioritize true impact versus financial returns. Pay for Success, a foundation has two investment options: serve as the investor or provide a guarantee. There are two main forms of financial involvement.

Private funding in the form of investments is a unique and beneficial feature of Pay for Success. These investments allow service providers to overcome budget constraints over an extended period of time. Private funders supply capital and performance management, and thus are effectively absorbing most of the financial risks associated with the project; these characteristics are particularly useful for government institutions.

Foundations can play an important role in minimizing the risks that nonprofits face when entering into a new Pay for Success contract. As investors, foundations can do this by committing to offset the burden of evaluation required to demonstrate success while ensuring that Pay for Success investments supplement, rather than replace, traditional funding sources for general operating support. Pay-for-Success initiatives resemble low risk investments. By scaling programs with proven success, the funder takes little risk in supporting the program with initial capital. Guarantor capital on the investment further aids in reducing the impact of failure, and encouraging investment in the private sector.

Having the ability to set conditions is a critical part of being a guarantor, considering the fact that guarantors agree to pay for another organization’s debt if the organization defaults on the loan. Guarantors should be concerned with advocating for a community, tackling a social issue, and meeting set goals. In the case of Pay for Success, the guarantor would pay back the investor if the predetermined goals were not met. Guarantors promote Pay for Success Initiatives because they ensure that the government and investor do not lose a significant amount of money if the service program fails. When a guarantor backs a Pay for Success Initiative, Investor participation begins to take the form of a loan instead of a grant. This loan is not as risky because the investor will get a portion of their money back regardless of how the service program performs. Guarantors change the nature of Pay for Success Initiatives by making social investing less of a gamble.

Guarantors also provide political stability. Since Pay for Success Initiatives are policy making mechanisms, investors may be reluctant to participate because they fear that new administrations will cut payment to the investor. When a guarantor backs a Pay for Success Initiative, an investor’s stake is safer from a new administration’s political will than it would be otherwise. Guaranteeing a Pay for Success gives foundations an opportunity to serve as an ally in Pay for Success Initiatives and Impact Investing. Guaranteeing provides a stable environment where other parties are encouraged to contribute and participate.

The details that govern a guarantor’s duties are largely defined by an agreement the guarantor signs. Many agreements release a guarantor from their duties after a term in which the service provider makes all repayments on time. This term can be one year or several. Guarantors also may waive additional rights, such as ability to contest charges, as defined by a guarantor agreement (Schnotz, 2013).

An investor is able to take action against a guarantor to recoup losses incurred by the borrower. For example, consider a situation in which the Pay for Success Initiative fails to save enough government funds to repay the investor. Without a guarantor, the investor will lose all of the money they put towards the program. When there is a guarantor, the investor may not make a profit but they do not stand to lose money because of program outcomes.

While a funder has the legal leverage to seek payment from a guarantor if the primary borrower fails to make a payment, it is unlikely that a funder would force the guarantor to cover the missed payment. Instead, a funder would wait until the project is terminated before seeking payment for service afterwards. This would force the guarantor to cover all missed payments as well as any loss in value suffered should the property not sell for the amount still owed (Schnotz, 2013).

The New York City Pay for Success Initiative illustrates the tremendous influence a guarantor can have. As an investment alone, the Rikers Island program had such a low guarantee for a return on investment that the initiative to address recidivism would not have happened if the guarantor, Bloomberg, did not commit. The Rikers Island Program would not have attracted funders without a guarantor because the investment is a significant sum of money. In order to justify committing such a large sum of money; investors require significant backing or data to ensure they are not going to lose their funds. Guarantors make Pay for Success Initiatives safer and smarter business transactions.

Additionally, guarantors provide a safety net for the state as well as investors. If a Pay for Success Initiative fails, the investor could pressure the government to repay the investment. Since Bloomberg came on as a guarantor, New York City does not have to repay Goldman Sachs if the recidivism project fails.

The commitment from the guarantor allowed for the project to move forward. The project is on its way to achieving the goals set by the city of New York. Furthermore, additional outcomes were a result of the presence of a guarantor:

- Community building among multiple parties involved (funder, government, nonprofit, guarantor, and the intermediary – all in the name of addressing recidivism)
- The expansion of accountability and the notion that there is a necessity for a collaborative effort for
a complex issue

In the private sector, profitable or effective ventures are immediately recognized and scaled. In the public sector, however, decades can pass before a successful service program is successfully expanded. Public services scale at a slower rate because doing so requires immense information and capital. Private entities can overcome the challenges of expanding programs by utilizing investments and loans. However, the expansion of public services is contingent on the budget and bureaucracy. In the private sector, CEOs and individuals who stand to profit from risk-taking ventures exercise partial control over budgets. In the public sector, funding is largely dependent on legislatures and funders. As a result, effective social programs fail to grow and achieve maximum public benefit.

While the issue area of initial Pay for Success efforts may not fall within a foundation’s funding priorities, participating within local Pay for Success Initiatives appear to be worthwhile for diverse funders. This is why foundations have an interest in providing technical assistance to promote the capacity building of their grantees and local nonprofit community.

Nonprofit organizations. The role of nonprofits in Pay for Success initiatives is crucial to meeting the established benchmarks that will lead to social change. Nonprofits must have the capacity to provide services that are large in scale, efficient, and measurable. Nonprofits need to meet certain criteria in order to meet their goals in Pay for Success. The nonprofit organization is responsible for implementing social impact programs that will fulfill the desired goals. These nonprofits will be allocated a set amount of funding at the onset of the Pay for Success, which it will use to finance the specific project. Nonprofits that engage in Pay for Success Initiatives need to have a proven track record of undertaking the social program that the community needs. Nonprofit organizations will act according to the initial target goals that have been set. These organizations should have exhibited consistent and remarkable results in the past.

To further analyze the function of nonprofits, the following points will be explained:

• Characteristics of a nonprofit suitable for pay for success initiatives
• The role nonprofits play in Pay for Success
• Concerns with the role of nonprofits
• Possible applications of Pay for Success for nonprofits

Currently the chosen nonprofit has three critical functions that aid in the distribution of resources and funds. The first is that they need to work directly with target groups by implementing social impact programs. The nonprofit is responsible for applying for Pay for Success grants through the government. If the New Jersey Government confirms the grant, a Pay for Success contract will be drafted, stating the specific social goals the government seeks the nonprofit to accomplish. If the goal is met, the nonprofit will continue to be funded. However, if the goals are not met, funding to the nonprofit will cease. Second they need to record and report results to the intermediary. The nonprofit is responsible for ensuring that data is well recorded, as future funding is contingent on the success of their program. It is important for the nonprofit to be accurate and honest in reporting their data. It is especially important since an outsider evaluator will be responsible of auditing the nonprofit to reduce likelihood of fraud. Finally, they maintain capital and saving face. As with any nonprofit, a Pay for Success nonprofit is responsible for maintaining capital. This is the primary incentive to the nonprofit to take measures that will bring successful outcomes. Apart from maintaining funding, the nonprofit must be conscious about keeping a clean track record. With Pay for Success Initiative the nonprofit will be analyzed thoroughly and will not want to tarnish a clean reputation.

Among the concerns raised regarding the role of nonprofits in Pay for Success Initiatives is the fear that having nonprofit management emulate the rules, deadlines and regulations of corporate management will adversely affect the dynamics of social activism. Another concern regarding nonprofits dealing with Pay for Success is the idea that a high-stress environment may cause key players to undermine the process. Managers and employees of nonprofit organizations, faced with the added pressure to perform well and meet the benchmarks established for them by the government, may engage in fraudulent transactions and recordkeeping. In order to maximize the probability of success, nonprofits that specialize in areas such as education, the environment, or the arts, for instance, will implement programs in accordance to their respective areas of interest.

Government. For policymakers, this new approach on social uplift will demand more tightly focused and precisely defined policy objectives and performance measures. The model also aims to fill in the areas where these programs have historically fallen short. The government currently faces four significant challenges in funding social programs:

• Government funding does not focus on results and performance
• Insufficient performance evaluation allows ineffective programs to persist
• The proof of concept process for social innovation is slow
• Preventative programs often do not get funded from the budgets they aim to reduce

Pay for Success addresses these issues in the following ways:

Focusing government agencies and social service providers on achieving program objectives and improving performance in ways that are transparent to taxpayers

Placing an emphasis on evaluations as a fundamental component of the Pay for Success payment mechanism

Connecting payments to the achievement of outcomes by enabling Pay for Success to break down the budget silos that hinder investments in preventive measures

• Pay for Success creates a market-based mechanism for financing operating costs and increasing social accountability

The government office involved with the Pay for Success Initiative can lead to the success or failure of the program. Private companies considering partnering with the government for a Pay for Success Initiative should ensure that the office has clear goals in place, bureaucratic capacity to implement the initiative, and the political wherewithal to see the program from start to finish.

Evaluation of PSI. The government and nonprofit entities should expect that rigorous and precise performance measures be set in order to allow for the measurability of the social impact goals that the parties aim to achieve. According to a report by InterAction’s Evaluation and Program Effectiveness, impact evaluation investigates the changes brought about through interventions. Other organizations have a narrower description, which only include evaluations consisting of the ‘counterfactual’ – that is, an estimation of what would have occurred if the intervention had not taken place. In such cases impact evaluations are based on models of cause and effect and require a credible and rigorously defined counterfactual to control for factors other than the intervention that might have caused the change (Rogers, 2012).

Understanding the current problems with impact assessment is a prerequisite for identifying the appropriate method of evaluation. The majority of measurement obstacles are typically associated with four examples. The first being that most measurement methods focus on the quantity of people served or services provided, rather than concentrating on the outcomes that are achieved or how the results have affected the target populations. The Harvard Kennedy School Social Impact Bond Technical Assistance Lab described it as paying for inputs instead of paying for outcomes or success (Sellman and Liebman, 2013). In a PSI the focus is shifted to measuring the impact by shifting the attention to the individual key players. This shift creates transparency and accountability, which then pinpoints where changes need to be made and it narrows down the focus of what social issue, if tackled, can bring biggest impact both socially and economically. The second is that some evaluation approaches lose sight of what is crucial for performance measurement since social impact is difficult to measure. By clearly narrowing down what is being
measured and developing strategic and strong metrics that capture the impact, a valuation of what social issues bring the biggest return. If the PSI is not successful there is at least a new developed way of measurement for future services and programs. Thirdly, certain social programs have assessment plans that are not well tailored to their long-term strategic goals. The issue that arises from this there is no consistency of success between nonprofits success records and the anticipated success records that PSI requires for grants to be distributed to nonprofit candidates. With inappropriate evaluation methods nonprofits could be missing out on potential grant money — thus never expanding or simply dissolving. Finally, some evaluation requirements create perverse incentives in which an evaluator indirectly encourages nonprofits to engage in behavior that is detrimental to their objectives. Because so many parties are involved and the succession of nonprofits achieving anticipated goals the potential for alternative evaluation methods could be built to show that there is an economic and social impact being made. This leaves doors open for pervasive practices by any of the key actors involved, even more so since the PSI model is built on accountability and transparency but state savings also have to align with results from evaluations.

To avoid any of these obstacles there are a series of steps that need to be taken before selecting an evaluation methodology. Before selecting an evaluation methodology, it is necessary to assess how precisely the outcomes can be measured at the intended sample sizes and the extent to which controlling for covariates can reduce that variability. A series of analyses need to be conducted for each type of evaluation approach. Strategies include:

Randomized controlled trial- a rigorous way of determining whether a cause-effect relation exists between treatment and outcome, and for assessing the cost-effectiveness of a treatment

Regression discontinuity design- comparing outcomes of those just below and just above program eligibility thresholds. If this approach is used, it is necessary to establish that a sufficient fraction of the population lies near the eligibility thresholds.

Variance in differences comparison- changes in outcomes for individuals offered the service versus similar ones that were not offered the service. For this method, it is important to show that the treatment group and comparison group outcomes have moved in parallel in the past.

Historical baseline comparison- comparison of past outcomes for similar individuals. If results will be compared to a historical baseline, it is better to establish that the baseline has been stable over time.

Independent Evaluator

Of course, having evaluation metrics set in place is insufficient. There are multiple layers of checks and balances. The evaluating entity is independent from the government, the intermediary, and the service providers in order to validate the results of the project — a neutral party will take on this role. This is to avoid any pervasive and bias incentives, thus they will not be paid on the success of the PSI but rather simply for providing their service – cutting any potential pipelines of compensation for their bias. The independent evaluator in Pay for Success Initiatives should have a strong track record of utilizing appropriate measurement mechanisms. Pay for Success is feasible only if successful and impact is measurable.

Depending on the evaluation methodology chosen, the independent evaluator may need to:

Identify individuals eligible for the service on a weekly or monthly basis

Randomize to select the individuals to be provided the service

Keep track of which individuals are assigned to the treatment group and which individuals are in the control group

Provide the eligible nonprofit with a list of treatment group individuals to serve

Obtain administrative data outcomes for sample members and produce regular outcome reports

Despite the benefits of independent evaluators, some stakeholders do not view external or independent evaluations as the best method because the data gathering and interpretations may be affected by their lack of familiarity with the context. For this reason, it may be useful to include local evaluation experts on the team who understand the context, history and comparative interventions done by other agencies. The investor should not engage with Pay for Success Initiatives if a good intermediary, service provider, government organization, and independent evaluator cannot be identified; strong partners need to be identified.

**Our Model: The New Jersey Social Innovation Act (NJSIA)**

Now we are going to look at the Pay for Success Initiative Model within the context of New Jersey by examining the inspiration of PSI legislation, the actual legislation itself, the obstacles of this particular PSI, and the role that investors can play. The New Jersey Social Innovation Act (NJSIA) was inspired by the work of Camden Coalition of Health Providers. The work that this coalition does involves a social aspect, providing health services to the local residents of Camden, and achieving cost savings of emergency room visits through engaging in holistic and preventative health care measures.

The NJSIA, introduced by Assemblyman Angel Fuentes, ideally bridges the gap between socially responsible policy and economic and political feasibility. The intention of NJSIA is to establish a pilot program and study on Pay for Success Initiatives in the state of New Jersey. This pilot being proposed by the NJSIA addresses rising healthcare expenses. By creating preventative healthcare agents, the pilot will concentrate on reducing the financial burden of emergency room visits by uninsured residents on the New Jersey taxpayers.

While the aims of social impact bonding more generally extend to a variety of social issues, the specific aim of the New Jersey Social Innovation Act is lowering emergency healthcare costs. After the recession in 2008, state budgets have been strained by the increase in assistance for state residents and a decrease in state revenue. “The recession of 2007 to 2009 produced unprecedented declines in state revenue collections across the nation — and New Jersey fared no differently. The collapse affected all of New Jersey’s major revenues, from the “big three” (income, sales, and corporation), which represent 72 percent of all state revenues, to smaller taxes such as realty transfer, inheritance, motor fuels, etc…” (New Jersey State Budget Report, 2012)

In New Jersey, a recent study by the National Association of Community Health Centers found that as much as a third of all emergency room visitors are not sick enough to warrant a trip to the ER. The most common reasons for visiting the emergency room in New Jersey are headaches, stomachaches, and the flu. The estimated cost to pay taxes is approximately 400 million dollars a year. The Social Innovation Act will provide governmental loan guarantees for a social impact bond pilot program aimed at early intervention for such illnesses. According to the state’s budget report, New Jersey is an expensive state in terms of long term care for the elderly ($16,403 per enrollee) and people with disabilities ($20,554). New Jersey spends much more than the average state in the nation on nursing home care, and less on home and community based services where the residents are the sickest, poorest, and rely on Medicaid for financial support for their medical needs. It is projected that by eliminating the need for emergency care, the intervention provided by a nonprofit health organization could save the New Jersey taxpayers millions of dollars in expenses.

Part of the New Jersey legislature’s decision to invest stems from the past performance of similar social investment programs. The current model contains few hard-defined statistics and evidence, but we can still observe other government’s Pay for Success ventures taken over the past two years. This pilot program will serve as a stepping-stone for further investment in social impact bonds. The New Jersey Social Innovation Act has the political support to pass in the New Jersey legislature, and is in need of support from foundations and investors to further its mission. There is potential for
furthering government savings through the Act by replicating this model to other areas where preventative interventions are appropriate.

The importance of effectively allocating taxpayer money becomes more crucial when dealing with medical services for the state’s uninsured. According to the Camden Coalition Healthcare Providers, the total expense of uninsured residents for hospital usage in 2002-2011 was $100 million per year with its most expensive patient costing the taxpayers $3.5 million – 30% costs came from 1% of patients and 80% came from 13% of the patients.

Impact of Financial Involvement in New Jersey

The success of Pay for Success initiatives is based on the cooperation of nonprofit organizations, the government, investors, and charitable foundations. Each player makes a significant contribution to ensure the success of these social impact investments. Creating a community that allows for meaningful discourse and dialogue between the various stakeholders of the Pay for Success’ model plays a huge role in enabling these models to thrive in the state of New Jersey. The following are ways in which communities of discourse can be built.

There needs to be an understanding of the core concepts and benefits of Pay for Success models among the philanthropic community in order to further improve the social impact of the NJ Social Innovation pilot program. The power that financial institutions can gravely impact the direction and future of Pay for Success Initiatives. To further solidify the dedication between actors in social policy, performance-based contract models, such as the New Jersey Social Innovation Act, must be implemented. These are desirable among foundations and social investors because:

- The investors will get regular performance assessments of the initiatives they are funding
- The model will offer a way to scale up these initiatives through government funding, if they are successful

Furthermore, Pay for Success Initiatives have the potential to work well in:
1. Policy areas where there is underinvestment in prevention of social problems
2. Promising programs that are ready to scale-up
3. Substantially funded programs that have serious concerns about performance targets

Public service providers have recently faced additional pressures as budgets have tightened while demand for services has increased. The unique nature of Pay for Success allows for foundations to help nonprofit and government organizations provide critical services.

Lessons learned from program-related investments are directly applicable to PSI and shed light on best practices for private companies interested in investing in new initiatives, including the NUISA pilot program. They serve as new ways of looking at how a PSI can complement a foundation’s grant-making program. Here is a summary of six key lessons learned by the Ford Foundation after two decades of program-related investment (Investment for Social Gain, 1991). These lessons could be applied to Pay for Success in order to ensure impact and accountability (as shown in the image below and further explained after in detail):

1. The greatest impact & repayment records come from projects directly related to grants programs. Grantmaker experience in the field helps determine key questions to ensure success.
2. Program focus. The selection of PRI should be based on program strategy and potential social impact, coupled with financial analysis. Projects should not be chosen based on loan opportunities alone.
3. Borrowers need some project equity in the form of grants. This is especially the case for costs that are difficult to raise elsewhere (example: costs related to intermediary and evaluation overhead)
4. PRIs give foundations a “seat at the table.” Foundations provide insight on the needs of nonprofits and can help create and negotiate terms with private lenders.
5. Find and support intermediaries. This will help develop institutions that can raise new capital and distribute to organizations.
6. Stimulate thinking of funders’ assumptions on nonprofit financial management. PRIs shift view of cash reserves as idle money (and the community practice of emphasizing program spending) towards cash reserves and investments as promoting independence and sustainability.

Furthermore, the foundations should keep in mind the following evaluation requirements for investing in an effective “Pay for Success” project:

Pay for Success Initiatives require a large initial scale of at least 200 individuals served per year in order to determine whether the final outcome was produced by the intervention (Douglas, 2013). If the sample size is small, it will be difficult to obtain enough statistical precision to judge whether the intervention was successful. Alternatively, if a large sample size is unattainable, there needs to be a realistic vision for scaling up the Pay for Success Initiative into a larger project.

Performance-based contracts are applicable only when the available outcome measures, such as earnings, school test scores, recidivism, or healthcare expenditures, are highly correlated with an initiative’s overall social impact goals. If the measures of the results are not significantly correlated with the program’s success, then the performance payments will be based on imperfect measure.

A project should not set overly ambitious initial performance targets, as it may lead to a final assessment that the intervention failed, even though the performance-based payment model succeeded in terms of public sector savings.

Conditions for Implementation for New Jersey

Prior to investing, foundations should take into consideration conditions for implementations that keep the objectives of the Pay for Success in mind.

Study Commission Make up

The legislation requires the New Jersey Social Innovation Study Commission to include a member of the Department of Human Services, Department of Health, and Director of the Office of Faith Based Initiatives. While this is a good starting
point, it is also important that this commission be comprised of members more directly involved in the healthcare program. These include a member of each of the following groups: a physician from a local hospital, a member of the investment group (preferably a person with expertise in social finance) and an adult from the treatment group.

No more than twelve members (ideally 8) should be appointed to the Study Commission. A smaller size commission can simplify meetings at any time the chair of the commission deems necessary. The commission’s wealth of expertise should help lower their reliance on government resources for research. As the New Jersey state government will be obligated to provide full access to professional assistance, it is in their best interest to work with a commission that is well versed in public and private matters so that unnecessary meetings with officials can be avoided. This way, productivity in the other departments will not be affected by the added burden of employees providing extra reports and attending more meetings.

Application Process

Before the project funding can move forward, nonprofits providing services must be thoroughly vetted. Greater favorability will be placed on nonprofit organizations that have a long history of servicing the people of New Jersey, with five years of operation serving as the baseline. With experienced nonprofit service providers, it will be easier to evaluate the results of their previous health-related endeavors.

The efforts of the Fund for New Jersey and Geraldine Dodge Foundation will be taken into consideration, as there is an overlap amongst organizational objectives. As a public policy issue, the Social Innovation Act seeks to utilize your organization’s grant funding to cover the basic operational costs of the Study Commission. The rationale is that there is mutual agreement that the funding formula can open the door to a new method of governmental procedures.

Minimizing risks during implementation

Foundations have the potential to minimize the risks that nonprofits face by establishing sustainability. Nonprofits invest a significant amount of time and resources to submit an application for funding. Because the concept of the Pay for Success formula is fairly modern, many organizations unfamiliar with it may be overeager to apply to receive long-term funding. In order to save organizations the cost of submitting a full proposal and minimize time spent by a review committee on unqualified applicants—foundations can offer their expertise on developing a strong applicant pool.

Additionally, foundations can contribute to the creation of orientation and self-assessment systems specific to the local Pay for Success Initiative. The Rapid Suitability Questionnaires (RSQs) developed by McKinsey & Company and the Nonprofit Finance Fund serve as a starting model for such systems (Learning for Social Impact, 2013).

Recommendations

By investing in the Pay for Success model, you are taking a great step onto the forefront of social innovation. Government agencies are reluctant to take on socially risky programs; therefore, Pay for Success initiatives help by tackling complex social issues without placing the risk on government. We recommend you get involved with Pay for Success in the following three ways:

Community Building: The Fund for New Jersey and the Geraldine Dodge Foundation can organize workshops and engage in community discourse to help insure that nonprofits and community lenders understand the value of Pay for Success.

Capacity Building: The Fund for New Jersey and the Geraldine Dodge Foundation can further the scope of Pay for Success impact by enabling nonprofits to be exceptional candidates for the New Jersey Social Innovation pilot program. Assisting the nonprofits in the following ways will greatly increase their chances of being eligible to participate in Pay for Success:

- Providing technical assistance, building databases and infrastructure for running effective evaluation systems by training the leadership, staffing, and shifting towards evaluation that assesses social impact.
- Both foundations are already invested in the success of their grantees; thus, they can lead this initiative by investing in the evaluation systems of their grantees.
- Alternatively, a New Jersey wide training initiative can be created that utilizes the resources of a funding network/grant maker’s circle that provides training for various grantees in the state.
- Financial Involvement: The Fund for New Jersey and the Geraldine Dodge Foundation could participate in the New Jersey Social Innovation Act as either an initial funder or guarantor. As funders it would allow you to invest in a new product that seeks to fund solutions to major social problems. Guarantors on the other hand would act as a safety net for the project, thus alleviating the risks of investors. This contributes to Pay for Success by ensuring that projects can be initiated without any delay.

Conclusion

Pay for Success initiatives distinguish themselves from other forms of policy by virtue of their emphasis on performance management. Typically, private sector firms invest time, money, and labor to collect data and address organizational inefficiencies. Contrarily, government and nonprofit organizations have a propensity to set vague goals and under-inform performance data analysis. In addition to lacking measurable outcomes, the public sector commonly emphasizes outputs or spending as a measure of success. Consequently, government and nonprofit organizations disproportionately focus on the amount of revenue that is spent on services instead of the impact the services create.

Impact investing has recently proliferated due to mounting social issues, which clearly illustrate that the nonprofit sector and government alone do not have the capacity or resources to address all of society’s problems. Innovation in the private-sector accounts for the overwhelming majority of U.S economic growth. Government services and nonprofit organizations need to achieve a similar rate of development as they are facing more obstacles than ever before.

Pay for Success initiatives allow public service providers to scale successful programs by providing capital up front for an extended period of time. This component of Pay for Success could potentially change the manner in which public services are administered and delivered. Service providers can procure the resources and tools they need when they need them, opposed to waiting for another fiscal year to arrive, a budget to be approved, or funds to open up. With this fiscal change, service providers can focus all of their efforts on achieving outcomes.

References

**The Impact of Perceived Discrimination and Stigma Consciousness on Chronic Stress in African American Couples**

By Sotonye Hart, Senior, Psychology and Human Services 
Faculty Mentor: Dr. Tracy DeHart

**Abstract**

Although the expression of discrimination has greatly reduced in recent decades, more subtle and chronic forms of discrimination are still very apparent for certain groups in our society. This study examined the link between perceived discrimination and stigma consciousness and its effect on chronic stress levels in African American couples. Additionally, the study investigated whether stigma consciousness was a moderator for the influence of perceived discrimination on the level of chronic stress experienced by the romantic partners. A total of 180 African American romantic couples were recruited to individually complete a background survey and daily diary surveys for 21 consecutive days. Results showed that couples who reported experiencing more perceived discrimination also reported higher levels of chronic stress. We predicted that people high in stigma consciousness would show a stronger relation between perceived discrimination and chronic stress. Findings suggested that stigma consciousness did not exacerbate the influence of perceived discrimination on chronic stress levels. The study investigated the potential connections between perceived discrimination, stigma conscious, and levels of chronic stress experienced by African American couples.

The concept of race has always played an important role in the psychology of the African American experience. Two widely prevalent stressors that have been linked to a number of physiological and psychological problems for African Americans are racism and discrimination (Clark, Anderson, Clark & Williams, 1999). Perceived discrimination has been studied with regard to its impact on several types of health effects. Much of empirical research has found that perceptions of unfair treatment, and specifically racial discrimination, have been associated with increased levels of psychological distress. Findings suggest the production of elevated stress responses by perceived discrimination is associated with negative health outcomes (Pascoe and Richman, 2009).

However, consequences of perceived discrimination on mental health may not be consistent for all African Americans. People’s level of stigma consciousness, or the degree that they expect to be the target of stereotypes and discrimination, may influence how they respond to perceived discrimination. If the relationship between chronic stress and perceived discrimination is conditional on the levels of stigma consciousness an individual has, then it can be reasonable to assume it is a moderator that can lead to better psychological wellbeing. The current study expands prior research by examining if stigma consciousness will exacerbate the impact of perceived discrimination on levels of chronic stress.

**Perceived Discrimination**

The term, racism, refers to a system that categorically divides groups into “races”, and sees this ranking to allocate societal resources and to superior groups (Bonilla-Silva, 1996). Moreover, racism leads to the maturation of negative attitudes toward racial out-groups (groups that one is not a member of). Discrimination has been defined as the “process by which a member of a socially defined group is treated differently because of his or her membership in that group” (Bonilla-Silva 1996). One aspect of racism that has been receiving increasingly more attention is perceived discrimination. Perceived discrimination has been identified as a prominent stressor that has negative consequences for health outcomes. Perceived discrimination is defined as a behavioral manifestation of a negative attitude or unfair treatment towards members of a group. Past literature indicates that perceived discrimination is a chronic stressor linked to physical and mental problems (D.R. Williams, Spencer, & Jackson, 1999).

Studies of perceived discrimination generally measure events occurring at the individual level in which they have reported being “treated badly or unfairly,” or are feeling “disadvantaged” relative to others based on their racial background (Krieger, Smith, Naishadhams, Hartman, Barbeau, 2005). From a stress research paradigm, findings showed individual differences in vulnerability to stress were key development from perceived discrimination to the development of mental health morbidity (Kessler, Mickelson, Williams, 1999). This illustrates that chronic experiences with perceived discrimination can have wide-ranging negative effects on individuals.

**Perceived Discrimination and Chronic Stress**

The continuing legacy of poor health in African Americans, despite the overall improved conditions of their lives, is one compelling reason to take a closer look at the role discrimination may play. Poor health outcomes such as chronic stress, adversely affect the development of an individual’s psychological well-being (Clark et al, 1999). Chronic stressors refer to experiences that provide consistent negative exposure to over-demanding tasks or feelings of burden. Based on recent literature, findings suggested that racism represents a distinct source of chronic life stress for African Americans. African Americans who are chronically exposed to racial discrimination are more likely to report an increase amount of...
stressful life events and engage in maladaptive coping behaviors, therefore increasing the probability of negative health outcomes. (Ong, Fuller, Burrow, 2009)

Based on a study conducted by Ong et al., (2009) their findings indicated that the similar chronic life conditions that contribute to the creation of daily racial discrimination experienced by African Americans may also contribute to a cascade of secondary stressors such as negative events. Results show that chronic exposure to racial discrimination may lead to an accumulation of daily negative events across various life domains such as finances, health, friends and more. These findings illustrate the multiple ranges of effects that perceived discrimination could have on one's personal life. Results suggest that part of the variability can be explained by the fact that African Americans who are exposed to the same chronic stressor (i.e., racial discrimination) may be exposed to very different configurations of primary (i.e., racial discrimination) and secondary (i.e., negative events) stressors.

Even among African Americans who perceive certain stimuli as stressful, whether ethically based or not, there are likely to be wide individual differences in psychological and physiological stress responses (Clark et al, 1999). The magnitude and duration of these stress responses is dependent on the availability and use of coping responses. Coping responses that do not relieve stress responses are considered maladaptive and may negatively affect health. If maladaptive coping responses are used, the perception of an environmental event as racist will trigger psychological and physiological stress responses. Findings from the study indicate that the perception of racism usually resulted in psychological and physiological stress responses.

This allows to the prediction that perceived discrimination will influence the levels of chronic stress that African American couples report.

Stigma Consciousness
Although chronic exposure to racial discrimination can have serious consequences for mental health, not everyone exposed to discrimination is equally affected. Past literature has examined factors that may moderate the impact of racial discrimination on well-being. Stigma consciousness refers to the amount of self-consciousness that an individual has regarding their disadvantaged social status. Stigma can also affect health indirectly via identity threat mechanisms. Threats to identity can initiate a cascade of negative cognitions and emotions (Major and O’Brien, 2005). The impact that identifying with a stigmatized status in society has on an individual is dependent upon various factors, including aspects of the self. Stigma consciousness is the degree that people expect to be stereotyped and treated based on their membership in a certain group. A person’s level of stigma consciousness fluctuates based on the extent in which they believe their disadvantaged position influences the interactions they have with others. Individuals who are high in stigma consciousness believe that their stereotyped status has a strong impact on how others act towards them, whereas, individuals low in stigma consciousness do not consider their stereotyped status to influence interactions they have with out-group members (Pinel, 1999).

One part of Pinel’s study examined the difference of levels of stigma consciousness based on group-membership. Results suggested that groups that regularly confront discrimination should have greater levels of stigma consciousness in comparison to groups who do not. These findings show that one probable determinant of people’s levels of stigma consciousness is experience. Another part of Pinel’s study also revealed that female participants who were high in stigma consciousness expected to perform more poorly on stereotypically predominately male subjects (i.e., “automobile brands”) than on stereotype-relevant topics (i.e., “parts of the body”) when they were competing against a man in comparison to a woman (Pinel, 1999). This illustrates the effect that stigma consciousness has on an individual’s perception of themselves when rated high in stigma consciousness. Pinel also found in her study a correlation between stigma consciousness and the perception of disrespect and discrimination from others.

The work by Pinel (1999) suggests that one individual difference variable that may influence how people respond to perceived discrimination is their level of stigma consciousness. Because people high in stigma consciousness expect to be the target of stereotypes and discrimination, they may be much more reactive to (and upset by) these types of experiences. As a result, people high in stigma consciousness (versus low in stigma consciousness) may report increased stress in response to perceived discrimination. Therefore, stigma consciousness can affect health indirectly by initiating a cascade of negative cognitions and emotions in response to perceived discrimination. Stigmatization creates disadvantages in several domains of life and negatively impacts the quality of life for stigmatized individuals. As a result, some members of stigmatized groups may be at an increased risk for developing mental health problems such as depression and anxiety (Jackson et al. 1996; McEwen 2000; Williams and Williams-Morris, 2000).

The Current Study
The goal of the current study is to extend previous research by examining whether people’s level of stigma consciousness influences the relation between perceived discrimination and chronic stress. This study is framed to help us better understand the diverse range of experiences that influence African American couples’ daily interactions. Specifically, we are interested in examining African American couples’ attitudes and feelings about themselves and their partners, as well as the everyday experiences that shape their lives.

In current literature, there are many gaps on research studies focused on couples. The studies that are conducted have been, mostly focused on Caucasians. Examining the unique protective and risk factors associated with African American couples will help fill an important gap in our broader understanding of the daily functioning of African American couples. We were interested in examining African American couples because they are an understudied group and frequent targets for discrimination. Based on the literature reviewed above we examined the following two hypotheses:

Hypothesis 1: Consistent with previous research (Ong et al., 2009), we expect that people who experience more perceived discrimination will report higher levels of chronic stress.

Hypothesis 2: We predict that stigma consciousness will moderate the effect of perceived discrimination on chronic stress levels. For people high in stigma consciousness, there will be a strong positive relation between perceived discrimination and chronic stress. In contrast, for people low in stigma consciousness, the relation between perceived discrimination and chronic stress will be weaker.

Methods
Participants: One hundred and eighty African American couples living in the Chicago land area were involved in the study. The average age of the participants was 36.5 years (SD = 12.2). The average relationship length of the participants was 72 years (SD = 8.3 years). Approximately thirty-six percent of the participants were married, fifty-seven percent of the participants were single and never married, while seven percent of the participants were divorced or widowed. In regards to income level, fifty-four percent of participants reported to earn less than 25,000 dollars, thirty percent reported to earn between 25,001-50,000 dollars, nine percent reported to earn between 50,001-75,000 dollars, three percent reported to earn between 75,001-100,000 dollars, one percent reported to earn between 100,001-125,000 dollars, three-tenths percent earned 100,001-150,000 dollars and six-tenths percent earned over 200,000 dollars.

Eligibility: In order to be eligible to participate in the study, both members of the couple were required to identify as African American. Participants were required to be at least eighteen years of age. Additionally the couple had to be married or cohabiting, yet could not be commuting. Lastly, both members of the couple were required to have access to the Internet between the hours of 8:00pm and 3:00 am, in order to complete the online daily diary survey.
Procedure
Participants were recruited to participate in a web-based study referred to as the “Couples Daily Interpersonal Experiences Study.” Recruitment occurred through the placement of pamphlets and brochures promoting the study in community centers, churches, university campuses, restaurants, grocery stores, various online classified advertisements, cultural events geared toward African Americans, and a recruitment ad on the Red Line. As an incentive to participate, couples could earn up to $175 if both members completed the twenty-one daily diary study. During the orientation session, couples completed an online survey consisting of various demographic and background measures including measures of stigma consciousness, perceived discrimination and chronic stress. Subsequently, for twenty-one consecutive days, participants logged onto a password-protected website to access the daily diary portion of the study to record their daily personal experiences. Participants were able to access the website between 8:00pm and 3:00am via a link sent to their email account. Couples were requested not to discuss information about the study until after the twenty-one daily diary study was finished. In order to increase compliance, each day that both members of the couple completed the daily diary survey on time, they received a lottery ticket towards a grand prize reward ($500).

Background Measures
Participants were asked to provide general demographic information including, age, gender, relationship length, marital status, co-habitation length, the number of children, educational level, and income. The background survey also included the measures below.

Stigma-consciousness Questionnaire. The stigma-consciousness questionnaire (SCQ) is a ten-item measure (Pinel, 1999) that was used as an assessment for the concerns that African Americans have about prejudice (e.g., “I never worry that my behaviors will be viewed as stereotypical of my ethnicity (reverse-coded),” and “Stereotypes about my ethnicity have not affected me personally” (reverse-coded)). The stigma-consciousness questionnaire incorporated two broad content areas: (a) African Americans’ personal experiences when interacting with other racial groups. (e.g., “I almost never think about the fact that I am my ethnicity when I interact with others”) and (b) beliefs about how African Americans view others (e.g., “Most others have a problem viewing ethnic minorities as equals.”) Participants indicated the extent to which they agreed with each item on the scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree), with a midpoint of 4 (neither agree nor disagree). A higher number represents higher stigma consciousness (a = .77).

Perceived Discrimination. The Daily Life Experience (DLE) is a self-report measure that assesses the frequency and impact of twenty racial microaggressions. This twenty-item subscale of the Racism and Life Experience scale (Harrell, 1994) was utilized for the assessment of perceived discrimination over the past year. Sample items include “Others expecting your work to be inferior” and “Being ignored, overlooked, or not given service.” Respondents rated each item using a Likert scale ranging from zero (never occurred) to five (once a week or more). Higher numbers on this measure represent more experiences with perceived discrimination.

Chronic Stress. The Chronic Stress is a 51 item self-report measure that assessed the frequency and impact of levels of chronic stress (Wheaton, 1994). The checklist included a list of events that occurred to them over the past year. The events on the list were symbolic of major stressful life events that occur in people’s lives. These stressors were in the domains of financial issues, work, marriage and relationship, parental, family, social life, residence, health, and general problems (e.g., “You want to change jobs or career but don’t feel you can” and “You don’t have enough money to take vacations”). Higher numbers on this measure represent higher chronic stress (a = .87).

Repeated Daily Diary Measures. Over a period of twenty-one consecutive days, participants completed measures of daily perceived discrimination and daily relationship functioning. The online daily diary study took approximately ten minutes to complete each day, which equaled to an overall amount of three hours spread across in the twenty-one day period. The results presented are from measures included in the background survey.

Results
Stigma Consciousness, Perceived Discrimination, and Chronic Stress. A regression analysis was conducted predicting chronic stress from centered stigma consciousness, centered perceived discrimination, and the interaction between Perceived Discrimination x Stigma Consciousness. As summarized in Table 1, there was a positive relation between perceived discrimination predicting chronic stress. This indicates that people who reported experiencing more perceived discrimination also reported higher chronic stress levels. However, contrary to predictions, the Perceived Discrimination x Stigma Consciousness interaction was not significant. This finding suggests that stigma consciousness did not influence the relation between perceived discrimination and chronic stress. Stigma consciousness was not a moderator for the influence of perceived discrimination on chronic stress levels.

Discussion
The goal of the current research was to examine the relations among perceived discrimination, stigma consciousness, and chronic stress in a community sample of African American Couples. The current study found that individuals who reported experiencing more perceived discrimination also reported elevated levels of chronic stress. However, contrary to our predictions, the present study did not find that stigma consciousness was a moderator for the interaction between perceived discrimination and chronic stress levels. In other words, regardless of people’s level of stigma consciousness, increased perceptions of discrimination over the past year were related to increased chronic stress over the past year.

Overall, the current study remained consistent with previous research (Ong et al., 2009) by providing further evidence for the prediction that individuals who reported experiencing more perceived discrimination also reported elevated levels of chronic stress. Much of empirical research has found that perceptions of unfair treatment, and specifically racial discrimination, have been associated with increased levels of psychological distress. Findings suggest the production of elevated stress responses by perceived discrimination is associated with negative health outcomes (Pascoe et al., 2009). Instances of perceived discrimination are commonly reported experiences among African Americans and pose a substantial risk for mental health. Day-to-day discrimination appears to be especially detrimental for mental health African Americans have reported that the negative attributes attached to blackness may be especially threatening to one’s sense of self (Pascoe et al., 2009). Although our second hypothesis which predicted that stigma consciousness will moderate the effect of perceived discrimination on chronic stress levels was not supported, findings from Fine’s studies do indicate that there are prevalent differences between individuals high in stigma consciousness versus those individuals which lower levels of stigma consciousness. Understanding the relationship between stigma consciousness and racism-related stressors in African American couples should be further investigated.

One of the main strengths of this study is that participants came from a sample of community members, and were not college students (a typical sample of convenience in psychology research). Although all participants identified as the same racial background, there was much diversity in the individual’s socioeconomic status, age, and satisfaction levels of their relationship. Another significant strength was that the study examined day to day influence of perceived discrimination and chronic stress levels in African American couples which has not been generally addressed in the current literature. Therefore, the current study was able to examine factors that moderate the harmful physiological responses to
discrimination and the resulting negative health outcomes in the context of African American couples lives, examining factors that influence the relation between perceived discrimination and chronic stress should help contribute to reducing existing health disparities facing African Americans.

Limitations

There were a few limitations present in the study. As a cross-sectional study, we did not manipulate any of the variables. The information gathered from the study was only correlational data. Correlational data cannot provide us with insight to causation, therefore we cannot speak to the causal effects that perceived discrimination had on chronic stress levels of African American couples. Therefore, it is not clear whether perceiving discrimination leads to increased chronic stress, whether exposure to chronic stress leads to perceiving more discrimination, or whether there is some third variable that influences both perceived discrimination and chronic stress. Future work manipulating perceived discrimination via an experimental methodology will be necessary to provide insights into the causal relation among perceived discrimination and chronic stress.

Future Research

The current research only looked at a few of the measures in this large longitudinal daily diary study. Future data analyses from this study may contribute to the lack of literature on African American couples. Research should focus on romantic relationship functioning of African American couples is limited. Therefore, future research needs to be done on gathering new information on the effects of perceived discrimination and chronic stress on relationship functioning and quality of African American romantic relationships.

In summary, this study sought to examine the impact of perceived discrimination and chronic stress on romantic relationship functioning of African American couples. Findings suggest that experiencing more perceived discrimination resulted in higher levels of chronic stress. Chronic stress is significantly linked to psychological distress that impairs both mental and physical health (Clark et al., 1999). Understanding the negative outcomes of perceived discrimination is very important to gain a better comprehension of the African American experience. By knowing more about how perceived discrimination affects relationship functioning of African American couples, we may be able to understand factors that cause negative outcomes to result from perceived discrimination.

References


NEW AFRICAN SOCIAL MEDIA

By Antoinette Isama, Senior, Journalism Faculty Mentor: Dr. Noah Butler

Scroll, Read, Watch, Listen, Reply, Like, Reblog, Scroll-Repeat. Spending hours scrolling through new social media platforms exists as just another platform in which people consume and produce the content that they share. The veil of the preconceived notions one can have on new social media platforms and blogging not only creates a fixed perception of identity and popular culture, it creates a blurred perception of what one can discover about their own identity and others. These perceptions include the assumption that all that social media produces is another means of communication. Behind the veil lie the potential of consumers and producers to discover more about their respective cultures and identities, the ability to define and implement “creativity,” and to create new meaning and contest old meaning.

Why Africa?

Today’s African social media is not just a means of connecting and finding current news, rather, it is a way to connect the old traditions with the new. At the same time, New African Social Media has become a way for new generations of African youth to reimagine tradition—what constitutes it, whose it is and why, to contest it—and also to question, as have a generation of scholars, whether “tradition” is even a worthwhile notion (Anderson 1983, Mudimbe 1988). Dialogue on the complexities and blurry edges of tradition through this virtual community are constant and always changing (Coleman 2010, Larkin 2008).

The New African Social Media platform enabled African youth to exemplify creativity with each other through virtual communities. African youth are able to redefine not only creativity through what new content is generated, but also re-label tradition and how old content is given new meaning. New African Social Media gives African youth the freedom to produce a new space for new African creativity. With this creativity, producers are able to communicate and share what they imagine Africa was like in the past, what Africa is like in the present, and what Africa will be in the future, but importantly, in transnational ways.

Additionally, content featured in New African Social Media differs from Africa-content material in mainstream media. New African Social Media allows producers and consumers to shed a different light on what Africa means and is to them: diverse, progressive, and positive. People are feel free to be bold to create, report, and share what they do not see in mainstream media; as well as to give a more balanced view of what occurs on and off the continent.

New African Social Media exemplifies how new forms of media impact culture. Those within this “virtual world” are able to re-appropriate content and attach new meaning to the content they create or share, and, in important ways, maintain and re-appropriate “old” meanings.

What is Social Media? Being Social Without Being Present

Social media is a web-based form of interaction. People who use social media are able to be social without being present in terms of physical proximity. Social media allows for the creation of websites, blogs, and social networking sites, where users create online communities to share information, ideas, and other multimedia-based content. Thus, it has been a platform for users to communicate person-to-person without having to do so in person. This platform also gives users a sense of connection without the physical connection—which in turn questions the notion of proximity. The growth and evolution of social media continuously changes, and users continuously influence those changes.

The “new” in New Social Media refers to the on-demand access users have to this platform. It also refers to how users are able to be interactive, and to either create discussion or feedback amongst each other, or with the platform itself. New Social Media allows creative participation for both consumers and producers. Yet in some ways the term New Social Media incorporates the many different sorts of interactions, purposes, uses, web forms, and contents. The broadness of New Social Media enables users to mold and define how they use the platform (or platforms)—and why they use the platform.

Tumblr is an example of a new social media platform. When one goes to the website, the platform boldly shares that 139.6 million blogs and counting have been created, 62.9 billion posts have been made or shared, and it takes 30 seconds to join. This macrocosm of a new social media platform supports many microcosms of virtual worlds and communities. Tumblr’s motto, “Follow the blogs you’ve been hearing about. Share the things that you love,” sums up how users and producers in the virtual worlds within this platform continuously generate content that is constantly changing. This is because the content is shared and re-appropriated in a short amount of time, and users continuously contribute to the rapid appropriation through interacting with each other.

This paper examines what New African Social Media does. As such, it connects media theory and anthropology. It investigates and surveys the who, how, and why of New African Social Media, with a focus on the constructions and perceptions of “virtual worlds” and their impact on the community and contributors (Barber). This paper also progresses from a single question: What does New African Social Media do?

From this question, this paper delves into other related ones:

What does New African Social Media communicate? How, and why?

In what ways does New African Social Media create imagined communities?

What is the significance of the categories that are the most popularly shared among this virtual community?

“The Internet is not a thing...”

Recent scholarship in media studies and
anthropology stresses that the Internet is more than just connection and technology. Daniel Miller explores this when he asks, “What kind of stuff is communication technology? For example, we may decide we want to initiate a discussion of the Internet, but what is the Internet? Using the word Internet we may forget the constantly changing configuration of things that people do online. The early genres of Internet use that were associated with activities such as flaming have pretty much disappeared” (2010: 110-11).

He continues,

Today there are some regions where people know nothing about surfing for information and see the Internet as a place for chat, while in other regions they surf but don’t chat. The Internet is not a thing, and had no clear material form except though the box and screen that is the computer. The Internet is not one of its particular usages. Rather, it’s a term we use to consolidate genres of usage that are linked through online access. Should the Internet be regarded then in terms of the capacities that seem inherent in it, in its actual usage, or perhaps the way it is understood—what we gloss at its meaning when we use the term Internet (Miller 2010: 110-11).

Even when breaking down the meaning of what came before social media, the Internet, Miller is exploring how the Internet has become a term that people can make their own meaning with, depending on their reasons for and expectations of using the Internet.

For Miller, the Internet is as much a form of material culture as it is of technological development and communication and communicative possibilities. Because of the different ways people pull the Internet with their use in similar ways, the Internet is, in turn, culturally contextual. What’s unique about this notion is that the assumption that there is one concrete definition and procedure in regards to the Internet, New Social Media, and New African Social Media is false. What these definitions and procedures are lies in the hands of the users in the virtual communities.

With the genres that Miller refers to, there are categories that act as such with the content users and producers connect within New African Social Media. These categories, or genres, use form and content for consumption with each post that is shared within the virtual community. These genres are necessary to be able to determine the diversity of content producers share, as well as the content that consumers prefer to discover.

The theory of “transnational subjectification” (Ginsburg), as well as the many theories of media technology connects the data with what New African Social Media does. These theories will help build on the ideas that the content that is created and shared within the New African Social Media community is always changing, that it is a platform for African youth to show creativity within the community, and it is an opportunity for content to be re-appropriated.

Media Theory

For well over a decade, scholars have continued discourse on topics such as media technologies, media theory, and the importance of historical context in regards to the development of digital media. Discussing current theories will help connect with examples of what is going on in these New African Social Media virtual communities.

Brian Larkin states, “Media technologies are more than transmitters of content, they represent cultural ambitions, political machineries, modes of leisure, relations between technology and the body, and in certain ways, the economy and spirit of an age” (Larkin 2008: 2). His point not only supports that New African Social Media connects the old traditions with the new that is constantly changing, but supports that it allows those in this virtual world to reinvent, re- imagine, contest and combine notions of "tradition." New African Social Media has become a way for new generations of African youth to show creativity with each other through virtual communities. In this case, Larkin’s mention of media technologies representing “the economy and spirit of an age” does not apply to New African Social Media. On the one hand, platforms that users and producers share their information through is free and does not call for what is known as a “paywall.” On the other hand, these platforms challenge the singular idea of an “economy and spirit of an age.”

Larkin, discussing the notion that the content generated within the community of New African Social Media is constantly changing and exploring the “stability” and sociality of such platforms, continues:

Technologies are unstable things. We think we know what a radio is, or what a cinema is used for, but these phenomena, which we take for granted, have often surprising histories. What media are needs to be interrogated and not presumed. The meanings attached to technologies, their technical functions, and the social uses to which they are put are not inevitable consequence but something worked out over time in the context of considerable cultural debate. And even then, these meanings and uses are often unstable, vulnerable to changing political orders and subject to the contingencies of objects’ physical life (Larkin 2008: 3).

Since the content shared and created within New African Social Media is not static, it allows for users and producers to attach new meaning with content they appropriate. This puts into question of how one can show creativity within New Social Media. Specifically through New African Social Media, the opportunity for users and producers to be creative parallels why they are using the platform in that way for different reasons. This can be seen with what they choose to create and re-appropriate, as well as what each blog is categorized under.

The pliability of re-appropriated content within New African Social Media also challenges notions of the placement of media in popular culture. With this, Larkin states, “Media are key ingredients in popular life, in the everyday pleasures and affective engagements that make up the urban experience everywhere. They are also important in stimulating new aesthetic forms that borrow from older ones, adapting and reworking them, creating new forms from old” (Larkin 2008: 4-5). Producers and consumers are doing just this within the New African Social Media community. The use of this platform not only is a way for producers and consumers so share their content rapidly, its ease of use and mobility allows for generating content to become part of their life as African youth. Yet, as African diasporic youth, they do not have to be physically on the continent of Africa to be social and aware.

Transnational Subjectification

New African Social Media challenges and questions the notions of space and time. What consumers discover are still consumed despite the intention of the producer, as well as where the producer is. The idea of “transnational subjectification” expands on questioning the notions of space and time as well when Ginsburg states, “Transnational subjectification’ occurs, with the help of small media, in a different way for a diasporic group living within a nation but with links to distant homelands’ (Ginsburg, et al 2002: 15). Transnational subjectification can be seen in New African Social Media, especially in regards to the reconfiguring of the use of time. In this virtual community, what one post that spreads in the span of minutes will be gone from the front page of the producer’s blog. It opens new and interesting channels of communication, as well as displays how the content generated is ongoing and collapses time.

The notion of “transnational subjectification” creates different layers of communities that can be seen in New African Social Media. Producers and users are able to make microcosms of communities that pertain aspects such as origin and interests knowing that where they are physically does not tamish the feeling of community.

“Transnational subjectification” within the virtual community of New African Social media aids in the efforts to refute the objectification of Africa. Producers and users are able to mock, acknowledge, move beyond, yet still find lessons from the history of generic objectification of Africa through forms of art, aesthetics, and display. This can be seen through blogs that focus on natural wonders of Africa that are not well known, to blogs that focus on diasporic African fashion.

A specific example of this seen within the virtual community of New African Social Media would be
through a blog called, Nigeria Through Our Lives*, whose purpose is to encourage users to submit old photos of their parents or even grandparents upbringing in Nigeria via outlets such as photos, videos and music from the late 19th century to the 1990s. From photos of emirs of Sokoto, to photos of a couple lounging in their living room in the 1970s, the producer of this blog chooses to juxtapose what one may think is conventional assumptions about Nigeria to photos that emulate daily life. This blog also serves as a historic hub, providing articles and snippets of Nigerian history. In an interesting way, blogs such as Nigeria Through Our Lives are an example of the ability to mock and acknowledge from the history of generic objectification of Africa while making the strong point that despite the history and preconceived notions about Africa, that people held onto and lived their lives as they saw it. Ethnographically, the anthropologists have also delve into the significance of digital media, especially in regards to connections between people of the Diaspora and people on the continent.

According to E. Gabriella Coleman:
Digital technologies are thus central to diasporic groups in part because, as Bernal argues in her work on Eritrea, diaspora and information technologies stand in a ‘homologous’ relationship to each other because ‘in both cyberspace and the spaces of diaspora… location is ambiguous, and to be made socially meaningful, it must be actively constructed (Coleman 2010:491).

The continued discourse that Coleman, along with Bernal (Coleman 2010: 491), are participating in contributes to the importance of the virtual communities within New African Social Media to remain dynamic and to also continuously define these microcosms of communities remain purposeful for those participating.

Methods: A Different Approach

The data gathered from a sample of New African Social Media websites will also be a contributing factor to the analysis to the questions posed. Websites were selected based on their content, their participation of re-appropriation and reblogging, as well as their interconnections between each other.

To answer the research questions, the data from the blogs were catalogued and analyzed, as well as the interviews of the users and designers. Approximately 40 blogs were chosen for analysis. Not only do these blogs either reference each other or promote each other, they participate in the re-appropriation of their respective content. A main keyword will be used throughout this paper that is vital in the world of Tumblr: reblog and reblogging. This refers to users who view a particular blog post and clicks a link that shares the same post on his or her own blog. When one clicks on

of three young girls on their first communion day in Equatorial Guinea in 1989 puts transnational subjectification in an interesting light. Donning their long white dresses and veils (although one’s socks compliment the dress that it is too short on her), the three young girls stand in a straight line wearing neon-colored sunglasses. The backdrop is only a section of a building built with mud and wood. The focus is on these three girls, and the recording of their moment.

Scrolling through the notes that allow the viewer of this post to see who shared this post on their respective blog(s), some may not know the story behind the photo with the photo credit being absent. This, in turn, allows consumers to imagine Africa in their own way. For those imagining the past, they may appreciate these young girls starting a trend with their neon-colored sunglasses. For those imagining the future, this photo could be a still-frame in an Afro-Futuristic concept video. The ability for consumers and producers of New African Social Media to be creative is how this “virtual world” repels posts such as this from being placed in a gallery at a museum. The constant motion of change and innovation attributes to this notion. This is because of the ability for consumers and producers to mold their perspective as their own, using these blog posts as the catalysts.

A Nigerian-Canadian Music Producer

Sitting in a leather desk chair at a recording studio, gazing away from the camera with a smile, this 16-year-old accomplished something that most people her age only dream of: producing a song for Jay-Z on an album that went platinum within days of its release. The news of her accomplishment is the most shared and liked post with my findings thus far. Taken directly from the post:

Amazing 16-Year-Old Girl Created a Beat for Jay-Z’s New Album

Canadian teen Ebony Oshunrinde, who aptly goes by the moniker WondaGirl in the studio, has just finished the 11th grade. She’s also just been credited as a producer on “Crown,” a track on Jay-Z’s new album “Magnificent Carta Holy Graal” (excerpt from Africa In Technicolor*).

Three Girls in Equatorial Guinea

A photo that has been shared over 8,500 times
With over 14,000 notes, many who recognize this piece of news may have done so for many reasons. But for most, it is because she is of Nigerian descent. Her peers take pride in her accomplishment along with her.

Most users that chose to re-blog this post also recognize that stories such as these remind people that those who come from the continent, diasporic or not, challenge misconceptions about Africa and African people in regards to success. The rapid spread of this story spreads the positive note that African people are talented and driven. On the other hand, this post itself also encourages the producer herself to continue that drive and to also be an influence on others.

These vignettes juxtapose depictions of Africa on the continent itself and in the Diaspora (Butler). These vignettes are significant, for they both are avenues for viewers to take in regards to instilling African pride in their peoples, as well as use these images and stories to balance the positive aspect of African and Diasporic affairs.

Re-Blogging in Depth

In the preliminary stage of this research, data was gathered by approaching the blogs as a public user. This way, one can see how accessible and public these blogs are without having to create a profile through the platform. With the use of Alexa, a web analytics engine, information from how many pages a consumer views to how engaged consumers are produced from the perspective of a public viewer.

The blogs chosen were selected by user popularity and how each blog interacts with each other through reblogging content onto their own respective blogs. Categories were determined by what the producer considered the topic of their blog is, as well as a survey of the kind of posts the producer generated or reblogged. When gathering and organizing reblogged data from the 33 blogs, the posts on the first page or the first 15 posts were selected. By determining how many users reblogged each post, it helps show what type of content viewers like to see and share.

Chart 1 displays a small sample of these findings. Charts 2 and 3 display a small sample of the fashion blogs within New African Social Media and the data that corresponds with Alexa's metrics of Bounce Rates, Page Views, and Time Spent on each blog. These engagement metrics helps one understand how interested a site's visitors are with the blog's content. The metrics are updated daily based on the trailing 3 months.

The Bounce Rate refers to the percentage of visits to the site that consist of a single page view. The Page View refers to the daily unique page views per visitor on the website. The Time in Site refers to an estimated daily time (min/sec) per visitor to the site.

Preliminary Analysis: A Brief Perspective from Users

Although gathering quantitative data is important, it is also vital to consider and incorporate qualitative information by seeing the perspective consumers and producers have on New African Social Media. A small sample of students that fit the demographics of this study were given a brief preliminary online survey, asking questions in regards to what aspects of Africa-related content are consumed more than others, as well as questions on how the students themselves would define New African Social Media.

Between the five to seven hours a week that these students spend on the Internet outside of schoolwork, most prefer to obtain Africa-related information online, instead of relying on mainstream media outlets. From reading African news, to discovering African films, these students see more of a balance via online platforms than that of what mainstream media produces about Africa.

The students were also asked to share briefly what first comes to mind when they think of the term "New African Social Media." The following are a selection of responses: New African Social Media is...

- "Globalized Africa"
- This response relates directly back to Ginsburg’s notion of “transnational subjectification.” Defining New African Social Media in this manner shows that Africa is not just confined on the continent—it is accessible and global. The broad nature of this response also considers the Diaspora.
- “Social Media that is modernized to reach out to younger generations focused on engaging them in the cultural issues and connecting them to current news on what is going on in various African countries today”

This response focuses on how New African Social Media is social. This response also focuses on the youth and the importance of social media platforms ability to engage the youth.

- “Urban, motivational, Afro-urban, interesting, youthful”

This response essentially sums up the sentiments within the virtual community of New African Social Media. An interesting approach to note to consider is when Anderson states, "It is imagined because the members of even the smallest nation will never know of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion" (Anderson 1983(2006): 6). Anderson refers to "it" being communities and the imagined communities developed through the notion of nationalism. In this context, the imagined community is New African Social Media—imagined can be synonymous to virtual in this context.

These diverse reactions and perspectives in regards to what New African Social Media shows that one definition does not exist. The term itself can be thought of as an umbrella of a plethora of ways to engage African culture through new social media outlets.

Conclusion: Only Scratching the Surface

This research is not only unique, but also current and timely for the following reasons. First, it is multidisciplinary and it has broader relevance in bridging different sorts of studies outside of anthropology and journalism. These studies include media technology, art, aesthetics, and material culture (Coombs, Miller). Second, this research will contribute to journalism and communications as an example of how new forms of media impact culture. It focuses on the social importance of New African Social Media as well as its existence as a form of
interaction and a new technology of communication. Coleman also puts in perspective how research such as this is only the beginning:

“Despite the massive amount of data and new forms of visibility shored up by computational media, many of these worlds remain veiled, cloaked, and difficult to decipher. Long-term ethnographic research is well suited to tease out some of these veiled dimensions, however tentatively, to unearth the remarkable depth, richness, and variability of digital media in everyday and institutional life.” (Coleman 2010:498).

What has been shared thus far in this study aims to scratch the surface that is New African Social Media. This study is only the beginning in regards to the significance of tying media theory, journalism, cultural anthropology and other disciplines to unearth how this platform is more than just a social outlet. The virtual communities within this notion continues to enhance what most may assume is contemporary African culture. What participants are able to do is more than just scroll, read, watch, listen, reply, like, reblog, scroll—repeat; behind the veil lies the ability for producers and users to define and implement “creativity” and to create new meaning, new communities, and new perceptions of and channels of discourse about Africa.

“Names of Producers and Names of Blogs have been changed.

Bibliography


Tumblr. <www.tumblr.com>
STIGMA CONSCIOUSNESS AND THE EFFECTS OF SEXISM ON WOMEN AND CONFIDING IN THEIR PARTNER

By Monica Kulach, Senior, Psychology
Faculty Mentor: Dr. Tracy DeHart

Abstract

Although previous research has shown that women high in stigma consciousness are more attentive to sexism, no research has focused on whether stigma consciousness influences women’s willingness to seek support from their romantic partner in response to perceiving sexism. An online survey completed by women in heterosexual relationships examined whether stigma conscious influences their willingness to share the sexist event with their male romantic partner. The findings indicate that there was no significant interaction between stigma consciousness and sexist event condition (sexist event versus negative event control) predicting whether women were willing to confide in their partners about the event. However, woman who reported being in a longer relationship were more likely to share the sexist experience with their partner if they were higher (versus lower) in stigma consciousness. This effect was not found in the negative event condition or for women who reported a shorter relationship length.

In today’s society, discrimination against women is still prevalent in our country. One of the most distinct sexist deeds is the gender gap between men and women in the workplace. Women to this day earn 77% of what men are paid being involved in the same work. Also, when women are being discriminated against, they may not confront the person because it might result in negative social costs (Kaiser & Miller, 2001). However, no research has examined whether women are willing to share these types of responses with their romantic relationship partners. The purpose of the current study is to examine how discrimination affects women’s willingness to share and confide in their romantic partner about the sexist event. Discrimination affects individual functioning by activating social stigmas that threaten identity and creates stress (Major & O’Brien, 2005). The higher people score on stigma consciousness, the more they view themselves as being discriminated against (Major & O’Brien, 2005). Women with higher stigma consciousness may be less likely to share the sexist event with their romantic relationship partner because their partner is the same gender that engages in sexism and they may believe that her partner would react the same way.

The effects of discrimination on relationships is important because romantic relationships satisfy our need to belong and feel accepted, which are both fundamental human motivations (Baumeister & Leary, 1995). Discrimination against women affects their psychological well-being by decreasing comfort and self-esteem, while increasing feelings of depression and anger (Swim, Hyers, Cohen, & Ferguson, 2002). Encountering everyday sexism would decrease women’s state self-esteem and lead to distressed mood (Swim et al., 2002). Women having a lower sense of self-esteem while perceiving discrimination can create difficulties in family relationships, especially with their children (DeHart, Murray, Pelham, & Rose, 2003). Therefore, the current study is important because experiencing discrimination can lessen the satisfaction and feelings of acceptance in a relationship.

Perceived Discrimination

Currently, women still experience at least one impactful sexist incident per week, consisting of stereotypes and prejudice, demeaning comments and behaviors, and sexual objectification (Swim et al., 2002). The main psychological ramification that women experience with sexist acts is that it is a significant source of anger (Swim et al., 2002). When women have felt discriminated against, due to their sex, their anger had increased drastically. One of the studies revealed that the most reported response to prejudice was being angry or upset (Swim et al., 2002). Women experiencing discrimination had other psychological effects on their well-being. Not only did sexism increase women’s feelings of anger but they also reported feeling more anxiety and depression. Sexist incidents affected a person’s psychological well-being. Women reporting that they were discriminated against experienced more anxiety and depression the more incidents they reported each day (Swim et al., 2002). Experiencing discrimination not only affects a person psychologically but also their self-esteem. Reporting more sexist incidents lowered women’s self-esteem (Swim et al., 2002).

These findings affect both sexes but it has a greater impact on women because they encounter more frequent experiences with being discriminated against, it results in the greater stigmatization of women than men (Swim et al., 2002). Stigma has direct and negative effects on the individual being stigmatized through mechanisms of discrimination, expectancy, confirmation, and automatic stereotype activation (Major & O’Brien, 2005). Stigmatization clearly is a negative experience for people, but people’s interpretation of the event helps mediate the stigmatization. Individual’s construal of the situation play a key role in responses to stigma when a person experiences stigmatization (Major & O’Brien, 2005). How an individual perceives the world may help lessen (or increase) the sense of stigmatization when experiencing disapproval from other people.

Identity Threat Appraisal

Previous research has demonstrated that people don’t respond the same way to perceived discrimination (McCoy & Majoy, 2003). In fact, there are individual difference variables that influence how people respond to discrimination. Stigma consciousness is important because it determines how we interpret discriminatory experiences. Studies have shown that when people perceive themselves as a victim of
discrimination it has a negative effect on their self-esteem because their self-social identity is devalued by other members of society (McCoy & Major, 2003). A stigma-induced identity threat happens when a person does not have the resources to cope with the demands of a stigma relevant stressor, which can be harmful to the person's social identity (Major & O'Brien, 2005). Identity threat can lead to increased amounts of stress and anxiety due to being incapable of coping with the stigma. Discrimination is disastrous to the person's social identity because people associate the stereotype with themselves (McCoy et al., 2003).

Although there are many differences seen in women that either scored high or low on stigma consciousness, there were also differences found on how women who included their group identity as part of their own identity. Group identity is important because women incorporate their sex along with other categories that they may identify in their group identity. People that identify very highly with their group, or group identity, perceive threat to the self when there is a threat to the group (McCoy & Major, 2003). Thus, women who score high on stigma consciousness perceive the discrimination being directed toward their group and themselves unlike women who score low (Pinele, 1999).

McCoy and Major (2003) focus on the individual differences in the social groups that people identify with and how it can affect the way they perceive threats. Evidence shows that individual differences within members of a group are important for predicting the cognitive, affective, and behavioral aspects in situations. This is a determinant of how a person will respond to threat when they experience discrimination against their group (McCoy et al., 2003). Not only when the person experiences discrimination do they encounter negative psychological symptoms (i.e., anger, depression, and anxiety), but also when their group experiences discrimination and they highly relate to the group. Specifically, people feel more depressed and have a lower sense of social self-esteem when their group identity experiences discrimination but people only were depressed when they viewed their group as important to their self-concept not for liking the group (McCoy & Major, 2003). Whether a person scores high or low on stigma consciousness, it still has cognitive and behavioral negative outcomes that can shape their future experiences (Pinele, 1999). However, very little is known whether these individual differences also influence the consequences of perceived discrimination on romantic relationship functioning.

Sexism and Relationships

People that want to develop and maintain positive interpersonal relationships seek to be accepted and to belong (Leary, 2010). There are many factors that contribute to be “liked” or viewed positively. The basis of acceptance and rejection are part of relational value. Levels of acceptance can affect how people interact with the other person. With high levels of acceptance, the person may be sought after as a form of interpersonal relationship (e.g., friendships, mating relationships, and so on) (Leary, 2010). Specifically, people with high levels of acceptance are more likely to be seen as a friend or romantic partner. People that are viewed as having moderate levels of acceptance will be welcomed and people having low levels of acceptance will be tolerated (Leary, 2010). People seen as valued will have higher levels of acceptance, desired social outcomes, and material outcomes (Leary, 2010). The need to belong is dependent on the motive to be accepted and to avoid rejection. The three fundamental influences on this need to belong are human behavior, emotion, and thought. These three components are fundamental to belongingness because they are pervasively influenced by the human motive to feel accepted and avoid rejection by others (Smart Richman & Leary, 2009). The need to belong is developed from the idea that people depend on social relationships for survival and reproduction due to evolution. Similar to other types of rejection, perceiving discrimination can lead people to feel less accepted (Smart Richman & Leary, 2009).

A main focus in relationships is how a person reacts to rejection. This reaction is dependent on the person’s level of self-esteem. A person that has low self-esteem is more vulnerable and becomes more guarded in relationships to protect themselves from being hurt. People with low self-esteem take advantage of the opportunities for self-enhancement that makes them believe they are safe because being rejected is a greater loss for a person with low self-esteem than acceptance being a gain (DeHart et al., 2003). Therefore, people with low self-esteem put up a guard in their relationship because they are afraid of being hurt or left. People classified as low self-esteem were more likely to be unhappy with their relationship because they would underestimate how much they are actually loved and they doubt the other person’s acceptance (DeHart et al., 2003). A person with low self-esteem (i.e., people who feel less loved and accepted) is less likely to confide in their partner when faced with discrimination because she is afraid her partner will reject her as well or view her negatively. People with low self-esteem are concerned about being accepted by their loved one so they just distance themselves not only from the person who rejected them but with their partner as well (Richman & Leary, 2009). The dependency regulation model discussed in DeHart et. al’s study explains how people with either low or high self-esteem regulate their relationships with their loved ones. The model shows how people only become attached to their loved ones when they view that the risk of rejection is seen as low (DeHart et al., 2003).

The reason relationships are so important is because people have a need to feel secure. People want to feel that their partner is committed, trust that it is stable and that their partners care for them. Relationships that project a high level of caring allows for the partner to feel secure and feel less vulnerable in the relationship (Clark, Lemay, & Feneen, 2007). This relates to sexism because when a woman encounters a sexist event or feels discriminated against and her relationship with her partner has high levels of partner supportiveness, she will be more likely to confide in him. This is because she believes her partner is unlikely to reject her and he will be supportive. People that care for their loved one assume that their partner cares, therefore, partner supportiveness is derived though the attribution of one’s own characteristic to their loved one (Clark et al., 2007).

Rejection and discrimination can both negatively affect a person, especially people high in stigma consciousness (Pinele, 1999). When a person experiences discrimination, it can generate negative feelings similar to the feeling of being rejected. A person that has been a victim of sexism is going to experience a feeling of rejection. They will experience feelings of rejection because they are being excluded due to their sex. Hence, the feelings of rejection and sexism will overlap and be very similar because rejection and discrimination expresses the feeling of not being accepted by others (Smart Richman & Leary, 2009). A person high in stigma consciousness is more likely to be reactive to perceived discrimination (Pinele, 1999) which may be more likely to influence their relationships.

Previous research has shown that after being primed with sexism, women who were higher in stigma consciousness reported feeling less satisfied with their romantic relationship and less loved and accepted by their partners compared with women lower in stigma consciousness (DeHart & Price, 2013). Since women high in stigma consciousness are more likely to be expecting to be discriminated against by the opposite sex, they will be less likely to share the sexist event that they endured most recently. Women high in stigma consciousness are expected to be less likely to confide to their heterosexual partner when experiencing sexism. This may be due to fearing social rejection. Women that are high in stigma consciousness will be less likely to confide in their partner because they do not want to be socially rejected by him. These women are afraid of being regarded as a whiner or complainer. Thus, women high in stigma consciousness will be less likely to confide to their partner due to the fear of being socially rejected.

The Current Study

The current research targets women and examines women’s beliefs of how supportive their
male partner is of them when these women encounter discrimination or sexism.

Hypothesis 1: We predict that women who recall a time they experienced discrimination will report less willingness to share the event and seek support from their romantic partners compared with women in the control condition.

Hypothesis 2: The relation between reports of perceived discrimination and willingness to confide in their romantic partners will be influenced by women’s level of stigma consciousness. In the discrimination condition, women higher in stigma consciousness will report less willingness to share the event and seek support from their romantic partners compared with women lower in stigma consciousness. In the negative event control condition there should be no effect of stigma consciousness on sharing the event with their romantic partner.

**Method**

**Participants.** Our participants were a sample of 150 females that were currently involved in a heterosexual romantic relationship of at least two months to participate. Seven participants were excluded from our study due to not correctly answering the sexism or negative event condition questions (N=143). Participants’ mean age was 33.52 years old (SD=11.17) with a mean relationship length of 7.05 years (SD= 7.93). Women were recruited via Amazon’s Mechanical Turk. This website allowed people to go online and answer questions, surveys or perform a particular task in the comfort of their own home. Each participant was paid $.50 for her participation in the survey. Once we recruited all of the participants, there was a $50 lottery in the end given to one of the participants.

**Measures.** Stigma consciousness. To measure stigma consciousness in participants, we will use the stigma-consciousness questionnaire used in previous research studies (Pinel, 1999). This measure includes 10 items, which will be reverse scored, that participate rating from 1 (completely disagree) to 7 (completely agree), with a midpoint of 3 (neither agree nor disagree) (Pinel, 1999). Items include statements such as “stereotypes about women have not affected me personally” and “when interacting with men, I feel like they interpret all my behavior in terms of the fact that I am a woman” (α = .84).

Sexism manipulation. Women were randomly assigned to either the sexism condition or the negative event control condition. In the discrimination condition, women will be asked to recall an experience when they were the target of discrimination or prejudice based on their gender. Examples of sexist experiences were given in the survey such as, “a time when someone made a sexist comment to you or about you, or a time when you felt that you were denied an opportunity because of your gender.” In the control group women will be asked to recall a negative event. Given examples of negative events were as follows, “a time when you got a bad grade on a test that you studied very hard for, or a time when you were scolded by your boss.” After recalling either condition, participants will be asked to rate the severity of the event, how difficult it was to think about the event, and how negative the event was on a 7 point scale (1=not at all severe, 7=extremely severe).

Partner support. Next, participants were asked how willing they would be to share the event they just recalled with their romantic partner (“How likely are you to share the type of experience you just recalled with your romantic relationship partner?”). 

**Procedure.** Before the experiment began, the first question on the online survey was a consent form, in which they had to read and have clicked “yes” in order to have proceeded with the online survey. This study had an online survey and measures given to the participants. Next, they were to fill out questions about their personal demographics. Other questions related to the persons relationship and partner followed. They filled out the stigma conscious measure, which was to determine whether the females were high or low in stigma consciousness. After the stigma conscious measure there was the experimental manipulation. Since the participants were randomly assigned to a condition, they had to recall either a sexist event or a negative event (control condition). After the manipulation check, they were asked to fill out questions disclosing information about the negativity of the event, rating the sense of discrimination, feelings toward event, and lastly, the current state of satisfaction with their partner. Finally, questions about the women’s initials and their partner’s initials were recorded as well as the participants email address (for the lottery).

**Results**

Does the interaction between stigma consciousness and sexism condition predict the likelihood of sharing experiences with their romantic partners? We conducted a regression analysis predicting likelihood to share experiences with partner from the continuous variables of stigma consciousness and the categorical sexism condition (1 = sexism condition, 1 = negative event) and the Stigma Consciousness X Sexism Condition interaction. As summarized in Table 1, there were no significant main effects or interaction term.

Next we wanted to examine if relationship length would moderate any of our predicted results. We conducted a regression analysis predicting the likelihood to share experiences with romantic partner from the continuous variables of stigma consciousness and relationship length and the categorical sexism condition (1 = sexism condition, 1 = negative event) and all necessary two way interaction terms and the Relationship Length X Stigma Consciousness X Sexism Condition three way interaction term. As summarized in Table 2, there was a marginally significant Relationship Length X Stigma Consciousness X Sexism Condition three way interaction term. We determined the nature of this significant relationship using the procedures outlined by Aiken and West (1991) for testing interactions in multiple regression.

Specifically, we examined whether the two way Stigma Consciousness X Sexism Condition were significant for people high in relationship length and people low in relationship length. As depicted by the regression lines in Figure 1A, for people low in relationship length the Stigma Consciousness X Sexism Condition was not significant, B = .10, β = .07, t (115) = .44, p = .66. However as depicted in the regression lines in Figure 1B, people high in relationship length the Stigma Consciousness X Sexism Condition two way interaction was significant, B = -.73, β = -.49, t (115) = -2.12, p = .04. The simple slope test revealed that stigma consciousness was not related to the likelihood to share the experience with their partner in the negative event condition for people high in relationship length, B = -.20, β = -.14, t (115) = -.94, p = .35. However, there was a marginally significant positive relation between stigma consciousness and the likelihood to share the experience with their partner in the sexism condition for people high in relationship length, B = 1.25, β = .84, t (115) = 1.92, p = .06. These results suggest that women high in stigma consciousness (versus low stigma consciousness) were more likely to share the experience with their romantic partner in the sexism condition, however this effect was only apparent for people who have been involved in longer relationships.

**Discussion**

The results demonstrate that contrary to our predictions, there was no significant interaction between stigma consciousness and the sexism condition predicting women’s willingness to share the experience with their male partners. However, stigma consciousness did moderate women’s responses to the sexism manipulation for women who reported being in a longer (versus shorter) relationship. The results demonstrated that women who reported being in a longer relationship were more likely to report that they would share the sexist event experiences with their partner if they were higher (versus lower) in stigma consciousness. This effect was not observed in the negative event control condition. In addition, this effect was not observed for women who reported shorter relationship lengths.
The outcomes of this study extent past research which has focused on stigma consciousness and sexism (Pinel, 1999). However, to our knowledge no research has focused on woman’s willingness to confide in their partner after encountering a sexist event. These results show that women high in stigma consciousness who reported being involved in a longer relationship were more likely to confide in their male romantic partner. These findings are important because they suggest that women’s willingness to confide in their romantic partner about sexist events they experience may change as their relationships become longer and perhaps more serious.

Future research should examine why women higher in stigma consciousness and involved in longer relationships are more likely to share a sexist event with their partner. Women high in relationship length and stigma consciousness may be more likely to share the sexist experience with their partner because they may be more comfortable and trusting in the longer relationship. Previous research has demonstrated that women high in stigma consciousness are more responsive to sexist events (Pinel, 1999). Perhaps experiencing sexism is more upsetting to women high in stigma consciousness, so they share this experience with their partner as a way of seeking support (Lemay & Clark, 2008). The fear of being socially rejected by their romantic partner may not be as threatening since they have been together longer and they are more secure in the thought that their partner will be supportive. On the other hand, the reason that women low in relationship length and high stigma consciousness are less likely to confide might be due to the fear of social rejection. Women might be worried that their partners will view them as whiners or complainers when confiding to them about their sexist experience (Kaiser & Miller, 2001). If a woman does not share an experience with her partner, this may ultimately lower their satisfaction with their relationship. The likelihood of sharing a sexist event with a romantic partner is important because it can alleviate the stress when experiencing such a situation. A partner that comforts their loved ones when they encounter a sexist event allows the loved one to decrease their negative emotions related to this event. Having a significant other to confide in allows the human to have a sense of security and comfort, which can allow the person to move past this negative experience or not be as affected by the event (Lemay & Clark, 2008).

Some of the limitations of this study included the recruitment method used. Using MTURK as a way to recruit women involved in heterosexual monogamous relationships limited our study. We cannot be sure whether the females that participated in our study only focused on the survey when they were taking it, because participants completed the on-line survey outside of the lab. This could have influenced the data because if women did not fully focus on the survey, they would not have experienced a strong negative emotional experience during the manipulation. We were able to examine women’s responses to our manipulation and exclude anyone who did not follow the instruction properly or who did not provide an appropriate event in response to our memory recall manipulation. Future research may want to recruit women to come to the lab to ensure they are taking the survey seriously and diligently. Another limitation of this study was that we were not certain the women experienced the sexist event during her relationship with her current partner. Future research can ask women to recall a sexism experience that occurred while she was dating her current romantic relationship partner and whether or not she confided in him.

One of the strengths of this study was the sample we recruited. We collected data from a wide variety of women with a wide range of ages and relationship lengths. Collecting responses from a wide range of relationship lengths allowed us to be aware that relationship length is a moderator in this study. Another strength of this study was that we manipulated whether women recalled a sexist event or a negative event (control condition). Having an experimental manipulation allowed us to make a causal inference that they type of event recall influences the likelihood that women will confide in their romantic partners. A third strength of our study was asking participants to recall a negative event instead of a neutral event for the control condition. Using a negative event ensures the study that the results are not due to just a participant feeling upset when recalling a negative event, it is specifically because of recalling a sexist event.

The current study was to examine stigma consciousness and the effects of sexism on women’s willingness to confide in their romantic partner. Although there was no overall relation between stigma consciousness and the sexism condition in predicting willingness to share the event with their romantic partner, there was a relation for women involved in longer relationships. This study has elucidated this topic, where there is little research in this area. The results show that women high in stigma consciousness but in shorter relationships are less likely to confide in their partner. These results may help inform interventions that can heighten the likelihood of a woman confiding in her partner after a sexist event in shorter relationships. This is an important problem to address because women are more likely to feel depressed, anxious, and angry when they encounter a sexist event (Swim, Hyers, Cohen, & Ferguson, 2001). Women are also more likely to have a lower sense of esteem after they recall being discriminated against. These are problems that women bear because of sexism. Not only does this type of discrimination affect women personally, but it affects their relationships as well. Relationships are an important factor in a human being’s life and it is important to alleviate any stressors that may cause a relationship to become less satisfying. To distressed.

R e f e r e n c e s
Table 1. Predicting likelihood of sharing experience with partner from stigma consciousness and sexism condition.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>B</th>
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<th>p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>.01</td>
<td>.06</td>
<td>.48</td>
<td>.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relationship Length</td>
<td>.00</td>
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<td>-.22</td>
<td>.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stigma Consciousness</td>
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<td>-.45</td>
<td>.65</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sexism Condition</td>
<td>.05</td>
<td>.03</td>
<td>.31</td>
<td>.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stigma Consciousness X Condition</td>
<td>-.17</td>
<td>-.12</td>
<td>-1.25</td>
<td>.22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2. Predicting likelihood of sharing experience with partner from relationship length, stigma consciousness, and sexism condition.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>B</th>
<th>b</th>
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<td>.69</td>
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<tr>
<td>Relationship Length</td>
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<td>.41</td>
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<tr>
<td>Stigma Consciousness</td>
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<td>.15</td>
<td>.61</td>
<td>.55</td>
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<td>Sexism Condition</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Relationship Length X Condition</td>
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<td>.00</td>
<td>2.96</td>
<td>.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relationship Length X Stigma Consciousness</td>
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<td>.00</td>
<td>1.76</td>
<td>.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relationship Length X Stigma Consciousness X Condition</td>
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<td>.00</td>
<td>-1.68</td>
<td>.09</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Why does the gender earnings gap exist in self-employment in the United States?

By Madelaine L’Esperance, Senior, Finance and Economics
Faculty Mentor: Dr. Mine Cinar

Abstract
This paper seeks to expose the human capital, work-life balance, and segregation factors that perpetuate the gender earnings gap in self-employment in the United States. Much attention has been paid to the income disparity between men and women in paid employment. Yet the growing population of self-employed workers has not been studied extensively despite the wider gap between genders than that of wage and salary employment. In this study, self-employment earnings are evaluated using data from the Annual Social and Economic Supplement of the Current Population Survey. Key contributing factors are identified and explored to gain insight into what factors play a part in the gender earnings gap in self-employment.

Researchers have explored the gender gap extensively, but less attention has been granted to the self-employment gap in particular. In most cases, the earnings gap for both employment types are evaluated as one homogenous group of workers. In other cases, self-employed workers are excluded completely from analysis. As the number of self-employed workers in the United States and across the globe grows, it is a necessity to better understand the factors contributing to this gap. Work experience and personal characteristics differ for men and women. Those that play a role in preserving the earnings disparity must be identified, so effects are better understood and policy can be adopted to combat this inequality.

It has been shown that the gender earnings gap is greater in self-employment than paid employment in countries including Australia, Germany, and Spain (Eastbough and Miller 2004, Alvarez 2009, Lechmann and Schnabel 2012). This research spurred my interest in exploring the unique earnings disparity that exists in this growing segment of the United States labor force. Self-employment provides many attractive features to workers, but these tend to differ between the sexes along with earnings. Women opt for self-employment for flexible hours to accommodate family-life circumstances, for example, time to care for children, while men do not (Boden 1999).

Narrowing the scope of this research to self-employed workers will identify the characteristics that separate men and women perpetuating the earnings gap. Light will be shed on the distinctions that lead to earnings variation between the sexes in both self- and wage and salary employment. The greater earnings gap for self-employment, shown in Table 1, validates that research on this segment of the labor force is essential. Exploring self-employment data will expose factors that impact the genders differently. Analysis may uncover overarching and minute issues that will influence the self-employment earnings gap as the population in this segment grows.

In this paper, I seek answers to the following questions: Why does the self-employment gender earnings gap differ from that of wage and salary employment? What factors contribute to the gap? The paper proceeds as follows: Section 2 introduces the literature thematically, Section 3 discusses the data used and explains the method of data analysis used, hypothesis and their evaluation, Section 4 summarizes the results, and Section 5 discusses their implications for policy changes and plans for furthering this research.

Literature Survey
The gender earnings gap is a popular research topic, which has been extensively analyzed over the years. It has been shown time and time again that men and women do not receive equal pay, but this problem has been difficult to solve. Gender differences in earnings cannot be easily attributed to a few personal demographic or work experience factors. The issue is complex incorporating human capital, social, institutional, individual, household, and gender-based factors (Cinar, 209, 2001). Until recently, self-employment has been less focused on than that of wage and salary employment. This may be due to the fact that wage and salary earnings data is more frequently collected by the Current Population Survey (CPS) than that of self-employed workers. However, as the share of self-employed workers grows, it is important that this group’s gender earnings gap be further explored. These data sources will be discussed in length in the “Data Description” section of this paper.

There are two prevailing theories used to analyze the gender earnings gap in self-employment: the discrimination and human capital approaches. Both theories identify factors, which contribute to the gap between men and women’s earnings. The discrimination approach states that earnings are set at different levels for individuals based on personal characteristics like gender, class, or race even though their productivity is the same. The crowding out model attributes segregation in occupations to the discrimination against women by employers through exclusion from “male occupations” crowding them into other occupations (Bergmann, 1974). Occupational segregation is not as prevalent today due to Equal Employment Opportunity policies which prohibit employer discrimination based on sex, the development of labor unions, and workplace accommodations like childcare (Reynolds and Wenger, 2011).

The human capital approach asserts that earnings differ between men and women because of education and experience. Lower earnings for women are attributed to a lesser
investment in human capital including fewer years of experience, less education and training, and more work interruptions signaling lower productivity to employers (Mincer and Polacheck, 1974). This approach has become more widely used over the years as employer occupational discrimination is diminished by policy changes and the advancement of women’s rights in the workplace. Segregation of men and women into certain occupations today is attributed to employment-seeking behavioral difference. Polacheck claimed, “…husbands would choose occupations that require continuous and full-time participation. On the other hand, women with greater likelihood of work interruptions would choose occupations characterized by a low depreciation rate of skills” demonstrating that occupational self-selection explains segregation between the sexes (1979).

Risk aversion has been demonstrated as a factor that influences women’s entrance into self-employment. Empirical evidence has shown that women are less risk seeking than men and as a result the rate of self-employment for women is lower than males (Fossen, 2012). Also, women may seek self-employment at a lower rate than men due to the lower capital that they are able to attain to pursue entrepreneurship. There is more risk in pursuing self-employment than paid employment because the payoff is not clear-cut — there is no defined annual salary or hourly wage adding additional risk. Entering into self-employment does not have a guaranteed compensation for the additional risk assumed, so women tend to be more averse to this choice (Fairlie, 1999). In fact, many self-employed workers are met with losses in their initial pursuits of entrepreneurship providing a negative return to added risk assumed.

This literature survey allowed me to determine the key factors to explore in my research of the earnings disparity between men and women in self-employment. Based on my analysis of the discrimination and human capital approaches, I will explore the effect that factors including occupation, marital status, children, working hours, and have on the earnings gap. I will analyze how these factors impact each gender to identify those contributing to the self-employment earnings gap.

Data Description

Data for my study is from the 2012 ASEC Supplement of the CPS conducted by the Bureau of the Census for the Bureau of Labor Statistics. The supplement is released in March each year, and it provides data not released monthly release. The ASEC release includes additional data on work experience, income, non-cash benefits like welfare programs, assistance programs, and health study, this ensures a normal earnings distribution by

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 1: Descriptive Statistics Male and Female Wage and Salary versus Self-Employment Earnings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wage and Salary Earnings</td>
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<tr>
<td>--------------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Wage and Salary Earnings</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Standard Deviation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Variance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coefficient of variations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skewness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kurtosis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Observations</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


One can easily observe the gender earnings gap that exists for both wage and salary and self-employment from Table 1 above. The female earnings distribution has lower standard deviation, higher skewness, and higher kurtosis than male in both employment types. The gap between the mean earnings of men and women in self-employment is 11% greater than that of wage and salary earnings. The gap in self-employment may be wider because labor market factors, such as working hours, are more flexible in this segment. My findings show that pay equality has not yet been achieved, despite the enactment of new wage equality policies in recent years, like the Lilly Ledbetter Fair Pay Act of 2009. I evaluated several variables from the “Person Record” including formal education, weekday working hours, occupation, and marital status as well as one variable from the Family Record, number of own children under 18. I chose these variables in particular based on previous research on the earnings deficiency of self-employed women. Variables fall into three categories: human capital, worklife balance, and occupational segregation (Polacheck and Mincer, 1974, Bergmann, 1974, Reichmann and Schnabel, 2012). Analyzing variables in these three categories creates a more comprehensive picture of the factors contributing to the wider gap in self-employment.

Table 2 breaks down how these selected variables differ between the genders, which could explain the wider self-employment gap. As one can see, there is a greater level of formally educated women in wage and salary employment at 69% than males. The opposite is true for self-employment where 70% of males are formally educated and 61% of females. This points to the greater payout to women in wage and salary employment who invest in their education while men are unencumbered by this factor. This will be discussed in the “Does education pay?” section of this paper. This also could explain why women who choose self-employment suffer a
Table 2: Descriptive statistics on the characteristics of self-employed and wage and salary workers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Segment</th>
<th>Self-Employed</th>
<th>Wage and Salary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Formally Educated</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>39%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Formally Educated</td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>61%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Children</td>
<td>58%</td>
<td>53%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-3 Children</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>43%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4+ Children</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>71%</td>
<td>64%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divorced/Separated</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widowed</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Never Married</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0-19 Hours</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-39 Hours</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40 Hours</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41-59 Hours</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50+ Hours</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service Occupations</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional and related occupations</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sales and related occupations</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Office and administrative support occupations</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Management, business, and financial occupations</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction and extraction occupations</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transportation and material moving occupations</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Production occupations</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Installation, maintenance, and repair occupations</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farming, fishing, and forestry occupations</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


greater disparity in earnings. Women without children make up a greater share than those without suggesting that despite pursuing a family, women are participating in the labor force. This may lead to interesting results once earnings for women with children are analyzed later in this paper. The differences between the share of men and women without children are minute despite this there is still an earnings gap between the sexes.

A small share, all segments 4% or less, of the sample have 4 or more children. The majority of all segments have no children. It is interesting to note how symmetrical the levels are between the genders especially among those who have 1-3 children; both ~40%. One would assume that males with 1-3 children would hold a greater percentage as women tend to have work interruptions due to family obligations. This suggests that perhaps children are not as great of a hindrance to women at least in regards to participating in the labor force as they were in the past. This could be due in part to more access to affordable childcare (Fossen, 2012). However, women earn less than men with 1-3 children demonstrating, once again, that the effects of certain factors differ based on gender.

Married women are a smaller share in both wage and salary and self-employment than married men. Women make up a larger share than men in all other segments: divorced/separated, widowed, and never married. This suggests that married women are less likely to participate in the labor force perhaps due to the time they would trade off to devote to their family. Divorced/separated, widowed, and never married women may make up a larger share because they do not have the secondary income of their spouse to support them.

There is a greater percentage of the self-employed working below and above full-time employment than wage and salary, which suggests that workers choose self-employment for more flexibility in their weekly schedule. A greater share of women works under 40 hours perhaps because they are devoting more hours to non-market work, like household duties. (Cinar, 208, 2001). On the other hand, a greater share of men works over 40 hours. Both groups may choose self-employment for more flexibility in working hours. Women may choose self-employment at a part-time level to allow time to care for their children while men may make this choice to increase the flexibility in their hours — working more than full-time hours at odd times. Both groups represent very close percentages in full-time employment, 0% difference for self-employment and 3% difference for wage and salary. Women hold a greater share, 64% v. 61%, in full-time wage and salary employment. Perhaps this difference can be correlated with the higher incidence of formal education among females in recent years (Ge and Yang, 2013).

Discuss Occupation Results

Figure 1 illustrates the share of self-employed men and women in certain occupations. The three occupations with the greatest share of women include service, professional, and sales occupations. Men are concentrated in management/business/financial, construction/extraction, and transportation/material moving occupations. This distribution of the sexes demonstrates a concrete occupational segregation in self-employment. Women are heavily concentrated (68% of sample) in these fields. Men, however, are less concentrated than women with only 38% share in these three male-dominated occupations. They are more evenly distributed among all fields, 8%-18%, than women, 1%-33%. Women dominate service related occupations where they make up three times the share of men. There is only a one percent difference in the share of women and men in sales occupations. Men are concentrated in management and labor heavy occupations including construction and transportation. This male concentration in labor heavy occupations, where females make up in both categories only 1%, confirms the crowding out of women from “men’s work” (Bergmann, 1974). This may also demonstrate self-selection by women into social careers like service and sales occupations rather than labor heavy fields. Discrimination by employers through hiring practices may be creating barriers of entry to these fields that men are not subject to.

Women in professional occupations and men in management/business/financial occupations have reciprocal shares; the majority share is 22% and minority holds 17%. This could point to a similar earnings difference for each gender that is working in a field dominated by the opposite sex. In these female-dominated fields, it would be expected that women would earn equal or more pay than men if they choose their occupation based on economic reasons alone (i.e. earnings equality). This will be explored in a latter section of this paper.

Are there statistically meaningful differences?

Education is a valuable facet of human capital that influences tenure, career aspirations, and, most importantly, pay (Leichmann and Schnabel 2012, García-Aracil 2008). Education has become increasingly more expensive year in and year out which begs the question of whether or not investment into education does in fact pay off. Educational attainment was a key variable in my study in the hopes of answering this exact question. I hypothesized that “Yes” attainment of a formal education would result in higher
earnings for women and evidence of gender earnings equality. The sample was divided based on educational attainment into two subgroups: Formally Educated and Not Formally Educated. Formally educated is defined in this study as all those with an education beyond high school graduation including Bachelor’s degree (e.g., BA, AB, BS), Master’s degree (e.g., MA, MS, MENG, MED, MSW, MBA), Professional school degree (e.g., MD, DDS, DVM, LLB, JD), Doctorate degree (e.g., PhD, EdD). Some college but no degree, Associate degree in college – occupation/vocational program, Associate degree in college - academic program who would fall into the formerly educated group. The Not Formally Educated group includes individuals who have not attained an education beyond a high school diploma including those who have completed less than 1st grade, 1st, 2nd, 3rd, or 4th grade, 5th or 6th grade, 7th and 8th grade, 9th grade, 10th grade, 11th grade, 12th grade – no diploma, High school-high school diploma or equivalent.

Earnings between genders based on the number of their own children less than eighteen years in their household provides are also evaluated. Individuals are segmented into groups with no children, 1-3 children, or 4+ children in order to identify how children contribute to earnings differences. I hypothesized that women with children will face a greater earnings gap than men with children. This group will also earn less than women and men without children. Women without children will still be victims of the earnings gap, but it will be less pronounced than the gap for those with children. I believe that women with 4+ children will have the largest gap with their male counterparts.

Differences in marital status provide interesting insight into how relationships affect the sexes differently. The sample is separated into four groups based on marital status that includes: married, never married, divorced/separated, and widowed. I hypothesized that married women will have earnings that are below that of married men for wage and salary. I think that the greatest gender earnings equality will exist among those that have never been married in wage and salary employment but not for the self-employed.

Earnings will be most equal between these segments because they will be less likely to have family obligations that will affect married women. Additionally, I hypothesized that married women will face the greatest gender earnings gap because they may take time off to start a family or rely on their spouse’s income alone. I believe that divorced/separated women will face a gender earnings gap second to married women. Finally, widowed women will also face earnings inequality, but it will not be as severe as that of those that are married and divorced/separated.

The sample was divided into four segments based on whether individuals worked 0-20, 21-39, 40, 41-59, or 60+ hours in a typical week. I chose to divide the sample by 0-20 hours and 21-39 hours because this provided us with sample segments of similar size. Those who work exactly 40 hours were in separate group because they were a large segment of the sample and they represent the full time labor force. Since there was a smaller portion of the sample that worked greater than 60 hours, all were grouped together. The hours worked by this group was capped by the CPS at 99 hours causing a truncation but also preventing outliers. Women who work 40 hours will be believed that the largest gap between men and women will lie between those working outside of full-time hours weekly especially for women working under. Women working either 0-20 or 21-39 will face the greatest gender earnings gap among all segments. These women will be the segment discussed earlier who prefers self-employment for flexible hours allowing them to devote time to family duties. Women working more than full-time will face a wide gap with their male counterparts because they may be working more hours to pursue entrepreneurial ventures in service or sales industries of which they hold the majority share that do not yield the same earnings potential as management/business/financial occupations in which men are more heavily concentrated.

The interaction between occupation and earnings was also considered. The groups were segmented into those in service, professional, sales, management/business/financial, construction/extraction, office/administrative support, farming/fishing/forestry, installation/ maintenance/repair, and production. As demonstrated in Figure 1 earlier, the majority share of women select into a few occupations including service, professional, and sales occupations due to males dominating fields like management/business/finance due to crowding out. Based on this, it was hypothesized that women in occupations where they have the highest share, service, professional, and sales occupations, would have a wider gap in earnings than males in the three occupations in which they hold the highest share. Additionally, it was predicted that a trend toward selection into occupations that yield the highest earnings such as management/finance occupations as more and more women invest in their education.

All results for wage and salary mean differences are statistically significant. Statistically insignificant results are found only in the working hours and marital status variables for the self-employed. Those working 0-19 hours per week, married, and divorced/separated have mean earnings differences that are not significant. Even though the personal and work experience characteristics of the sample of men and women are similar, it is easily observed that men make significantly more than women across the board in both self and wage and salary employment. The only case where women make more occurs for those working 20-39 hours in wage and salary employment. This result may be caused by the different sample sizes – female sample almost doubles that of males. It is not surprising that men and women with 4+ children have the greatest percent difference in earnings. Women in this segment most likely have much less time to devote to formal labor due to the responsibility they have outside of the workplace caring for their children. The results for occupation reflect the segregation that was discussed earlier in this paper. There is a 95% difference in earnings for self-employed workers in Farming, fishing, and forestry occupations and 76% difference for those in Transportation and material moving occupations, both male-dominated fields. The lowest difference for occupation occur for self-employed in Management, business, and financial occupations, which is surprising considering that males control a larger share of these occupations than females.

**Discussion**

Based on my findings, there are two key areas: accessibility of education and employer compensation and benefits that need to be focused on by policy leaders in order to address the gender earnings gap that exists in the United States growing self-employed workforce. The first key focus of policy must be the

![Figure 1: Share of self-employed men and women working in certain occupations](image-url)
accessibility of higher education to women. Women are able to earn more and progress towards gender earnings equality, if they possess an education beyond their high school diploma. Programs should be put in place for middle and high school students to promote and facilitate their pursuit of higher education. This is especially important in lower income families where an emphasis on higher education may not be present in parental expectations as is the case in households with formally educated parents. Scholarships, grants, and other financial aid should be devoted to ensuring that women have the funding they need, so that they are not deterred from attaining an advanced degree by financial strains.

Additionally, policy must address the allotment of compensation and benefits for pregnant women and those with young children. Employers should be required to provide childcare services whether in-office or externally to those employees who have small children. This will ensure the investment that they make in their female employees who may decide to or already have children. Given access to childcare services, women will have the freedom to increase tenure at their job, as they will not be forced to leave the labor force or change their employment because they need to care for their children.

**Future Research**

Based on the knowledge that I have gained through this research, I will further examine the psychological factors that play a role in the gender earnings gap. I am particularly interested in exploring if the expectations of lower pay for women cause businesses in practice to be more willing to hire women with the expectation that they will be paid a lower wage than males. Also, I would like to explore if the lower wages paid to females affects the unemployment of men in certain fields. Also, if businesses are willing to trade off workers with expected lower tenure and more work interruptions (women may take time off for children) for lower wages paid out. It would also be interesting to explore a time series analysis of the gender earnings gap to see the progression of the gap over the years—how earnings gap has narrowed or widened in recent years and historically.

Also I would like to look at years where policy changes have taken place to see if their adoption has made an impact on the gap, (Lips, 2003). Another point of interest would be to look at how women have adapted, if at all, in their education, occupation, etc. choices to compensate for lower earnings. For example, women receive equal or greater wages in the field of engineering, and it may be interesting to see if the share of women in this field has expanded, (García-Aracil, 2008). I would like to look at self-employment in other countries especially Turkey where there is a large share of women in self-employment as opposed to wage and salary employment and explore why this is the case—policy, discrimination, social factors, religion, etc. (Fossen, 2012).

**Bibliography**


THE EFFECTS OF GEOGRAPHICAL AND METEOROLOGICAL CONDITIONS ON AIR POLLUTION IN BEIJING

By Jorge Luis Meraz, Senior, Environmental Science
Faculty Mentor: Dr. Ping Jing

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Abstract
China is currently facing a plethora of environmental issues. In the extensive list of these issues one that has been of interest to the global eye has been China’s air pollution problem, especially in Beijing. The country is still developing and with that finds itself in a period of rapid industrialization. It is this industrialization that will continue to worsen Beijing’s air pollution if only local measures are taken without modernizing coal-burning plants in the surrounding regions of Beijing. This paper analyzes how geographical and meteorological conditions play an important role in the concentration of air pollutants that Beijing receives due to coal burning from nearby areas. The research considers the location of the city, the locations of surrounding coal-burning power plants, meteorological conditions as well as the air quality conditions. Data gathered include regional wind patterns, precipitation, and air quality index (AQI) values for the summer of 2013 and the 2012-2013 winter season in Beijing. The objective of this research is to understand what major factors control the concentration of pollutants that the city of Beijing receives.

China’s air pollution problem is important because it is not only China that is affected, but also the world. This is true when speaking of Japan, South Korea, and the United States. Such was the case in April 2001, when an observed dust storm, which originated in the Gobi desert, pushed air pollution from China towards South Korea and Japan, eventually reaching the United States (Szykman).

Studying the air pollution problem in China is necessary not only to clean the air and increase the quality of life for locals, but also to clean the environment. Smog hovering over urban cities is leading to an increased amount of acid rain (World Weather). Air pollution research is imperative in an effort to deter a domino effect of environmental and health crises in China.

China is currently home to over 1.3 billion people. Although China should focus greatly on its environmental issues, the government seems to be most concerned about its economic growth. “Economic interests are one of the biggest stumbling blocks to real progress on the ground,” says Melanie Hart, a specialist in Chinese energy and climate policy at the Center for American Progress (McDonald).

Industrialization is taking its toll on the people. The current status of the air quality, especially in northern China, is seriously affecting residents’ health. It was recently reported that living in northern China shaves an average of 5.5 years off of residents’ life (Kaiman). People who do not like to live in an environment that harms their health to such an extent have started to leave China, including highly educated intellectuals (Moses).

Air pollution in China is linked to the burning of coal and vehicle

Figure 1: Beijing Municipality
emissions. Coal burning accounts for 19 percent of the PM2.5 pollution, "... While vehicle emissions contribute 6 percent according to a study by Greenpeace and Peking University's School of Public Health published Dec. 18" (Bloomberg News). The rest of the air pollution comes from traffic dust (9%), industry (6%), combustion of biomass (11%), sulphate (17%), nitrogen (14%), and other sources (18%) (Greenpeace). The air pollution crisis was at an all time high during the first couple of weeks of January 2013. The government in Beijing "...reported [that] levels of particles smaller than 2.5 microns in diameter — one of the most damaging pollutants — were as high as 700 micrograms per cubic meter" (McDonald). To put that number into perspective, that was "...28 times the World Health Organization's recommended safe level of 25..." micrograms per cubic meter (McDonald). The winter months are the worst in terms of air pollution in the north, mostly due to heating demands around the area (Rush and Malm).

This paper focuses on the air pollution concentration in Beijing. It examines how the severity of air pollution is affected by geographical and meteorological conditions. From a geographical standpoint, the air pollution is assessed by examining coal burning power plant locations from nearby areas as well as the general topography of Beijing. The meteorological approach includes examining the precipitation and wind patterns of Beijing. Air quality index (AQI) values are focused on the city to monitor how air pollution severity changes in regards to precipitation and wind patterns.

A gray China keeps people away and does not let them see China for what it really is, a developing nation. China is currently the second largest economy in the world, but it has reached this feat at the cost of its environment. The country is industrializing at an unprecedented rate. It is this industrialization that helps to increase the national GDP. It is also the industrialization that makes air pollution a problem within many major cities in China. The effects of industrialization can be seen in the smog that blankets cities day in and day out. It was reported that only 27 of 113 major cities in China met the AQI standards for clean air last year (Gayathri). Among the cities that did not meet the AQI standards was Beijing, and the air quality in Beijing is not expected to clean up until at least the 2030s (Shuo and Myllývirta).

Beijing is surrounded by many factories that burn coal, especially towards the south. Focusing on Beijing will aid in understanding why some areas experience heavier air pollution than others. Fixing the air pollution problem in major cities will take time. Los Angeles and London, two major cities, both located in developed countries, are still facing air pollution problems. Los Angeles, even with major advancements in technology, has yet to meet America's federal air-quality standards (T.P.). Likewise, since The Great Smog of 1952, London still "...has one of the worst air quality of any European capital" (Jie). Developed nations are still battling the effects of their industrialization periods. China is currently in its industrialization period and needs to find a way to keep its economy growing while at the same time finding ways to improve the air quality of its cities.

**Results**

**Location**

Figure 2 gives a topographic view of the area in which Beijing is located. The city is surrounded, to the west, by the Western Hills. These hills range from 100–1900 meters above sea level. To the north and northeast, Beijing is bordered by the Yan mountain range. These mountains range from 400–1000 meters above sea level.

**Materials & Methods**

Beijing is a metropolis with a population of over 20 million people. Along with the high number of residents in the city, Beijing also has a total car population of 5.18 million (Watt). The city is bordered by mountains to the west, north, and northeast (See Figure 1). Beijing municipality is located within Hebei Province. Also surrounding the Beijing area are Inner Mongolia to the northwest, Shanxi Province to the southwest, and Tianjin municipality to the east. The main contributor to Beijing's GDP is tertiary industry - service based industry (HKTDG Research).

Factors that cause the concentrations of air pollutants in a city to increase are:

**E:** emissions of air pollutants from factories, power plants, automobiles, etc.

**F: in:** influx of air pollutants away from the city, which is the product of the concentration of air pollutants and wind speed that flow out of the city.

Factors that cause the concentrations of air pollutants in a city to decrease are:

**S:** sinks that remove air pollutants from the atmosphere such as dry deposition due to gravity and wet deposition due to cloud formation and precipitation

**F: out:** outflux of air pollutants away from the city, which is the product of the concentration of air pollutants and wind speed that flow out of the city.

The change of the concentration (DC) of a certain air pollutant is determined by: $DC = (E-S) + (F_{in} - F_{out})$. When $E < S$ or $F_{in} > F_{out}$, DC tends to increase; when $E < S$ or $F_{in} < F_{out}$, DC tends to decrease. This paper examines how these factors affect the local air pollution levels in Beijing.

Air pollution severity was measured using daily AQI readings for Beijing from the United States Department of State Mission China - Beijing (https://twitter.com/BeijingAir). Rain and wind data of Beijing were gathered from Weather Underground (https://www.wunderground.com).

AQI levels are used to show the general trends of air pollution in Beijing and how they change depending on certain meteorological conditions. Precipitation data is used in an effort to show how the severity of air pollution is affected the day in which such weather occurs. Wind pattern data is used to better explain how wind direction also has a noticeable effect on the air pollution levels of Beijing.
the mountain.

**III. Map of Surrounding Power Plants**

Figure 3, obtained from the article “Emissions estimation from satellite retrievals: A review of current capability” by David G. Streets, et al., displays the locations of power plants in China. The blue circle on the map shows the general location of Beijing.

The figure shows that a large number of fossil fuel power plants are located towards the south of Beijing. The size of the circles show how much power generation these power plants provide, and how they are generally located within in the same vicinity of one another. The colors demonstrate the average tropospheric column density of nitrogen dioxide (NO2) in 1013 molecules/cm2 from NASA's satellite observations. There is a close relationship between high NO2 concentration areas and the locations of power plants. Nitrogen dioxide is a precursor for the formation of photochemical smog.

**III. Air quality, Precipitation, Wind Data**

**Winter Season Data**

The first four figures have data compiled from December 1, 2012 through February 28, 2013; the winter season in Beijing, China. Standard deviation bars were added to all column graphs to show the spread for each set of data. Precipitation for this particular set of data refers to either snow or rain.

Figure 4 shows the average AQI when there is precipitation versus when there is none. When there is precipitation the average AQI for the winter season is 279 AQI units. When there is no precipitation, the AQI is 169 AQI units.

Figure 5 combines precipitation and regional wind statistical data. The average AQI when there is precipitation and winds are coming in from the North/NW/NNW/NW/NW/WNW is 288 AQI units. The average AQI when winds are coming in from the South/SE/SSE/ESE is 273 AQI units.

Figure 6 couples regional wind data with no precipitation. The average AQI when there is no precipitation and winds are coming from the North/NW/NNW/NW/NW/NW/WNW is 147 AQI Units. The average AQI when the winds are coming in from the South/SE/SSE/ESE is 261 AQI Units.

Figure 7 takes into account the wind direction and wind speed effect on the AQI. A trend line was added to show the correlation between AQI and the average wind speed. The correlation coefficient was calculated at 0.28348. There is no graph for winds coming in from the South/SE/SSE/ESE due to the fact that there was no noticeable correlation between the AQI and the average speed of such winds.

**Summer Season Data**

Fourth column graph showing average AQI when there is precipitation versus when there is no precipitation, data ranges from June 1, 2013 through August 31, 2013

Fifth column graph showing average AQI when there is precipitation with winds coming in from the North/NW/NNW/NNW/WNW and South/SE/SSE/ESE, data ranges from June 1, 2013 through August 31, 2013

Sixth column graph showing average AQI when there is no precipitation and winds coming in from the North/NW/NNW/NNW and South/SE/SSE/ESE, data ranges from June 1, 2013 through August 31, 2013

Second scatter plot graph showing average AQI versus average wind speed for winds coming in from the North/NW/NNW/NNW, data points range from June 1, 2013 through August 31, 2013

The last four figures have data compiled from June 1, 2013 through August 31, 2013; the summer season in Beijing, China. Standard deviation bars were added to all the column graphs to show the spread of the data recorded. Precipitation for this particular set of data refers to rain.

Figure 8 shows the average AQI when there is precipitation versus when there is none. When there is precipitation the average AQI for the summer season is 165 AQI units. When there is no precipitation, the AQI is 143 AQI units.

Figure 9 combines precipitation and regional wind statistical data. The average AQI when there is precipitation and winds are coming in from the North/NW/NNW/NNW/WNW is 139 AQI units. The average AQI when winds are coming in from the South/SE/SSE/ESE is 176 AQI units.

Figure 10 couples regional wind data with no precipitation. The average AQI when there is no precipitation and winds are coming from the North/NW/NNW/NNW/WNW is 118 AQI units. The average AQI when the winds are coming in from the South/SE/SSE/ESE is 163 AQI units.

Figure 11 takes into account the wind direction and wind speed effect on the AQI. The trend line was added to show the correlation between AQI and the average wind speed. The correlation coefficient was calculated at 0.15311. There is no graph for winds coming in from the South/SE/SSE/ESE due to the fact that there was no noticeable correlation between the AQI and the average speed of such winds.

**Discussion**

The data for the winter months was helpful in providing a better idea as to what factors are effective in controlling the concentration of air pollutants that Beijing receives. In Figure 4,
which does not take into account wind direction, one can see that average AQI values were actually higher when there was precipitation. When there is no precipitation the average AQI is lower, this is true when looking at Figure 6. When regional wind statistics and precipitation data are coupled together for the winter season, as in Figures 5 and 6, one can see that average AQI levels are yet again lower when there is no precipitation.

Using Figure 6, one can acknowledge the fact that incoming winds from the North/NW/NW/NNW/NWW/NWW seem to be effective in reducing average AQI levels. This is most likely due to the fact that many fossil fuel power plants are located south of Beijing, as seen in Figure 3, causing more pollutants to be carried to the city from winds coming in from the South/SE/SSE/SEE. We cannot say for certain whether Figure 5 is conclusive in determining whether winds coming from the North/NW/NW/NWW/NWW, when coupled with precipitation, are effective or not in reducing the average AQI, but it can be used as another means to see that precipitation has negative effect on AQI.

Figure 7 is a scatter plot that takes into account winds coming in from the North/NW/NW/NWW/NWW with the average speed in miles per hour for such winds. This graph shows one that the higher the average speed, the lower the concentration. The trend line for the graph has a correlation coefficient of 0.28348, which is not too supportive of the fact, but this is likely due to the relatively small data set that was gathered. For further research it will be necessary to collect winter season data from past years. This will provide a wider array of data, which would then provide for more conclusive findings.

Just as the winter data set, the summer season data set provided a good look into what factors are effective in controlling the concentration of air pollutants that Beijing receives. As in Figure 4, Figure 8 shows that precipitation had an adverse effect on the average AQI of the city. The same is true when wind direction is coupled with precipitation, as in Figures 9 and 10. When these two graphs are compared, one can notice that when precipitation is taken into consideration, the average AQI of winds coming in from the North/NW/NW/NWW/NWW rises from 118 AQI units to 139 AQI units. Likewise, the average AQI of winds coming in from the South/SE/SSE/SEE/EESE rises from 163 AQI units to 176 AQI units. Taking another look at Figures 9 and 10, one can notice that, in both graphs, winds coming in from the North/NW/NW/NWW/NWW contributed to an average AQI lower than that of the winds coming in from the South/SE/SSE/SEE/EESE. This, as with the winter season data, is most likely due to the large amount of fossil fuel power plants located towards the south of Beijing.

Figure 11 is another scatter plot used to show the correlation between average AQI, average wind speed, and winds coming in from the North/NNW/NWW/NWW. At first glance the graph shows us a positive relationship, average AQI is decreasing when wind speed is increasing. The R2 value is not too indicative of the fact. This is most likely due to the relatively small data set that was collected. In order to make this a stronger argument more data, from past years, of summer seasons in Beijing, must be collected.

The summer season data set, as does the winter season data set, helps point out the fact that precipitation is not an effective method for reducing the concentration of air pollutants that Beijing is receiving. With supporting data from this research, wind direction, overall, proved to be more effective in reducing the air pollutant concentration. It is surprising to learn seeing as Beijing is known to seed its clouds so that there is precipitation.

### Conclusion

The fact that precipitation alone does not prove effective in reducing air pollution levels in Beijing can be attributed to surrounding areas such as the Provinces of Hebei and Shandong, as well as the municipalities of Tianjin (Streets, et al), Air quality in Beijing, before the 2008 Summer Olympics, was modeled using a Models-3/Community Multiscale Air Quality monitoring system (CMAQ); the results of the research were published in an article, which is part of Issue 3, volume 4 of the Atmospheric Environment journal. Regions such as those aforementioned have proven to have an adverse effect on the quality of the air in Beijing; this is especially true of Hebei Province. Hebei Province, with “sustained wind flow from the south...can contribute 50 -70% of Beijing’s PM2.5 concentrations...” (Streets, et al). According to the article, outside sources are estimated to contribute around 34% of PM2.5 concentrations that Beijing receives.

For Beijing, it is no longer just a matter of what local measures can be taken to reduce the amount of air pollution; it is a matter of how surrounding areas can also contribute to cleaner air. Air pollution is not stagnant, it does not stay lingering in one place with no movement. Air pollution is dynamic, it moves, literally, where the wind blows. In recent years, and even months, the government in Beijing has tried to implement local measures to decrease the air pollution that has been blanketing the city. One such measure was to
implement a lottery system for being able to own a car. The problem with this measure is that it does not get rid of all the old and polluting cars that are already on the road, it just limits the amount of new cars that are put on the road. The measure has good intentions, but will not be too effective until all the older, polluting cars are taken off the road. That being said, with no end in sight to China’s growing economy, the Chinese government must look for ways to modernize coal burning in surrounding areas of Beijing. Research and development can lead to such modernizations, and eventually an efficient China.

Going forward, to further support this research, the data set will need to be made larger. Collecting data from the different seasons in Beijing, from years past and present, will allow for the larger data set needed. Once all new data is collected, one can begin to test whether the averages in AQI for winds coming in from the North/NW/NNW/NNE and South/SE/SSW/SE are significantly different. Using the same methodology, average AQI values for when there is precipitation versus when there is no precipitation can also be compared to see if they are significantly different. These comparisons can be achieved by using a T-Test or better yet, an ANOVA test. Utilizing either, with a big enough sample set, will allow for one to analyze and determine the statistical significance of each of the averages.

References


2013 Ronald E. McNair Scholars Journal
**Likelihood of Sharing: Perceived Discrimination and Implicit Self-esteem in African American Couples**

By Melissa Orozco, B.S. 2013, Psychology
Faculty Mentor: Dr. Tracy DeHart

**Abstract**

The current project seeks to examine the relation between implicit self-esteem and perceived discrimination predicting the likelihood for sharing of discriminatory experiences. Overall, I predict that participants with low implicit self-esteem will be less likely to share discriminatory experiences with their romantic partners if they perceive more discrimination. Participants with high implicit self-esteem will be more likely to share discriminatory experiences with their romantic partners if they perceive more discrimination. We found a marginally significant Perceived Discrimination X Implicit self-esteem interaction predicting likelihood of sharing experiences with partner. Because our close relationships are closely linked to our mental and physical health, it is important to find ways to alleviate the effects of perceived discrimination in African American couples.

Feelings of the self are important to our understanding of romantic relationships and their functioning because of their cognitive significance (Aron, Aron, Tudor, Nelson, 1991). While our self-esteem is closely linked to our close relationships, there are many stressors that can affect our romantic relationships. Perceived discrimination is a stressor that has been shown to affect people's psychological and physical health. In the current study, we examine the relation between implicit self-esteem and perceived discrimination predicting the likelihood for sharing of discriminatory experiences. This research is important because our close relationships are closely linked to our mental and physical health.

**Perceived Discrimination**

Researchers have explored the psychological, social, and physiological effects of perceived discrimination among African Americans. Racism is operationally defined as beliefs, attitudes, institutional arrangements and acts that tend to denigrate individuals or groups because of observable characteristics or ethnic group affiliation (Clark, Anderson, Clark & Williams, 1999). These discriminatory beliefs and attitudes can be held or perpetuated by members of a different group or by members of the same ethnic group (intergroup vs. intragroup racism). Research has shown that exposure to racism can be perceived as stressful and may lead to negative biopsychosocial outcomes. The study by Clark et al. (1999) proposes that the perception of stimulus as racist results in exaggerated psychological and physiological stress responses. Because any event can be perceived as stressful depending on individual factors in a situation, perceived discrimination is a subjective experience that varies for every individual. Therefore, perceived discrimination is not limited to experiences that may be objectively viewed as discriminatory. There are a number of different psychological stress responses that may follow perception to racism. These responses include anger, paranoia, anxiety, resentment, and fear. Research on perceived discrimination is important because of these detrimental stress responses that affect African Americans' physical and mental health.

Stigma is an attribute that discredits an individual, reducing him or her from a whole person to a discounted one. People who are stigmatized often have a characteristic that marks them as different and leads them to be devalued in the eyes of others, such as ethnic background. Consequently, discrimination and stigma directly affect the psychological wellbeing and physical health of the stigmatized. Stigma directly affects the stigmatized through discrimination and automatic stereotype activation, which indirectly threaten personal and social identity. Major & O'Brien (2005) analyzed the psychological effects of social stigma and found that identity threat creates stress responses and motivates attempts at the reduction of this threat through coping strategies. These stress responses affect important outcomes such as self-esteem. Therefore, stigma has been linked to poor mental health and strained close relationships, such as romantic relationships. Individuals who find their stigmatized social identity to be a central part of the selfidentity are found to be more likely to see themselves as targets of personal and group discrimination. (Major & O'Brien, 2005). Consequently, they report increased threat and lower self-esteem in response to perceived discrimination against their in-group. This identity threat leads to involuntary stress responses such as anxiety, and common coping strategies include identifying more closely with the threatened group. These stress responses and coping efforts have implications for important outcomes such as self-esteem and health (Major & O'Brien,
One method of coping with discrimination is by sharing the experience with others (for example, romantic partners). In other words, seeking social support from others can help alleviate some of the negative effects of perceived discrimination.

Implicit Self-esteem

Self-esteem is often described as an attitude toward oneself that has both cognitive and affective components. Some of these feelings about the self can be consciously felt (explicit self-esteem), while other perceptions of the self are nonconsciously (implicit self-esteem). Feelings of the self are important to our understanding of romantic relationships and their functioning because of their cognitive significance. The significance of being in a close relationship is often described in terms of including others in the self (Aron, Aron, Tudor, Nelson, 1991).

The sociometer model of self-esteem states that our self-esteem monitors our standing with others and helps explain why the need for self-esteem is innate and universal (Leary et al., 2005). This theory suggests that people are not motivated to maintain their self-esteem, but rather seek to increase their social value and acceptance by using self-esteem as a measure of their effectiveness. In a study by Leary et al. (2005), researchers manipulated the degree to which participants thought others valued them as group members, and whether participants were included in or excluded from a specific social context. Results showed that the self-esteem of participants with low relational value decreased after learning that another person preferred not to interact with them. These results emphasize the important role of relational value in regards to self-esteem, and how exclusion affects self-esteem.

A study by Leary, Terdal, Tambor & Downs (1995) sought to understand the self-esteem system as a sociometer that is involved in the maintenance of interpersonal relations. This study tested whether the self-esteem system monitors others’ reactions and alerts the individual to the possibility of social exclusion based on the sociometer model of self-esteem. Researchers assessed these effects of exclusion by having participants be part of several activities where they experienced exclusion from a larger group. Results showed that participant’s recollection of positive or negative experiences showed a strong relationship between perceived exclusion and self-esteem. The more excluded participants reported feeling in each situation, the less positively they felt about themselves. Results also showed that exclusion that implies disapproval or rejection was linked to lowered self-esteem in participants. Research on the self has suggested that people’s self-images, as well as their self-esteem, are based heavily on their perception of others’ evaluations of them. The sociometer perspective shows why this is the case, and also supports the notion that our self-esteem serves as a protection against social exclusion. Perceived discrimination is very similar to social exclusion, and can have the same negative effect on people’s self-esteem.

Romantic Relationships

Romantic life is filled with moments that can either increase or decrease self-esteem. Some experiences such as perceived discrimination may lead to a decrease in self-esteem. These experiences may lead people to engage in behaviors that allow them to seek support and increase closeness and acceptance in a relationship. Sharing experiences with one’s partner can serve as a promoter of closeness and increase acceptance from a partner. Sharing discriminatory experiences with one’s partner may decrease the negative mental and physical effects associated with these negative experiences.

The risk regulation model provides a possible explanation of the cognitive process that take place when one is rejected by a romantic partner or experiences other negative events (such as perceived discrimination) outside of the relationship (Murray, Holmes, & Collins, 2006). The model’s central goal is to optimize the sense of assurance based on one’s relationship circumstances. According to this model, people shift their attention between the goal of avoiding rejection from one’s partner and the goal of closeness. We struggle with these goals to accommodate for what we think our risk or rejection from one’s partner is. The main goal is to achieve the best sense of assurance, which is one’s sense of safety in the level of dependence in the relationship. Eventually there is a dependence that forms between the two members of a romantic relationship. In the cases where one feels they may be rejected by a romantic partner, the likely response is one that minimizes closeness to a partner to prevent against rejection. This creates a dilemma in relationships, where thinking and behaving in ways that protect against rejection hinder thoughts and behaviors that encourage closeness between partners (Murray, Holmes, & Collins, 2006). Because even a partner’s rejection can hurt our self-esteem, it is common to take precaution when engaging in a romantic relationship. These behaviors increase the short term risk and long term pain of rejections, activating self-protection concerns.

A study by Murray (2005) sought to outline the framework on felt security to explain how people balance these competing ideals in the dilemma described above. The study experimented with people in dating relationships by having researchers manipulate specific threats to acceptance. These included discovering new faults in oneself or becoming aware of a partner’s annoyance, as well as a naturalistic study of daily life in married couples. Participants indicated how positively their partners saw them on a series of interpersonal traits (i.e. such as warmth or criticalness). These evaluations were used as a direct measure of the partner’s perceived regard, and results showed that that people in dating relationships who were low in global explicit self-esteem and likely to doubt their partners’ regard for them reacted to the manipulation (induced doubts about their own intelligence) by expressing greater concerns about their partners’ acceptance. People with high global explicit self-esteem did not show these same concerns. The findings of this study can explain why people who are troubled by insecurities and low self-esteem are less satisfied in their romantic relationships than people who feel more secure and positively regarded. Discriminatory experiences can serve as threats to self-esteem, affecting romantic relationships as described.

People’s implicit evaluations of their significant others have also been found to be related to their own implicit self-evaluations. A study by DeHart et al. (2011) has shown that people include significant others in their implicit (non-conscious) self-concepts, which appear to be different representations from people’s explicit (conscious) beliefs. In this study, participants completed measures of implicit evaluations of close others and implicit self-esteem. Results suggested that we do not completely incorporate significant others into our implicit self (DeHart et al., 2011). This idea was supported by demonstrating that people’s implicit self-esteem is related to their implicit evaluations of their close others. That is, people with high implicit self-esteem also reported a higher implicit evaluation of the close others. This was true.
for parent-child, romantic, sibling, and friendship relationships. The relation between others and one's implicit self was larger when the relationships were normatively closer, for example the evaluation of a romantic partner vs. evaluation of a sibling or friend. The extent that people are included in the self depends on how close one is to a significant other.

According to the risk regulation model, people with low self-esteem who feel rejected by their romantic partners behave in ways that protect against rejection but diminish closeness between partners. People with high self-esteem respond to threat by drawing closer to their relationship partners. Sharing experiences between a couple can serve as a behavior that promotes closeness in a romantic relationship, whereas a lack of sharing protects against rejection but reduces closeness. People with low implicit self-esteem may respond to discriminatory events by protecting themselves against rejection, engaging in behavior that reduces closeness such as lack of sharing experiences with their partners. In contrast, people with high implicit self-esteem may be more willing to share discriminatory experiences to enhance closeness with their partners.

Perceived Discrimination and Romantic Relationships

Little research has examined the effects of prejudice and discrimination on people’s romantic relationships. Our close relationships tend to be closely linked to our mental and physical health. Research has also shown that perceived discrimination has serious implications for mental and physical health as well. Because of this connection, perceived discrimination can affect our close relationships in a similar way. A study by Lehmiller & Agnew (2006) sought to examine how belonging to a socially devalued relationship affected people’s relationship experiences. Specifically, researchers tested whether perceived marginalization is associated with relationship commitment and investment levels. Results showed that marginalization was significantly and negatively associated with relationship commitment. When participants experienced higher levels of marginalization, they also experienced lower levels of commitment to their romantic relationships. Individuals experiencing high levels of marginalization also invested significantly less in their relationships than did individuals who did not feel marginalized. The goal of this study was to examine how belonging to a socially devalued group affects romantic relationships because very little is known about the effects of marginalization on close relationships. This research provided an initial hint as to how discrimination may ultimately influence romantic relationships, and we seek to expand this understanding through our current study.

Although the experience of racial discrimination is a significant life stressor, most research has not addressed the effects of this stress on non-white couples. The stress of experiencing discrimination may be associated with negative marital outcomes. Previous research has found that stressors external to a couple, such as discrimination, are associated with decreased relationship satisfaction. A study by Trail, Goff, Bradbury, & Karney (2012) addressed this issue, and analyzed the marital experiences of Latino couples. This study proposed that discrimination might ripple throughout a marriage and could have effects that spread beyond the individual experiencing discrimination. Results showed that the experience of discrimination predicted lower ratings of marital quality. Husband’s experience of discrimination negatively predicted wives marital quality but only for husbands with weak ethnic identity. For husbands with weaker ethnic identity, the more that they experienced discrimination, the lower their own and their wives’ satisfaction with their marriage was (Trail et al., 2012). These results support the theory that the stress of experiencing discrimination can infiltrate marriages and result in decreased marital quality. The current study will contribute to the small literature available on discrimination and relationship functioning by analyzing the specific negative effects of discrimination on romantic relationships.

The Current Study

The current project seeks to examine the effect of perceived discrimination on romantic relationships for African American couples. There is little research on the effect of perceived discrimination in romantic relationships. This research is important because our close relationships are closely linked to our mental and physical health.

The current project seeks to examine the relation between implicit self-esteem and perceived discrimination predicting the likelihood for sharing of discriminatory experiences. Based on the risk regulation model, members of a couple should have a dependence on each other to achieve the best sense of assurance. Sharing experiences with one’s partner can decrease the stress of the person who experiences the discrimination. This may depend on how responsive the partner is to the person’s needs. Based on how responsive a partner is, sharing one’s experiences with a partner can serve to increase this closeness and assurance between members of a couple. Because of this need for assurance, I predict that participants with high implicit self-esteem will be more likely to share discriminatory experiences with their romantic partners if they perceive more discrimination. Participants with low implicit self-esteem will be less likely to share discriminatory experiences with their romantic partners if they perceive more discrimination, because in the cases where one feels a threat to the relationship (people with low implicit self-esteem), the best response is one that minimizes closeness to a partner and protects against rejection.

Method

Participants

Our sample consisted of 180 romantic couples (N=360). Participants were recruited throughout the city of Chicago. Participants’ mean age was 36.52 years old (SD=12.23) with a mean relationship length of 7.2 years (SD= 100. Of our couples, 35.8% were married, 57.2% were single or never married, 5.9% were divorced, and .8% were widowed. Of our participants, 54.2% had an average income that was less than $25,000, 29.6% had an average income between $25,001-$50,000, 8.9% had an average income
between $50,001-$75,000, 2.8% had an average income between $75,001-$100,000, 1.4% had an average income between $100,001-$125,000, 0.3% had an average income between $125,001-$150,000, and 0.6% had an average income over $200,000. In our couples, 3.4% of participants reported an education level below high school, 50.3% reported having a high school or GED level of education, 36% reported having an Associate’s/Bachelor’s degree, and 8.7% reported having a graduate, doctorate, or professional degree.

**Procedures**

Participants came into the lab and completed a study titled “Couples Daily Interpersonal Experiences Study.” Participants were recruited in the community through flyers posted at community centers, libraries, and cultural centers. Recruitment was also conducted through an ad posted on the Red Line train advertising our study. Participants had to be over 18 years of age, both members of the couple had to identify as African American, had to be living together, and had to have access to the internet between the hours of 8pm and 3am to be eligible to participate in the study. During the orientation session, participants completed a background questionnaire on the computer, and completed a Daily Diary Survey for 21 consecutive days following the orientation session. The current project focuses on the measures found in the background survey.

**Implicit Self-esteem**

Implicit Self-esteem. The Name-Letter measure (DeHart et al., 2006) assessed participants’ implicit evaluations of the self. Specifically, participants were asked to report their preferences for each of the 26 letters of the alphabet. Participants were instructed to “trust your intuitions, work quickly, and report your gut impressions” (e.g., Longua & DeHart, 2013). Participants made their rating using a 9 point scale (1= dislike very much, 9= live very much). A liking score was computed from the difference between each participant’s rating of his or her own first and last name initials and the mean liking of these two letters provided by people whose names did not include that letter. Positive numbers indicated higher name-letter preferences. Participants’ name-letter preferences were computer by taking the average liking scores for their first and last name initials.

**Perceived Discrimination**

Perceived Discrimination. The Daily Life Experience (DLE) is a self-report measure that evaluates the frequency and impact of experiencing 20 racial microaggressions. This 20-item subscale of the Racism and Life Experience scale (Harrell, 1994) was used to assess chronic exposure to racial discrimination over the past year. Sample items include, “Being ignored, overlooked, or not given service.” Participants responded to each item using a 5 point scale (0= never, 5= once a week or more) to indicate how often the events occur.

Sharing. Participants were asked to report how likely they were to share discriminatory experiences with their partner (“When the events mentioned on the previous page occur because of your race, how likely are you to share these experiences with your partner?”). Participants responded to the item using a 7 point scale (1= never, 7= all of the time).

**Results**

Implicit Self-esteem, Perceived Discrimination, and Sharing

Does the interaction between implicit self-esteem and perceived discrimination predict the likelihood of sharing discriminatory experiences with their romantic partners? We conducted a regression analysis predicting likelihood to share experiences with partner from the continuous variables of implicit self-esteem and perceived discrimination, and the Implicit Self-esteem X Perceived Discrimination interaction. As summarized in Table 1, there was a significant main effect of gender. Women were more likely to share discriminatory experiences with their partner than men were. There was also a significant main effect of perceived discrimination. Specifically, people who reported more perceived discrimination were more likely to share these discriminatory experiences than participants who reported less perceived discrimination. There was also a marginally significant Perceived Discrimination X Implicit self-esteem interaction predicting likelihood of sharing experiences with partner.

We determined the nature of this significant Perceived Discrimination X Implicit self-esteem interaction by using the procedures outlines by Aiken and West (1991) for testing interactions in multiple regression. Specifically, we examined the simple slope of perceived discrimination predicting likelihood of sharing experiences with partner separately for people high and low in implicit self-esteem. As suggested by the regression lines depicted in Figure 1, the simple slope tests revealed that perceived discrimination was positively related to the likelihood of sharing the experiences for people with high implicit self-esteem, B = .33, B = .24, t (232) = 2.50, p = .01. However, there was no relation between perceived discrimination and likelihood of sharing the experiences for people with low implicit self-esteem, B = .05, B = .03, t (232) = .40, p = .69. These results suggest that people with high implicit self-esteem were more likely to share with their partners when they experienced more discrimination. However, this was not true for people with low implicit self-esteem.

**Discussion**

Our results showed that there was a significant main effect of gender and a
significant main effect of perceived discrimination. Women were more likely to share discriminatory experiences with their partner than men were. We found that people who reported more perceived discrimination were more likely to share these discriminatory experiences than participants who reported less perceived discrimination. Perceived discrimination was found to be positively related to the likelihood of sharing the experiences for people with high implicit self-esteem. However, there was no relation between perceived discrimination and likelihood of sharing the experiences for people with low implicit self-esteem.

The results of this project supplement the limited knowledge on the relationship between perceived discrimination and implicit self-esteem. There is little to no research looking at these effects and how these play into romantic relationships. Our results support Trail, Goff, Bradbury, & Karney's theory that experiencing discrimination can penetrate relationships and result in decreased relationship quality. The constant fear of rejection from one's partner may be preventing people from sharing discriminatory experiences with their romantic partners. Sharing experiences with one's partner can have the positive consequence of decreasing the stress of the person who experiences the discrimination. This may depend on how responsive the partner is to the person's needs. Based on how responsive a partner is, sharing a discriminatory event may alleviate the negative effects of perceived discrimination. However, if a person is not responsive to their partner's needs, sharing discriminatory experiences may lead them to feel bad for sharing (Trail et al. 2012). Future research should examine what the positive and negative consequences for the self and a romantic relationships involved in sharing discriminatory experiences with romantic relationship partners. Research by Murray (2005) has shown findings that can explain why people who are troubled by insecurities end up involved in less satisfying romantic relationships than people who feel more secured and regarded.

Some of the strengths of this study include the methodology used. Our sample consisted of a substantial community sample with a wide range of ages and backgrounds. Having responses from both members of the couple in was also a positive asset in our study. This study also examined relationship dynamics as they unfolded in daily life through the daily diary surveys administered each night, which is perhaps the most important strength in this study.

Limitations in this project center on its correlational nature. We cannot conclude that experiencing more discrimination leads to more sharing between romantic partners because our findings simply showed a correlation. There are several areas of this project that could be improved and expanded in future research. Expanding the number of measures for implicit self-esteem could potentially yield different results. Future research could also investigate self-evaluations as a result of other close relationships besides romantic relationships. This study could be expanded to include evaluations of the self as a result of discrimination and likelihood of sharing with close friends and family members.

The current project sought to examine the effects of perceived discrimination and participants' implicit self-esteem predicting the likelihood of sharing discriminatory experiences with their romantic partners. This project has shed some light onto this topic, where there is a lack of research in this area and on this particular population. The identification of specific problems that arise from perceived discrimination in a romantic relationship may lead to the development of effective interventions that can alleviate the effects of perceived discrimination for African American couples and can increase relationship satisfaction for these couples by increasing the amount of sharing amongst them.

References


End of Days: The “Puerto Rican Riots” of 1971

By Pedro A. Regalado, Senior, History Faculty Mentor: Dr. Michelle Nickerson

On the summer evening of Thursday August 19th 1971, Gaulberto Medina wandered in the shattered glass along the Broadway Street businesses of Camden, N.J. Earlier that night, the city had been engulfed in a fierce riot that stemmed from a demonstration at the head of Camden’s City Hall. Medina, the student responsible for organizing that demonstration, walked from store to store apologizing for the ruin until he stepped into one business where he received an unexpected reply. As the business owner rolled up his shirt sleeve, the owner told Medina that he was proud of the conflagration. The young activist stood perplexed until he noticed, on the owners forearm, identification numbers from the Auschwitz concentration camps. He stated: “If we had stood up, this wouldn’t have happened,” said the man. Medina stood at the door silent for a moment before replying “Thank you.”

That night, the Puerto Rican community, both young and old, men and women, had unsuccessfully called for the suspension of two Camden officers. The two lieutenants, Gary Miller and Warren Worrell, had beaten a 40-year-old Puerto Rican man into a coma almost three weeks prior. Soon, riots erupted throughout the city streets as angry residents burned and looted businesses and homes over four days. The damage decimated the city’s tax base and inflicted negative psychological effects on the city’s moral. Whatever hope this once-thriving city had of recovering its old glory seemed to be lost in a week. To those most familiar with the riots, these are the details that are known about the beginning of the end for Camden.

The “Puerto Rican” riots of 1971 are named after the Puerto Rican community which composed the majority of participants in the riots. The story behind these riots is a confluence of vague identities and a lack of knowledge surrounding those at the center of the calamity. While Camden’s decline during the latter half of the 20th century resulted from the continual reinforcement of the city’s troubling political, economic and social strife, the underlying social causes of the crisis in 1971 can be attributed to the city government’s failure to address the problems plaguing its immigrant community. Thus, in order to understand Camden’s unique culture and circumstances which led up to the Puerto Rican Riots of 1971, it is essential to examine the social and political relationships developing between the Puerto Rican community, Camden’s city government, and the Camden Police Department over the decades leading up to the riot.

II

Camden’s Hispanic population experienced a steady growth during World War II when local industries began to hire labor-starved ethnic groups to fill wartime jobs. Campbell’s Soup Company, the largest employer in the city, along with RCA, a prominent electronics company, employed many Puerto Ricans as laborers. Over the following decades, the Puerto Rican community remained in Camden even as the cities overall population decreased from 124,555 in 1950 to 84,910 in 1980. They rented apartments along Stevens and Berkeley Streets, establishing a Spanish-speaking Puerto Rican neighborhood in the central area of Camden. Yet as they made Camden their home, the industries that drew them to what seemed to be a flourishing city were disappearing. In 1947, Camden had 224 business establishments employing about 38,509 employees for the year. By 1977, that number dropped by about 21% to 177 companies with employment rates dropping by 31% to 12,200. The number of production workers, those employed by the main industries in Camden like Campbell’s Soup and RCA, the heart of the city’s economy, dropped by a staggering 74% from 30,216 in 1947 to 7,700 in 1977. The consequences of this extensive job loss were so devastating to Camden’s economy that they tore into the social fabric and traditions of the city. Those with the means to leave Camden and settle into surrounding areas did so while those who could not afford this luxury, the new non-white working class, stayed put.

In 1970, a year before the city’s worst crisis, the state of New Jersey employed approximately 40,000 Puerto Ricans, a majority of whom worked in agriculture, construction, manufacturing and retail. By 1976, Camden alone was home to over 13,000 Puerto Rican residents. However, the Puerto Rican community, along with the African American community, inherited a city wrought with poverty. In 1969, compared to the nationwide average of $3,774, Camden reported a per capita income of just $2,436. As Camden’s demography changed, so did its needs. Troubled over a lack of bilingual education, Spanish speaking police, city officials, and teachers, Hispanic representatives such as Joe Rodriguez voiced their concerns. Our Lady of Fatima, the first Hispanic church founded by Carmen Rodriguez, the mother of Joseph Rodriguez, published a report on the Puerto Rican community in June 1970. A team of priests and sisters, including the respected Fr. Longo, worked with the Hispanic population in Camden in order collect statistics that helped explain the status of Puerto Ricans in the city. The report claimed Camden had one Puerto Rican doctor, one lawyer (Joseph Rodriguez), one excity councilman, one employee in the State Education commission, one member of the Board of Education, five teachers, ten secretaries in schools and private enterprises, five policemen, one licensed real estate broker, one in the Country Prosecutor’s office, two holding posts of committeemen and women in political parties, one candidate for councilman, four employees in the Higher Education offices, 25 students attending Rutgers University, 15 in County Colleges or other colleges, and approximately 10 adults taking college courses. The report emphasized the scarcity of Puerto Rican professionals in Camden. The causes can be traced to a deficiency in
education and lack of city services and jobs for the
city’s fastest growing ethnicity. These issues would
become the fuel to the fire that would soon engulf
Camden. Yet the racial tensions apparent in the
riots of 1971 involved much more than a
disgruntled Puerto Rican population. The African
American community had also dealt with similar
issues of police abuse and blatant discrimination in
Camden.

Years before the riots of 1971, the black
community in Camden, which had risen in
percentage since the 1950’s to over half the
population by 1980, had also joined the call for civil
rights uniting African Americans across the nation.
Although their campaign did not match the size of
protests or backlash of southern civil rights
demonstrations, the upsurge of racial justice
activism did have profound implications on
Camden. In the summer of 1967, Black Power
advocate H. Rap Brown, 23-years-old, stirred a
young crowd of black activists with a fiery speech
at the Camden Convention Center, after which the
young crowd took to the streets with guns only to
be quelled by a mass police force. Before they
were mollified, however, the youth shatred a
score of windows along Broadway Street,
developing white owned businesses throughout
the city. Vandalism was not new to Camden
business owners at this time; they reported similar
incidents constantly. The cause of these acts can
possibly be attributed to the same violence and
rage of urban riots witnessed in Detroit, Newark,
Watts, and other major cities. During the spring of
the following year, nearly a thousand black
students from Camden High School demanded
equality in their school in the form of black
teachers, coaches, and courses that reflected their
cultural heritage. That fall, only 330 of the 700
white students reentered at that high school.
The result was an exodus of whites into the suburbs.

III

Urban riots are rarely spontaneous and do not
come unprompted. The origins of urban unrest
usually stems from political, economic, and social
factors similar to those experienced in Camden
during the 1960’s and 1970’s. Police abuse, poor
housing, economic inequality and rapid
demographic change are all issues common of
the urban riots during that era. The issues in cities such
as Detroit and Newark were further exacerbated by
negligence. The study of urban riots, as tied to
the issues of urban conditions, has arisen from
an increase in rapid urbanization during the 20th
century. Detroit and Newark, which had previously
been powerhouses of industry, experienced
erosions of their traditional manufacturing sectors
and subsequently lost employment during the
decades surrounding their respective riots, which
occurred in 1967. Nonetheless, each had unique
circumstances that led to their unfortunate
conflicts. For Camden, the so-called “Puerto Rican”
riots can be traced to decisions made on the part
decisions inevitably dragged Camden into
the darkest days it would ever see. In other cases,
such as that of Detroit in 1967, a police vice squad’s
decision to execute a raid on an after-hours
drinking club in a predominantly African American
neighborhood ultimately led to five days of violent
riots in which 43 people died, 1189 injured and
over 7000 were arrested. That same year, not far
from Camden, a riot in Newark, NJ began with the
arrest of a cab driver named John Smith who had
allegedly driven around a double-parked police
car. He was arrested and severely beaten by his
arresting officers during interrogations. Eerily
resembling the events in Camden, a crowd began to
assemble in front of the precinct house which
ultimately turned into a violent riot after rumors
spread that Smith had died. At the end of the six
days of rioting that unfolded, 23 people had died,
725 were injured, and approximately 1500 people
were arrested. Although Camden may have not
experienced the same scale of damage, ultimately
William Yeager, Camden’s Public Safety Officer,
decided to confront the crowd outside of City Hall
which marked the city’s climactic fall.
The Camden Courier-Post’s coverage during the
time surrounding the “Puerto Rican” riots is,
undoubtedly, the best source of information on the
unrest. Jeffrey Donwart, Camden County,
New Jersey: The Making of a Metropolitan
Community, 1626-2000 (2001) offers about two
pages of the riots. Howard Gillette, a leading
historian in the history of Camden, briefly
mentioned the riots in his monograph Camden
After the Fall: Decline and Renewal in a Post-
Industrial City (2005) touching on the main points
without much detail. Furthermore, a lack of
published works dedicated to the riots has cast the
event as a footnote in the history of the American
urban crisis and deindustrialization. The “Puerto Rican”
riots, however, represent an important
watershed moment. Since then, Camden has
suffered from issues of extreme poverty, political
corruption, high crime, and rampant drug abuse.
Thomas Sugrue, a pioneer in urban history,
touches on this with regard to Detroit in The
Origins of the Urban Crisis: Race and Inequality in
Postwar Detroit (2005). Yet as similar as the general
situations may be between deteriorating cities
such as Camden and Detroit, the identities of these
places have been quite different. In this research,
I have gathered a pool of diverse sources that tell
the lost story of the Puerto Rican Riots and the
individuals most entrenched in the issue. It reveals
the lost roots of conflict between Camden’s fastest
growing ethnic group during the latter half of the
20th century and local city officials who seemed
unprepared for the city’s evolution.

IV

On the night of Saturday July 31, 1971, three
individuals held Camden’s fate in their hands:
Rafael Gonzales, Warren Worrell, and Gary Miller.
Gonzales was a 40-year-old construction worker
from Camden who had moved by then to Penns
Grove in Salem County, NJ, about 30 miles
southwest of the city. That evening, he set out with
Lesley Whitesall, a 17-year-old male, with whom he
had allegedly been drinking with since 1030 that
morning and arrived in Camden at approximately
7:30 that evening. According to Whitesall, the two
friends had consumed three sixpacks of beer that
day. “He could drink a case, easy” Whitesall
recounted. Before the day was over, Gonzales
would be in critical condition and fighting for his
life. Carmen Villanueva, a Camden resident and
Gonzales’ friend, testified in front of a jury of nine
men and five women regarding the beating of
Gonzales. She claimed that she and two others,
Angel and Elizabeth Santiago, witnessed the
beating on West and Steven’s streets just a few
blocks from where the protest-turned-riot
unfolded almost three weeks later. She reported
that Gonzales and his passenger were speaking
with her while double parked in front of her home
when patrol officers Miller and Worrell ordered
Gonzales to move on. Gonzalez proceeded up the
street and parked along the curb at Stevens street.
Villanueva recalled an order by one of the officers:
“Okay, turn around and put your hands on the
station wagon.” “Why are you searching me?”
replied Gonzalez with his hands in a questioning
gesture. “And that’s when the cop starting hitting
him, he had a little black thing in his hand and it
must have been hard because he [Gonzalez]
started to bleed.” Throughout the rest of her
testimony Villanueva explained how Gonzales fell
to the gutter as the second policemen left the
patrol car and joined in on the beating. “...and
they started kicking him and hitting him with a
night stick. He was bleeding bad and there was a
pool of blood”. A few weeks later, Rodriguez died
from the stomach injuries he sustained from that
incident.

Warren Worrell and Gary Hilliar were both new to
Camden’s police force. Through their actions, they
represented Camden Police Department’s
attitudes toward enforcing what they thought to
be the law. Insight into their lives sheds light on
their character as well as Gonzales’ beating. In
August of 1966, five years before the riots, the
Camden Courier-Post published an article
called “City Youth, 20, Bids Dad Goodbye at Home.” The youth was Warren Worrell and his
destination was Vietnam. After being stationed in
Korea, young Worrell requested a transfer to the
combat-heavy Vietnam. His father advocated
escalation of the conflict in order to “get it over
with” and Worrell, a machine gunner on a
helicopter escort, expressed his anxiousness to
engage in combat because “you can’t do anything
like that here.”

Years after the riots, both officers Worrell and
Miller’s actions were, once again, brought into
question by another brutal incident involving the
shooting of a young African American youth in 1974. Gary Miller, who was 28 and had three children, was sitting in his living room with his wife in East Camden as a Courier-Post journalist interviewed him about his shooting of a 16 year "knife-wielding" youth. Miller's father had also been a Camden police officer along with his younger brother Ron Miller. After joining the police force in 1968, he was suspended for 18 months in 1971 awaiting the Gonzales trial. It was a nightmare repeating itself. He claimed to have shot the youth in order to protect his partner, Worrell. He prayed that the young man would not die. Despite the problems Miller had on the job, he stated "I don't think I would be satisfied in any other job. There's excitement and something different all the time. You get to help people and feel you're doing something worthwhile."

Rafael Gonzales quickly became the symbol of the brutality and inequalities that the Puerto Rican community had experienced for many years. Yet Rafael Gonzales did not go by his name. He was referred to as Horacio Jimenez in all the newspaper accounts during the coverage of the riots. In the midst of all the commotion, the details of Gonzales and the events of that fateful July night assume a shroud of ambiguity. Moreover, in oral history interviews, principal characters in the events never used Gonzales' name either. Horacio Jimenez was a fake name that Gonzales gave patrol officers Miller and Worrell.

V

"There is no such thing as a bad soldier, just bad generals."

This was the quote Gualberto "Gul" Medina felt best characterized the political leadership in Camden when the riots began on that Thursday night of August 19th, 1971. Today, Medina is Vice President of brokerage services at CBRE Group Inc., a Fortune 500 company and the world's largest commercial real estate services firm in terms of revenue. In 1971, he was a 22-year-old, politically active, Puerto Rican student at Rutgers University in Camden, not far from city hall where the riots began. As a student leader adamant about issues of social justice, Medina was a key player in organizing the protest at city hall on August 19th which called for the suspension of the two 25-year-old patrol officers, Miller and Worrell, accused of unjustly beating Rafael Gonzales into a coma. Associated with the Young Lords, a Puerto Rican civil rights group, Medina clearly expressed in an oral history interview that, contrary to popular rumors, the group had no involvement in the riots. The Young Lords originated in Chicago during 1960's as Jose "Cha Cha" Jimenez and friends turned the group from a turf gang into an organization concerned with Puerto Rican nationalism and opposition to urban renewal. They were troubled over issues of Puerto Rican defense similar to other groups subject to constant discrimination. As their ranks grew, the Young Lords became more political, much like the Black Panther Party. Chapters emerged in New York and in other cities. Jimenez, a leader in the organization, learned from leaders of the black solidarity movement and ultimately aligned himself with the Black Panther Party as well as a group of young white, working class individuals who dubbed themselves the Young Patriots. Together, the three groups formed the Rainbow Coalition. Suffering from gentrification policies that displaced Puerto Ricans and African Americans from their communities, the Young Lords were not new to confrontations and hostilities when in June 1966, they responded to the Chicago Division Street Riots that erupted over the police shooting of an unarmored Puerto Rican youth. The group formally organized two years later in 1968, bringing a sense of community to the Hispanic neighborhoods where they were involved. Yet they were not active in Camden during the riots of 1971. Camden's Puerto Rican population did not benefit from a large profile group that could have created solidarity in the community in order to address their own issues of discrimination.

Medina stated, in his oral history interview, that "the Young Lords would've asked if we needed help and they didn't and never came, and they shouldn't have. They couldn't be helpful. Once a riot starts the crowd develops a mind of its own." He went on to recount his memory and feelings on the riots: "There was a high level of outrage from all levels of the Hispanic community, not just radicals or students..." This was what he felt was vital in this story.

This was not a protest movement of the young hotheads. It was far from that. Even among the students there wasn't a broad consensus about the means and ends but there was a consensus among the students that what happened to Horacio Jimenez shouldn't happen in the streets of Camden and that we should raise the issue and protest. But I think what was most important is that this protest was joined by every aspect of the Hispanic community and the African American community who had the same issue. The true message was that this was truly a movement of the people.

Yet years before that fateful night, the Puerto Rican community had much to feel dissatisfied with. The incident with Gonzales was not an isolated act of abuse on the part of the Camden Police Department. Not only were Puerto Ricans significantly underrepresented in the Camden police force but there had also been many instances of police abuse (or perceived) throughout the years. Almost a week before the riots began, which followed the filing of charges against the two police officers who assaulted Gonzales, the Brotherhood for Unity and Progress (BUP), an organization of 72 black Camden policemen criticized the: "...bullies who use their nightsticks as Nazi-like weapons for self-imposed law...We are doubly appalled when incidents fomented by police carry racial overtones. In our present-day situation, it is vitally important that all individuals be sensitive to the possible racial misinterpretation of their acts.

Later during the riots, the well-respected chairman of the Black People's Unity Movement (BUPM), Charles "Poppie" Sharp, stated "we support the Puerto Rican community because we too have been victims of police brutality." Sharp had been a mentor for the young Medina. After the riots, Medina would join a campaign to stop the prosecution of Sharp on what he called "questionable" issues. Carl Poplar, the attorney who represented the Gonzales family, also represented Sharp in one of his trials. While Poplar claimed that Sharp had been heavily involved with the African American riots of 1968, he maintained that Sharp had nothing to do with the Puerto Rican riots. On the other hand, Medina claimed that Sharp was very concerned with keeping the situation under control, describing him as a positive figure similar to Joe Rodriguez. Both Medina and Poplar spoke of Sharp in admiring terms. "Wonderful guy...very loud and demonstrative and yelling at people but didn't want anyone to get hurt," Poplar recalled. Sharp symbolized the rebellious spirit of Camden's minorities. Although he was primarily focused on the issues concerning the black community, he recognized the shared oppression of Camden's Latino population. Police abuse, for example, was a chief concern of both groups. Agreeing that Miller and Worrell should be suspended, Sharp stated "They should be charged with murder or attempted murder. The present charges are illegitimate charges...I know I'm not speaking for many blacks in Camden but as a black man and as a member of a suppressed minority, I know I speak for all blacks including the silent ones because they know the next day it might be one of them whose rights are violated."

Camden also suffered discrimination and violence within the police department's own institutional culture. The Camden Police Department did not seize the opportunity to improve police-community relations through a use of positive dialogue. Today, police-community mediation is commonplace throughout the United States as it emphasizes police communication strategies. In Portland, OR, 90% of citizens and 87% of officers recommended mediation to resolve police citizen complaints in 2004. Mediation methodologies by patrol officers can help to facilitate professionalism among officers, decrease in citizen complaints against police, and a reduction in the use of force by patrol officers. However, the use of conflict resolution methods did not gain ground until the 1970s. Thus, the events in Camden leading up to 1971 preempted the movement toward mediation and the city was not able to benefit from its successes. Medina reflected in his oral history interview that William Yeager, Camden's Public Safety Director,
held African Americans and Latinos in contempt and did not put procedures in place to create harmonious relations between community and police. During the riots, Yeager called the rioters an “animalistic group of rationless, two-legged beasts.” In his statement the morning after the initial outburst of rioting Yeager exclaimed: “On this morning of August 20th, 1971, I feel just as though President Roosevelt must have felt on the morning of Dec. 7, 1941.” Yeager’s sentiments reflect a polarization of attitudes toward the riots. He viewed them as an attack on Camden itself and those perpetrating the attack as mindless criminals. As the Public Safety Director, Yeager oversaw and coordinated the public services intended to protect the citizens within his jurisdiction including the police department and fire department. Unfortunately, his lack of positive leadership and communication, exemplified through his alienation of those whom he was employed to protect, allowed for a culture of police abuse which plagued Camden during the 1960’s and 1970’s. The tensions between the Puerto Rican community and Camden’s Police Department worsened in the years leading up to 1971, finally exploding into chaos that summer. Although the Puerto Rican Riots had roots that extended beyond the immediate situation, it is important to understand the nature of the protest of that night itself. “They were more festive than anything else” claimed Gil Medina, the primary organizer of the protest. “The goal was to set up a protest in front of City Hall … we struck a chord because it wasn’t just students. It was a cross section of Hispanics. It was a broad base, leaders of all sides of the spectrum, conservatives to the students. The whole mall was full of people,” including women and children. Among those people were the parents of Joseph and Mario Rodriguez. In a recent interview, Carl Poplar, the attorney representing the family of Gonzales, fondly described Rodriguez as “the man.” His many accolades include membership to the American college of trial lawyers, a chairman’s position to the Board of Higher Education in New Jersey as well as chairman’s position in the State Crime Commission. He was also New Jersey’s state public defender and was later appointed by the governor to the federal bench where he’s served for over 20 years. He had long been the liaison between the Hispanic community and city government. In 1971, he was an attorney and the titular leader of the Hispanic community in Camden, so when he learned of the Gonzales beating, he knew that something had to be done and. Along with his brother Mario, who had been a councilman, Rodriguez became arbitrated negotiations between the community and the Mayor and his Public Safety Director. Mayor Joseph Nardi was one of Rodriguez’s best friends. They had attended the same high school and had been friendly rivals their whole lives. Nardi was the godfather of one of Rodriguez’s children and vice versa. When the riots were at their peak and a bullet shot through the Mayor’s window on the 17th floor of city hall, Rodriguez looked at Nardi and said, “Joe, do you think when we were in high school that we would ever be in a situation like this?” Rodriguez understood the gravity of the events, but on the day of the protests, his negotiating skills could not stop the confrontation between the protestors and police. As the day continued and the chants “Justice, now!” echoed throughout city hall in both English and Spanish, the protests became increasingly vociferous and by that evening, the plaza was completely packed with about 1,200 persons. Meanwhile, Gil Medina and other community leaders such as Joe Rodriguez continued attempts to attenuate the situation with the Mayor and Public Safety director, but to no avail. Up in the towering City Hall, Mayor Joseph Nardi and William Yeager faced a defining juncture. In his oral history interview Medina stated, “I don’t know at what time the riots started but it was already getting dark and it was pretty clear that there were either two things that were going to happen. Either we succeeded in getting the area clear or there was going to be a confrontation.” According to him, Public Safety Director Yeager and Mayor Nardi, who seemed to defer to Yeager in during the situation, showed no willingness to admit police accountability for Gonzales’ injuries. In a list of 17 demands presented to Nardi at 8pm that evening, Puerto Rican leaders demanded the immediate suspension of the police officers who had been charged with assault and battery. Some of the top demands included a complete investigation conducted by a grand jury; more Puerto Ricans on the police force, an immediate halt to police brutality, censure by the mayor of Public Safety Director Yeager and “his autocratic control of the police,” interpreters to inform Puerto Ricans of their rights when arrested, and competent public defenders. These demands reflected the discrimination faced by Puerto Ricans at the hands of Camden police. They communicated their concerns and demands in a most direct way. Yet some items addressed their economic lives and what the city had failed to do in providing basic living conditions. The leaders asked for an investigation of the Camden Housing Authority, stating that “Puerto Ricans have not been receiving a fair share of the housing in the city.” Ultimately, their goal was to be heard in Camden: “We must have a voice in the running of city government.” In any case, a consensus was reached that night that the crowd should disperse in order to continue discussions. Since Medina was, in essence, the leader of the protest, Joe Rodriguez and others left it up to him to address the crowd. I said “[Listen friends, we’re making great progress in our conversations but it’s getting late. But what the leadership would like you to do now is to disperse so that we can come back tomorrow and protest. It’s getting dark and the goal is not to have a confrontation with the police so let’s disperse.’ I tried but there was a pure reluctance. It was following this failed attempt that Yeager made the call to confront the crowd. Yet rather than pushing the crowd out from one side, Medina recalls Yeager’s decision to confront the crowd from both sides which, in effect, created sheer pandemonium, challenging the crowd with tear gas, police dogs, and batons. The young people were more than willing to fight but that was not the overwhelming desire not even on their part. They were willing but they thought it would come to that. No one thought it would come to a violent confrontation but it did. And the police realized that when you have a 1000 people in a small space with the number of police they had out there, you cannot contain that. It was a foolish thing, a truly foolish thing. In an attempt to suppress a demonstration which he may have felt to be imminently aggressive, Yeager’s decision to overwhelm the hundreds of protestors soon turned them into rioters and the situation only worsened and ultimately, the city’s residents paid the price.

V I

During the course of the riots, Camden experienced a state of emergency that affected its long term economic development. Over one hundred stores and homes burned as the Camden Fire Board, engulfed in emergency calls, lost count of the conflagrations. Dozens of businesses that once thrived were Decimated by rioters and forced to forever close their doors. Roadblocks were set up at major access points into Camden in order to deter drivers away from the danger. Afterwards, a number of Camden businessmen condemned Mayor Nardi for not acting sooner. Jerry Aronberg, former president of Camden’s Business Improvement Association and Camden businessman since 1949 stated “Whats two suspensions compared to people in the hospital and millions of dollars in losses. . . . Why didn’t he make a speech? We only saw the public safety director.” As he boarded up the entrance to his shoe store, one dejected store owner’s remarks truly reflected the sentiment of Camden’s businessmen. As he looked at his smashed windows, he stated “A brick did this. I’m not going to fix it up. It’s malicious. I can’t understand why anyone would smash the windows. I have nothing in them. All my stock was behind locked doors. This just about finishes Camden as a businessman’s city.” Today, Camden has one of the highest crime rates in the United States and two out of five residents lived below the poverty line in 2009. The city never recovered.

V I I

Dominic Petulla, now 77 years old, is the soft spoken son of Italian immigrants and a native of
Camden. As a shoe repairman in an area of South Camden which is heavily infested with drugs, he and his family have owned Gold Star Shoe Repairing for over 70 years. When asked about the riots, Petulla recounts, “[t]hat was the demise…the riots caused a lot of businesses to move and never come back…At the time the people left the city for the suburbs.” He was right. The riots of 1971 were the defining moment in which the final migration of whites and businesses from Camden began. By 1980, over 75% of Camden’s population was comprised of non-whites, a stark contrast from the percentage of whites which still dominated the city just 20 years prior. The economic and social decline which had plagued the city during the third quarter of the 20th century had finally taken its toll. The Jewish, Irish, and Italian American communities left and took their businesses with them. At the same time, Hispanics, Blacks, and Asian Americans (mostly Vietnamese, driven from Saigon after the Vietnam War) supplanted the white ethnicities, moving into abandoned Irish and Italian neighborhoods, stores, and even churches.

“I started coming here when I was 10 years old in 1946. Back then it was quite a beautiful city,” stated Petulla in a nostalgic voice. When asked about the future of his business, he was quiet for a moment. Shaking his head, he stated:

“...It’s not true. None of my grandkids are interested. And I make it look like it was a dump because they’d break in every night if they thought they could get anything. If I could make it better then I’d have to worry, so I make it look like a dump. I make it look like a dump but I put up with the inconvenience. I put up with it. Not to mention I’ll never get my money out of it.”

Camden’s non-white population inherited a city in an already deteriorated state. Yet it is also clear that riots of 1971 set the course for a steep decline. The issues these non-whites faced, Puerto Ricans in particular, were further aggravated by a lack of dialogue between themselves and the city government and police department. Ultimately, this would be Camden’s worst mistake. In the midst of the riots, one looter wandering through the remains of a downtown jewelry store responded to questions surrounding his decision to loot. He responded, “Frustration. It’s, it’s even more than that. You know who we do it. Like, man, there’s a limit. Like you get angry. Like, you know you’ll never get it any other way. You know why this started. It’s what they did to Jimenez. We got angry, just like the Puerto Ricans, and we figured it was time. No one listens any other way.”

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Abstract

This research will try to identify the transnational identity formation of bilingual Mexican youth who have immigrated to the United States and live there undocumented. This will be achieved through the analysis and comparison of the two main characters of the two movies “Under the Same Moon” and “A Better Life,” Luis, and Carlitos, respectively, to gain an overview of how children perceive and are affected by migration from Mexico to the United States. From the conclusions drawn from the character analysis, an immigration identity model was created. There is a further connection to the stories in the movies through the application of the created model to the personal experience of the author and his experience with migration and his formation of identity as an undocumented bilingual immigrant from Mexico. The concluding part of the paper will be a collection of future interviews of DREAMers ages 18-24 to try to come to an understanding of how they view their identity before and after being granted Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals using the created identity model.

Once seen as a phenomenon, migration from Mexico to the United States has now become an activity that forms part of the life of millions of Mexicans, Americans, and Mexican-Americans, many of them children. The interactions between the people of both countries are now deeply marked in both cultures. However, these interactions have not come without conflict. Immigration is a highly debated topic in the United States, as it raises fear of a “re-conquest” of sorts, in some people. In an article, Mexican author Carlos Fuentes writes against Samuel P. Huntington’s observations that “Mexicans do not live—they invade; they do not work—they exploit and they do not enrich—they impoverish” (2004). Despite the hostility some Americans feel, Mexican immigrants do more good than harm in the country, according to Fuentes “California earmarks a billion dollars a year to educate the children of immigrants. But if it were to do otherwise… the state would lose $16 billion a year in federal aid to education.

Similarly, Mexican migrant workers pay $29 billion a year more in taxes than the services they receive” (2004). In spite of unfounded hostility such as this, Mexican migrant families find ways to succeed in the United States and provide for their families, as stated by Fuentes’ remarks on immigrants’ contributions to the United States economy. Regardless of how the person came to the U.S., another hurdle is faced when dealing with issues of identity, especially by children. Moving to the United States from Mexico requires a high level of adaptation since the new culture, language, and customs are completely new to the migrant. For the most part, immigration to the United States takes place when life circumstances in Mexico have become unbearable for the family, when all other options to try to stay in the country have been exhausted and their only new option is a fresh start in “the land of opportunity”. In Kim Potowski’s and Jason Rothman’s book Bilingual youth: Spanish in English Speaking Societies Suzanne Romaine mentions that:

“When the link between the language and the culture is intact, boundaries and identities may be taken for granted. However, because identities emerge in response to economic, cultural and political forces, perceptions realign themselves to changing situations. In some groups there may be debate about which particular aspect of their culture is of prime significance, or whether someone can be a ‘real’ member of the cultural group without speaking the associated language. (Potowski and Rothman 11)

Since every case is different, it is a hard task to pinpoint the identities of children affected by immigration. In other words, when there is a change in family life, and a child is suddenly attending school with children who have not even language in common with him or her, how can he or she adapt? Does a child feel more American just for living in the United States? Does it try to hold on to its roots? If the situation in the home country was so deplorable, why keep try to keep its memory alive? Does immigration status factor into identity development? Questions like these are what will drive the conversation started by this paper, to investigate the formation of transnational identities of Mexican immigrant children.

This said phenomenon of the Mexico – U.S. migration has awakened the intrigue and admiration of many people; people who have either lived it, or have had contact with it through friends or family. The time when Latino concerns were kept quiet has passed and now “Latinos have their place at the table, and the literature has begun to reflect the new age” (Augenbraum xiii). The act of migrating does not only affect the person that crosses the border (whether legally or illegally), it also affects the rest of the family that was left behind (or is waiting to be reunited). Over past years, this separation has been documented to bring attention to it to a broader audience.

Examples are Hollywood productions like Chris Weitz’s “A Better Life” (2011) starring
Mexican actor, Demián Bichir, and Patricia Riggen’s “Under the Same Moon,” (2007) starring Mexican actress Kate del Castillo. Both movies tell the story of a parent leaving Mexico and everything they had (or lack thereof) behind in order to provide a better future for their children. Both movies deal with the theme of sacrifice in order to provide a better future for the next generation, the way the children view this sacrifice, and the parent-child interaction. Through analysis of the films one can draw many parallels to real life situations. It is important to draw these conclusions in order to explore what it is like for children to become part of the American society, and see how their identities are affected in the process. The following sections will examine the interactions of the movie characters with their parents to shed light on the formation of their identity. Following this analysis will be a model connecting immigration and identity formation. The model will be tied to a real life, personal example of immigration and identity formation from my experience growing up undocumented in the United States. The paper will conclude with future interviews of DREAMers (children who obtained relief from deportation during the Obama administration) to add further application to the immigration-identity model and see if their identities were affected upon receiving temporary relief from deportation.

**Methods and Materials**

To answer the questions proposed, I examined a wide array of popular culture, ranging from TV series, to music, to movies. This was done in efforts to understand where the dialogue of identity in bilingual undocumented children was for the general population. Upon exploring popular culture, I chose to examine “Under the Same Moon” and “A Better Life” based on the accuracy of their portrayal of the life of an undocumented immigrant in the United States. To further my analysis, I read different publications regarding bilingualism and identity. The book Bilingual Youth: Spanish in English Speaking Societies was especially helpful. Potowski’s and Rothman’s compilation was pivotal in the formation of the identity-immigration model due to its many studies on how children perceive their identity and attachments to their culture through language including first and second generation immigrants. Equally important on the creation of the immigration-identity model were several articles from the Cultural Diversity & Ethnic Minority Psychology journal. The articles cited on this paper provided very recent evidence to how immigrants perceive immigration hurdles in their education and how rejection from the host culture can affect their ability to participate in government, as well as how values such as perseverance serve as motivators to remain living in places that promote anti-immigrant sentiments. Another article that was helpful to tackle the issue of hostility toward migrants in the U.S. was Carlos Fuentes’ “Huntington and the Mask of Racism”. Huntington is a Harvard scholar who published Who Are We? The Challenges to America’s National Identity in 2004, which dealt with common misconceptions carried by Americans and how some fear immigrants are taking over the United States. Fuentes’ insight was important since it debunked myths with factual evidence regarding the importance of immigrants and their contributions to the United States. The book Lengua Fresca was helpful in gaining insights of the identity of Latinos in the United States. Many of the short stories in the book dealt with issues of bilingualism and mixed culture identities. La frontera de crista was a useful literary tool which examines the tense relations between Mexico and U.S. at the border from a Mexican’s point of view. The stories are fictional but accurate and portray not only tensions between U.S. and Mexico but also between people who left home and those who stayed behind, adding another layer to the complexities of migrant and identity development. Further data will be collected through interviewing immigrants who obtained Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals during the summer of 2012 in order to understand the effects of deportation relief on transnational identities.

**Character Analyses**

*Under the Same Moon*: Carlitos

The following movie character analysis will serve as the model of identity before immigration takes place, as it will talk about a child who moved to the United States from Mexico illegally. “Under the Same Moon” (2007) tells the story of a hard working parent, Rosario, who lives away from her child in order to provide him with a better future. Carlitos lives in Mexico with his grandmother and only talks to his mom, Rosario, once a week. He only speaks Spanish, and is extremely used to the Mexican way of life and customs, because he has never travelled to the United States. The film explores several hurdles that Mexican immigrants face, such as: dealing with coyotes; maltreatment of immigrants; but most importantly for this paper, the child’s view of the mother’s sacrifice and how that could shape his identity once he migrates to the United States. Carlitos’ character serves as an image of someone who considers themselves Mexican; his identity has yet to be affected by immigration. What is observed on the film is the distress experienced by children when there is a separation from the parent along with other stressors that could potentially shape one’s identity. During the beginning of the film, Carlitos questions his mother saying “¿Ya no me quieres?” in order to feel a connection to her that he is missing. Upon hearing that, Rosario almost breaks into tears but tells him that he cannot come join her yet, since she was scammed by an immigration lawyer. Once Carlitos is tired of waiting, he decides to take matters into his own hands and sneaks into the U.S. with the help of two Mexican American college students who end up abandoning him in the car, this event is the trigger to a series of events that Carlitos has to endure in order to be reunited with his mother.

The journey of Carlitos to find his mom is relevant in this discussion because it provides us with an image of what life can be like in Mexico before having to move to the United States. It also raises questions of what will become of the character of Carlitos after he is reunited with his mom and lives in the U.S. Will he be able to keep his Spanish proficiency? Will he always identify as a Mexican or will he assimilating to U.S. life make him feel more American than Mexican eventually?

“The notion that ‘language=equals=culture=equals identity’ is too simple to account for the intricate linkages between languages and cultural identities... nor does it provide a useful model for understanding actual everyday interactions” (Potowski and Rothman 13). Therefore, it is important to consider the effects of outside factors in the formation of Carlitos’ transnational identity. His identity will be affected by all of his experiences leading up to the moment he met his mother, and his experiences once he is in the United States, not only learning a new language and keeping or losing his native one. Another question regarding identity that can be raised is—given that he stays in school and obtains Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals—if his relief from deportation will change how he feels about the country or himself? The fictional character can be taken as a model to draw from real life situations and be seen as identity before immigration.

* A Better Life*: Luis

“A Better Life” (2011) tells the story of undocumented single-father and son duo Carlos and Luis Galindo. The father, Carlos Galindo, is a gardener in East Los Angeles who works tirelessly to provide for his son. Throughout the movie, the viewer is given small hints about the circumstances of the pair.Carlos and his son, Luis, live by themselves in a small house. The viewer is not introduced to a mother but later learns that she left due to marriage difficulties after the child was born. The movie accurately portrays the difficulties of living undocumented in the United States, such as: fear of the police; pressure from gangs in the school system; and the disconnect between father and son due to the loss of Spanish from Luis. There are several mentions of worry

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* Charrada is a traditional Mexican event where the participants try to display skills taming horses. In this case, the event was part of a larger festival where there was traditional Mexican food and music played.
from the child when the father is driving a truck he recently bought, as Luis mentions “What if you get pulled over?” Further problems arise when Carlos hires a fellow immigrant, Ramón, to help him on a job but then steals his newly purchased truck. Since he is undocumented, he is unable to go to the police and is even shown considering the possibility of calling for help, but decides against it for the imminent fear of deportation. Other than questions of illegal immigration, the movie is interesting to examine in regards of the formation of identity.

An interesting aspect portrayed in the movie is the loss of Spanish by his son, who was born in the United States. In Kim Potowski’s and Jason Rothman’s book Bilingual Youth: Spanish in English Speaking Societies, collaborating professor Suzanne Romaine opens the book with a chapter describing how language is closely tied to identity, she mentions that “language has played a key role in constructing and maintaining distinctive human identities… Someone who does not speak our language is different” (9). Through the movie, Luis is shown speaking English to his dad, but there is a key scene where both go to a charreada3. Carlos tells Luis that he used to love those as a young kid, and then Luis mentions how he does not remember that, or likes the music anymore rather apathetically, “People negotiate their identities when they come into contact as to align or distance themselves from one another” (Potowski and Rothman 13). Luis sometimes has trouble getting along with his dad, and the beginning of this scene can be seen as evidence of Luis trying to distance himself from the Mexican culture, and his father.

3 A Charreada is a traditional Mexican event where the participants try to display skills taming horses. In this case, the event was part of a larger festival where there was traditional Mexican food and music played.

After Luis’ response, his dad tells him that these are his people so she should not be embarrassed, then asks him to try to make out what the announcer is saying. Luis concentrates and is able to manage to translate what is said about the event. Romaine stresses that people “will be motivated to emphasize what distinguishes them from others if they strongly identify with their ingroup and derive positive status from their membership in it. Language plays a key role in this process of convergence of divergence” and will “accentuate differences between themselves and others” (Potowski and Rothman 13). Luis’ lack of Spanish but ability to understand it in this scenario may be an indication that he does not find himself aligned with the “ingroup” of this situation which would be people who are more Mexican than American. The father proceeds to tell him to not be ashamed of his culture and seems proud that his son was able to identify the meaning of the message. This scene is interesting because it shows a common phenomenon of a disconnect experienced by first and second generation immigrants as Guadalupe Valdéz states in Bilingual Youth: Spanish in English Speaking Societies, this disconnection only becomes greater by the time the third and higher generations are reached, but in California, this shift is often seen during the second generation (116). Luis would be an example of the second generation shift mentioned by Valdéz since he no longer is able to fluently speak Spanish.

Other scenes in the movie find Luis exposed to situations where education is not necessarily promoted, such as a neighborhood run by gangs, and lack of monitoring of his school attendance. His dad works non-stop and he is unable to foster his Spanish, Valdéz mentions that situations like these are very common in second generation children, where parents are unable to provide them with paths to develop their Spanish as proficiently as their English (Potowski and Rothman). This may result in a complete loss of the language, or a partial one, like the case of Luis; since language and identity are closely related, and the Spanish language was being lost. Luis finds himself more identified with the American culture he has come to know, Luis’ mixed attachments to the Mexican and American cultures would classify him as a Mexican-American. This result was derived from the immigration decision taken by his father to give him a good life, and an education, therefore, Luis can be taken as a model for the effects of immigration on identity after leaving Mexico.

**The Immigration Identity Model**

The two young men in both films serve as examples of the impact that immigration can have on the identity of bilingual children. As mentioned above, Carlitos can be seen as the identity model before immigration to the United States takes place. Luis on the other hand, has already been exposed to the United States and its customs and can be used as the model of identity formation after immigration has taken place. Suzanne Romaine writes that “The once prevailing idea of identities, cultures and languages as essential, pridominal, and natural attributes given from birth and transmitted in stable and unchanging form throughout the lifespan has given way to a different view in which they are constructed, dynamic and hybrid” (Potowski and Rothman 13). Both stories have contrasting and similar aspects, and both characters are affected by a multitude of social issues affecting them and their families. The following model will draw from the characters’ stories to produce a framework that demonstrates the effects of immigration on the personal, familial, and political identity formation factors.

**Personal**

Personal identity factors deal with personal events in an individual’s life that shaped his or her view of belonging to a certain culture. “First generation immigrants develop their ethnic identities in the country of origin, before they ever migrate… their connection to other members of their ethnic group is based on a common history, culture, and birthplace” (Wiley, Lawrence and Figueroa). That statement validates Carlitos’ attachment to his Mexican heritage, since he is beginning the process of immigration. However, Luis being the son of a first generation immigrant experiences a disconnect from both cultures and has develop his own identity, separate from his father’s. Other factors that will play a role in the personal category are educational achievement goals since studies show that anticipated barriers to pursue a higher education due to immigration barriers lead to immigrant students not pursuing higher education goals (Mc Whirter, Ramos and Medina). Even though there is no evidence on the films regarding the characters’ future career goals, this is an important factor to include for application of the model to real life examples.

**Familial**

Familial identity factors deal (but may not be limited to) factors such as family structure, socioeconomic and immigration status, guardians’ sacrifice to provide for their children, and family values fostered at home. Studies show that parents leave Mexico in order to provide a better life for their children regardless of the difficulties
that may be faced in the United States due to anti-immigrant sentiments; they also show high levels of resilience and perseverance fostered among immigrant families and passed on to their children (Valdez, Valentine and Padilla). In both movies, the parents work tirelessly to provide for their children and there are several mentions throughout both films of the parent communicating that to their child. The familial factor will be important when applying this model to mixed status families created by the granting of temporary deportation relief of only certain family members, thus creating a situation of “haves and have-nots” within one roof.

**Political**

Political identity factors deal with the person’s feeling that he or she can trust in their government and participate in its democracy. According to research “Immigrants who feel connected to their host country are […] more likely to participate in it politically, even if that participation means voicing concerns and opinions in support of their ethnic group” (Wiley, Lawrence and Figueroa). It is important to note this because when Latino immigrants perceive to be rejected, they are less likely to identify with Americans and less likely to engage politically in the United States (Wiley, Lawrence and Figueroa). While there is not a direct mention of political participation in the movies, it can be deduced that immigrants evade going to the police for fear of being deported. That forms part of trust in government, since feeling danger towards the police puts immigrants at a position of risk, and can shape the sense of belonging to the Mexican or American cultures.

**Application of the Immigration-Identity Model to DREAM Act Eligible Students**

The above model will be applied to my personal experience with immigration and identity formation since my arrival from Mexico in 2004, my freshman year of high school. Since my arrival to the United States, my identity and sense of belonging have gone through changes upon receiving relief from deportation through President Obama’s executive decision of Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA). The Identity-Immigration model will be used to track the changes after receiving relief from deportation and how that shaped my transnational identity as a bilingual Mexican undocumented immigrant.

**Familial**

In Mexico I grew up in an upper middle class family. The family is formed by my mother, father, grandmother, younger brother, and younger sister. While growing up, there were times of economic need but never anything serious. Since kindergarten, my siblings and I attended a private school where English was taught and my parents were able to provide us with vacations to the United States border to buy clothes or visit tourist attractions such as museums, malls, or amusement parks. Once, we even traveled to Chicago, not knowing that we would end up living there four years later! The last two years in Mexico were exceptionally hard economically for my family. My dad suffered a car accident and we lost our savings paying hospital bills. The money that was owed to the bank resulted in my parents having to sell most of our things. What used to be a life with no scarcities soon became one where we had to be mindful of how much water we used, how much food we ate and how late we stayed out, due to growing safety concerns in Mexico. Since my parents could not find a job in Mexico to keep us in school, they decided to try their luck moving to the United States. I remember they moved to Chicago during the spring of my 8th grade, in 2004. They told us that with the money they earned in the U.S. they would be able to pay for our tuition and that they would come back that summer. That it was not a permanent move, it was just to earn some money.

After they left, my grandma took care of us and we kept attending schools, we lived waiting for them to send us a paycheck, which was hard especially during the first couple of months when they were looking for jobs. My dad was the first one to find one. He was working as a pizza delivery man at a small pizzeria in Chicago, my mom still had no luck. Since we had no internet at home, the only contact we had was weekly phone calls from our parents, very similar to Carlitos’ situation in the sense that our grandmother became our care taker and that we had to wait for our mom to go to a pay phone to call us each week. The only difference was that, thankfully, we did not have to spend years away from our parents.

Being away from our parents was really difficult, the entire situation made me feel as though we were all part of a huge injustice made possible by the poor economic situation of Mexico “La tierra que no tiene nada” (Fuentes 94). At the time I remember not wanting to go to the United States due to fear of being away from everything else I knew, but I also did not want to be in Mexico because my parents were gone. I felt no loyalty to any country and identity was the last thing in my mind.

As the months passed, unable to find a job, my mom grew more and more desperate; Spending money that she felt she should be sending us, on herself, being away from home. A few months later she decided to return she decided to return. My dad, however, stayed. Being reunited with our mom was an incredible feeling: despite the bitter sweet taste that dad still was not home. With only two months left of school, my mom told us we would go visit our dad in the summer. Since she knew I was reluctant to stay she said we would come back in time for school the next year. This would not happen. We left Mexico on our nearly expired tourist visas to join our dad in Chicago.

**Personal**

Arriving in Chicago was nothing like the vacation we had taken previously. We lived in a predominantly Hispanic area, you could hear Spanish shouted in the streets, a man selling elotes con chile y tamales, kids playing soccer, moms gossiping on the porches. It was so... Mexican? But in the United States? I had no idea a place like this existed. Despite the similarities, I never did feel quite at home. My cousins, dressed in baggy clothes with shaved heads mocked my brother and I for having long hair, and said they would give us “makeovers” so we could fit in. “No thanks” we would say, and then we would proceed to mock them, in turn for their broken Spanish. An example that “Sometimes we are unfair to another. It is not enough that others mistreat us” (Fuentes 155). The barbeques we attended on weekends with Duranguense music playing was another shock. People would mingle in a mixture of Spanish and English, the infamous Spanglish. I had heard Spanglish before, when we went to the border shopping, but this was the first time where I was
expected to carry out a conversation where the majority of the people in the area spoke it, especially kids my age.

All these experiences made me aware of all the differences that arise between the two countries. Between the two people. These were just a few of the many interactions I have had over the past nine years living in the United States. As I became used to the Mexican-American culture, I always remained attached to my language. I spoke English proficiently from being taught in school in Mexico, so I was able to communicate when I needed anything, especially when it came time to enroll in school. Over the years of helping my mom and dad translate documents, or giving and receiving directions from people in businesses, I became very aware of the value of my bilingualism. I became aware that I did not want to lose the ability to switch back and forth between English and Spanish and of being able to express myself fully in both languages. To me speaking Spanglish always seemed a way of losing my true identity as a Mexican, I felt that if I did not speak Spanish well, I would be doing a disservice to my culture, my family and my heritage.

Spanglish is seen very differently by many people. In the case of Luis, from “A Better Life”, Spanglish serves as a way to connect to his dad, but also to his fellow Hispanic classmates. I, on the other hand, lived in a home where I could constantly speak fluent Spanish to my entire family. As mentioned earlier, family setting has a lot to do with heritage language retention and identity formation is different for everybody.

Political

Other circumstances helped me shape my identity as a Mexican living in the United States, a very important one was being undocumented. I was a freshman in high school during my first year in the U.S. After the summer in Chicago, my dad got a job at a restaurant in the northwest suburbs. This allowed me to go to a good school where I was placed in regular classes due to my English skills. My high school experience was nothing too uncommon, other than trying to figure out the social system, I was involved in sports, extra-curricular activities, and had good grades. I felt like I belonged. I still considered myself Mexican, but I did not feel alienated by the school system and felt happy living in the United States. I still had very fresh memories of my home country so it was hard to completely turn myself over to this new one. During my junior year, however, I started to notice that there were differences in the system for me. I was undocumented and therefore could not apply to get a driver's license. I was undocumented and could not take the ACT. I was undocumented and could not apply to college. “Often times students are unaware of the implications of their status until... expected to provide personal identifying information” (McWritter, Ramos, Medina 293). This is a problem because it creates barriers for undocumented students, and barriers create tension. Of the past three statements, only the inability to obtain a driver’s license was true. Despite that fact, teachers and students alike told me that the other two facts were also true. This made me feel a slight disconnect from the system, I refused to believe that and found out that, to take the ACT you have to call and tell them to give you an alternate ID number. To go to college you simply apply to universities that do not require to disclose your citizenship status. Funding was a different story, but still possible, though. I mention these hardships because they served as a constant reminder that there was indeed the possibility of me returning to Mexico. There was always that looming thought that I was not fully welcomed in the United States. I think this feeling of disconnection is an important factor on the formation of identity and why I was not able to feel truly American.

During my sophomore year at a Community College, my brother and I were traveling to Boston to visit a friend from high school who was attending Harvard University. When the train was near the border of Buffalo, NY and Canada, Border Patrol agents came on the train and asked us for our citizenship status. After failing to show that we were in the U.S. legally we were taken off the train and into the Border Patrol Office. Our next stop was a county jail. We were there for three days with thoughts of having to go back to Mexico due to a possible deportation. Upon being released, we were dealing with different government agencies to see what our options were. A year later, we were sponsored by Senator Durbin’s office and were granted deferred action. Through that journey, I discovered a lot of love from people in the United States, the people that wrote letters in our behalf, my friends’ support and other members of the community. Being granted deferred action was not a path to citizenship but it provided us with relief from deportation as well as a social security number and work authorization. This amend is not perfect, but it is a lot better than what we had. Upon being granted that, I feel like my sense of belonging in the country has changed. I no longer feel as though I could leave at any moment for making a mistake while driving and being pulled over. I no longer feel like my hard work in school may amount to nothing because of my inability to get hired after graduating college. I saw that there are people that do want us here and that are fighting to change the system. I saw that I could fight the system. Being free from the fear of deportation I feel that I can exercise my right of freedom of speech without worrying about consequences that could affect my family and me. This past summer I was able to publish an OpEd piece regarding the importance of immigration reform in the United States. All these elements helped to shape my new sense of identity and belonging in the United States, while I still do not feel like a true American, I no longer feel as a foreigner to the country.

Discussion

In the two films, we see the differences in attitude toward the parent from a child who was born in the United States, to a child who was born in Mexico and was away from his mother. One is a citizen of the U.S. and one of Mexico. While there is not enough evidence to conclude whether their immigration status had a distinct effect in their identity, it is a question worth noting. As stated in a research conducted in the University of Oregon, “Students who thought they might encounter problems with their immigration status anticipated more external barriers and were less optimistic about their future careers” (McWritter, Ramos, Medina). As my personal statement illustrated, immigration may have a larger effect on both, motivation and sense of belonging for children, and is important to investigate to add to the current debate on immigration and to be able to provide needed services to students who face these hardships and are enrolled in American school systems. The concluding section titled “DREAMers” will try to explore issues of identity regarding immigration status. There will be special attention paid to the feelings of belonging to the United States while being undocumented to the same feeling after being awarded Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA). Participants will be asked to share their own experience regarding identity in the United States. Two groups will be interviewed, students who were born in the U.S. with undocumented parents, and students who came to the U.S. at a young age.

Dreamers

Further interviews are needed for this area. Loyola IRB must be completed before continuing and finalizing my investigation. This area will be dedicated to these interviews and conclusions will be drawn from the participants’ stories using the Immigration-Identity model. My professional academic aspirations are to continue researching topics of race, inequality and language in the United States at the graduate level in order to advance the study of transnational identities and educational outcomes of immigrants in the United States.

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The Catholic Church and Latin American Immigration: Viewing Latin American Immigration

By Grace Trujillo, Senior, Social Work
Faculty Mentor: Dr. Maria Vidal de Haymes

Abstract

This paper focuses on the connection between the Catholic Church, faith, and Latin American migration. Through interviews of religious figures involved in helping migrants in different stages of migration, this study explores the participation and role of the Catholic Church actors in the social and pastoral accompaniment of migrants. It also addresses the role of faith in sustaining migrants. Finally, it addresses the many components of immigration as a process and a social justice issue. Research has shown that the institutional leadership of the Catholic Church supports immigration and is working at different levels to advance more humane immigration policies. This paper is also examines how individual faith plays a role for those helping and those migrating.

The United States is the world’s leader as a destination for transnational immigrants. Currently there are more than forty million foreign born individuals residing in the United States, representing thirteen percent of the total U.S. population. While the foreign-born population size is the highest our nation has ever had, their share of the total population is below the U.S. peak immigration period between 1890 and 1920, when the foreign born comprised just under fifteen percent of the total population (Pew Research Center, 2012).

Immigration has been a force that has shaped this nation since its inception, but has not gone without controversy. The issue of immigration is a place where the Catholic Church “asserts its prophetic voice in the modern public sphere” (Mooney, 2006). Some Catholic theologians assert that the Catholic Church must create a movement with people’s humanity being valued above all else. At the core of the movement should be to “humanize” the issue of migration and reconstitute the notion of migrants as criminals breaking laws to get in to the U.S. but rather as human beings seeking a better life (Groody, 2009). The Catholic Church bases its argument on scripture and Catholic social thought, which concludes that as humans, we follow laws of human nature which propel us to naturally seek work to be able to sustain our families and eventually obtain more dignified lives (Groody, 2009). As humans we are not bound by laws created by society, our instinct as humans is to survive and no societal structures will stop us from doing so. Migrating in search for a greater chance of survival is human nature.

The Catholic Church also places emphasis on the metaphysical, transcendent, and spiritual nature or our existence. From this perspective, we are all migrants, on a journey to find our way back to the Kingdom of God. As the children of God we are all exiled on earth, and through are life actions we are making our way back to Him. In the bible the book of Hebrews describes this journey as “[On Earth] we have no lasting city, but we seek the one that is to come” (Heb 13:14) (Goody, 2009). Migration is a “consistent and integrated part of the church’s self understanding, story and the life experience of many of its major figures” (Collier, 2007). From this vantage point, migrant’s journey can be viewed as the ultimate manifestation of the gospel.

With this theological understanding, the Catholic Church is striving to humanize the view of immigration. The theological lens breaks open the many binary categories used such as legal/illegal, citizen/alien, and right/wrong, and a more adequate framework for responding to the most vulnerable members of society (Groody, 2009). Terms and labels used to address migrants in political, legal or social settings erase their humanity and spirituality. Terms such as refugee, migrant, forced migrants, immigrant, undocumented, internally displaced person, and alien, place a barrier between us and them, and which casts a shadow on their humanity (Groody, 2009). For change to occur the way we speak about immigration must change.

The Catholic Church has a strong across the entire globe. The United States has the nation with highest number of Catholics. Almost 100 million Americans, a third of the nation, have been baptized as Catholic. Only Brazil, Mexico, and the Philippines have larger Catholic populations than the U.S. (The Economist, 2012). With this level of presence they could unit their power across all reaches and create a strong coalition in defense of all migrants. This interconnectedness is a physical representation of the body of Christ, being in all places at once. And like God, who does not subscribe to the labels created by any society, the Catholic Church must create a movement that helps all migrants “regardless of their religious beliefs, their political status, or their national origins” (Goody, 2009). This is not to say that the church hasn’t done much work, because they have, starting in 1952 with the publication of documents on “normative ethical teaching on migration” (Collier, 2007). Right now it is just a matter of putting those teachings into practice so migrants can better benefit from them. The Catholic Church is one of the largest and most powerful institutions and they are not only seeking for the spiritual benefits of humanity they must also seek to establish social justice.

In recent decades migration from the south to the north has increased tremendously, which has lead to a sharp increase in human right violations such as health risks, family separation, the risk of inhuman treatment if apprehended and detained, and death (Androff & Tavassoli, 2012). These human right violations are a result of a rise in drug trafficking, lethal gangs, and the militarization of the U.S.-Mexican border and the increase volume of migrants. None of these risks are deterring migrants from making their way north in search of a better life. The Catholic Church combats these atrocious human rights violations by providing much needed humanitarian aid. The Catholic church and other congregations and organizations have joined their efforts to advocate for permanent solutions dedicated to all the different needs of a migrant.
The Catholic Church can use a prophetic voice and its institutional network to achieve social justice for all the human right violations taking place.

The Cause of Migration

The journey to the United States can be very difficult and is plagued with a variety of dangers and the possibility of death, yet thousands of Latin American migrants make their way to the U.S. every year. Some migrants begin their journey all the way from South American, hoping that they’ll be able to make it into the U.S. and get a chance at their “American Dream.” Though these individuals know that the journey ahead of them will be difficult, many of them are unprepared for the many challenges ahead of them. Apart from having to face things such as hunger and thirst the challenges of migrating north have gotten incredibly dangerous in the past decade because of organized crime. Irregular migrants have long faced many perils on their journey, such as violent gangs who kidnap and hold migrants hostage for ransom (Hagan, 2006), corrupt immigration agents and police who extort money from them, and injuries from freight train accidents (Nazarlo, 2006), discrimination from people in each country through which they transit, and the very difficult challenges of crossing the U.S.-Mexican border that ends their journey (Andreff & Tavassoli, 2012).

Recent developments have greatly intensified the susceptibility of immigrants to violence, economic and family separation, particularly for irregular or undocumented migrants. These risks are associated with the aforementioned increased rates of detention and deportations in U.S. destination communities, as well as the heightened violence that exists in Mexico and Central America in communities of origin and transit. While irregular migrants have long been prey to crimes such as theft and extortion, particularly in border areas, common crime has now been overtaken by organized crime along the entire migratory route through Central America and Mexico. The common crimes such as theft or extortion are now joined by abduction, human trafficking, massive homicides, and sexual aggressions that have increased in violence and frequency. Violence from organized crime not only attacks migratory flows, but also their communities of origin in Mexico and Central America where there are geographical regions completely taken by organized crime, in which no governmental institutions effectively operate (Valdes Montoya, 2012).

Still, with all these threats, the number of migrants making the journey north continues to grow. In 2008 there were close to twelve million undocumented immigrants living in the U.S., close to eight and a half million were part of the workforce. Of those twelve million undocumented immigrants “seven-six percent were reported to be Hispanic, fifty-nine percent (close to seven million) are from Mexico alone” (Andreff & Tavassoli, 2012). These huge numbers show how relevant and crucial the ongoing role of the Catholic Church is.

There are many reasons why migrants travel north, individual circumstances each having to do with the particular country they are living in propel people to migrate. For example Mexico has gone through harsh economic challenges, such as the devaluation of the peso, which also affected social changes. One of the biggest financial hits Mexico took was its agreement to North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). Mexico signed onto NAFTA because it was supposed to bring economic prosperity and propel Mexico to the status of a first world country. The ideas were that NAFTA would open Mexico to the world and attract foreign investment (Contreras, 2008). However, this prosperity was not realized…The hardest hit by NAFTA was Mexico’s rural sector. Those communities, who were already impoverished, whose main source of income was farming, NAFTA’s policies devastated and destroyed most of those rural farming communities (Janyv, Sadoulet & Davis, 1995; Blecker, 2003). These communities are socially vulnerable because they lack resources to obtain basic human needs and thus people are forced to migrate. The North American Free Trade Agreement caused “wide swings in exchange rates and little if any job creation in the tradable goods-producing sectors of the Mexican economy.” NAFTA created an economy in Mexico that was “highly dependent of U.S. economic growth” (Bleckner, 2004). NAFTA did create jobs, but not enough to keep up with the growing labor force. Because of the peso devaluation and not enough jobs being created Mexicans began to migrate north, an estimated four point five million migrated in the 1990’s. NAFTA was not the sole reason for the migration, but it also didn’t prevent it. And so the U.S. and Canadian job market offer migrants more opportunities with higher pay (Bleckner, 2004). As migrants enter U.S. and Canadian job markets they begin to send money back to their family and communities. This money is call remittances (Coon, 2007). But not all migrants send remittances, it all depends on the migrants economic status. Wealthier migrants bring their families with them or save their money instead. What the migrant does with that money varies; some bring it back with them when they return to their country of origin. The migrants who are more likely to send remittances are those who are undocumented and make less income (Se Suro, 2003). These remittances add thirty billion dollars to the Latin American economy. This cash flow, one out of every ten dollars an immigrant makes in the U.S., makes up fifteen percent of El Salvador’s gross domestic product and is Mexico’s second largest contributor to the economy, after oil (“Migration and Remittances”, 2013). Remittances to Mexico “exceed receipts from tourism” (Coon, 2007). The remittances immigrants send back to their country of origin have created a meager and short-term solution to a bigger problem because remittances are crucial yet they are not very reliable. If the governments of Latin American countries had a more equal distribution of wealth and resources, opportunities for employment with living wages, and a stronger welfare state, their would not be so heavily dependent on remittances.

The economic factors are not the only reason why people migrate. Other reasons are for family reunification, limited labor opportunities (Polanco-Hernandez, 2009) violence (war, organized crime, persecution) (Latin America, 2013), poverty and inequality (Coon, 2007). Mexico has always had the highest levels of migrants traveling north (Hamilton, 2009), but in recent years more Central and South American migrants have begun to make their way north. Honduras, El Salvador and Guatemala all have high immigration numbers. The following figure shows the “top ten countries accounted for seventy nine percent of the illegal immigrant population in the

Table 1. Country of Origin of Unauthorized immigrant Population in the U.S., 2005 (thousands)

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* Figure rounds to 0.0
United States for 2005”: (“A nation of,” 2013)

The governments of Honduras, El Salvador, and Guatemala have not been able to control their gang violence, causing multiple Central American countries to be informally run by violent gangs. One of the most feared gangs is the Mara Salvatrucha. They are an organized group that control the tops of freight trains starting in Chiapas, where most migrants being their trek. They prey on poor migrants who are too afraid to press charges making them the perfect victims (Nazario, 2006). Gangs that reside in Honduras, Guatemala and El Salvador are known as maras. They are characterized by “extreme violence highly structured and organized systems. They resemble organized crime cartels, engage in illegal activities such as drugs and arms trafficking, kidnappings” (Estrada, 2008). Maras have turned Honduras into the most dangerous country in Central America, and the “biggest social issues facing [that] region” (Estrada, 2008). Guatemala has also seen a sharp increase in immigration. Some reasons being the country’s “continued economic crisis, lack of adequate development strategies, high unemployment rates, high inflation, devaluation of the national currency, and the ‘dollarized’ economy” (Moran-Taylor, 2008). Hardships are spread far and wide across Mexico and Central America and so millions of migrants have made their way north willing to endure all the dangers and challenges the journey north, especially if they choose to make their way north via freight train.

Train Top Violence

One of the most popular migration routes includes riding freight trains, also known as La Bestia or The Beast, also referred to as El Tren de la Muerte, The Train of Death, that travels the entire length of Mexico reaching the U.S.-Mexico border (Robinson, 2011). These cargo trains were not intended to transport migrants. The trains follow multiple routes that cross through many of Mexico’s thirty-one states for a distance of over sixteen hundred miles. It takes an average of three months to complete a trip from the Guatemalan-Mexican border to the U.S.-Mexican border but oftentimes migrants get caught and sent back south, so the trip can take much longer. There are migrants who begin the trip a dozen times before reaching the U.S.-Mexican border (Nazario, 2006). Even though migrants have almost nothing when traveling north the one thing they do have plenty of is perseverance.

Migrants following this route must guard themselves from a multitude of dangers, the biggest one being the maras that harass migrants. They kidnap, rape, assault, rob, and kill migrants for the few belongings they carry with them (Robinson, 2011). Migrants never know how long a train will travel between stations so they must endure hunger, thirst, extreme temperatures, sleep deprivation and exhaustion until they are able to climb off of the train and rest. They are at the mercy of the elements, unable to clean themselves and unable to go to the bathroom for long periods of time. For migrants who fall asleep or try and jump off a moving train they risk being sucked under the train and dismembered by its force. Migrants riding on top of the train must keep an eye out for branches which brush against the train at high speeds, knocking off anyone who isn’t paying attention, which can result in death. Migrants have also been killed when trains derail; being crushed between cars or thrown off (Nazario, 2006). La Bestia is incredibly dangerous, yet the possibility of reaching the north keeps migrants clinging to its metal body with all of their hopes and dream.

There are migrants who are able to afford a coyote, human smugglers, to take them across the border. Which would seem like a safer option in contrast to bearing the train and the maras but it is not uncommon for coyotes to take advantage of migrants, “robbing or raping them, or leaving them stranded in the desert” (Robinson, 2011). Again, another factor adding to the migrant’s vulnerability.

Migrants must also keep an eye out for immigration officers who could detain them and deport them back to their country of origin. Migrants’ distrust any kind of uniformed person because they never know if they will try to harm them, especially police officers who have been known for their harsh treatment of migrants. Grupo Beta agents, a government migrant rights group who officially patrol the train, are one of the only uniformed task force who ride the trains defending migrants. They are one of the few Mexican government initiatives, drawn from different police groups, assigned to protect migrants (“Grupos beta det,” 2013). The work these agents do isn’t very big, it’s a very weak effort by the Mexican government to address the violence migrants (“Grupos beta det,” 2013).

The U.S.-Mexican Wall

Once migrants reach the U.S.-Mexican border they encounter the most difficult part of their journey: finding a way to get across the U.S. Mexico border. Before the wall was built, the most threatening part of the border were the border patrol agents, which were sprawled out across thousands of miles. A migrant could find a place to cross into the United States with little to no danger. The wall stretches one thousand nine hundred and fifty two miles from California to Texas (Deluca, McEwen & Kein, 2010) physically separating the U.S. from Mexico and it has become one of the most effective forms of containing a portion of the migrant flow (Martinez, 2011). The U.S. sees the wall as a success because it has helped deter some migrants from being able to cross into the United States. That “success” means that many migrants have lost their lives trying to get into the U.S., because they couldn’t find a way to cross the wall, perishing in the desert or becoming victims of bandits, or cartels. Other risks being “environmental conditions, traumatic injury and encounters with wild animals” (Deluca, McEwen & Kein, 2010). Records being kept by humanitarian groups like No More Deaths (Robinson, 2010) show that since 2001, “at least 100 undocumented immigrants have died every year in Southern Arizona due to heat stroke alone” (Deluca, McEwen & Kein, 2010). Numbers like this have prompted the creation of various humanitarian organizations, many of them have a religious affiliation.

The wall is not all built equally. There nine openings along the wall. Of those nine opening eight are patrolled by the Border Patrol, the final opening is left clear of any kind of surveillance. It has been named the Marfa Sector, it’s the largest of all the openings, spanning over three hundred miles of border between New Mexico and Chihuahua. This opening wasn’t a coincidence it was strategically planned. The opening is located in a “desert region situated between the most uninhabited zones of the most sparsely populated states on the border” (Martinez, 2011). Once a migrant has made their way to the border whether be it all the way from South America or from bordering Mexican states they will find themselves with the most difficult part of their journey.

Here they will be met with temperatures that hover around a hundred and twenty degree Fahrenheit during summer months and can fall below thirty-two degrees in winter months. There is little plant life to sustain any kind of life (Androff & Tavassoli, 2012). It’s a place few people would ever venture to cross voluntarily.

What looks like a surveillance-free opening is actually a death trap. On the U.S. side of the opening there are no cities for a migrant to be able to find food or water. A migrant would have to walk ten to fifteen nights to reach any kind of civilization (Martinez, 2011). Most of the deaths occur in remote wilderness areas, like the Marfa Sector, where the crossing is “inherently dangerous” (Deluca, McEwen & Kein, 2010). The human body can only go three days with out water before dehydration takes over.

For the migrants who do cross the desert and survive, it is because they are “vigoroues, strong, resilient” (Martinez, 2011). They have proven their worth and thus have earned their way into the United States. Someone who can survive in the desert is someone who is healthy and durable, someone who can be useful in the U.S. workforce. For those who cannot survive the desert, such as women, children, and elderly men, they must either cross through the stretches controlled by bandits or drug cartels or risk death to get across the Marfa Sector. After risking it all to make it to the border they must risk even more to find their way across.

At this point migrants reach the most uncertain
point in their journey. Will they make it across? What awaits them on the other side? With all the perils that plague the border, several humanitarian efforts have sprung up over the past two decades to try and ease the suffering of those attempting to cross the border. But it is clear that those efforts, though beneficial for the migrants, aren’t enough. This study that was aimed at trying to understand the role the Catholic Church plays in the humanitarian aid of the migrants. Through this small study it was clear that there is much work to be done and that immigration is a multi-dimensional problem.

Current Study

This paper presents some initial findings from a larger study that is just beginning. The focus of the study is to examine the various pastoral challenges and responses (realized and possible) of the Catholic Church to the experiences and needs of irregular migrants and their families in countries of origin, transit, and destination, along the various phases of the migratory arc, which include pre-immigration, transit, resettlement, and return to country of origin. The purpose is to understand the needs and responses from the perspective of various actors, including migrants, family members of migrants remaining in communities of origin or in destination communities separated by detention and deportation, clergy and religious, and lay leadership. The study focuses on addressing three major questions: 1) What are the varied pastoral needs of migrants & their families at different points in the migratory trajectory? 2) What are the pastoral challenges and responses (realized and desired) of Catholic faith inspired actors and organizations in communities of origin, transit, destination, and return? 3) How do/can various Catholic faith inspired actors (e.g. clergy, religious, pastoral agents, parishioners) and organizations (e.g. parishes, migrant service and ministry organizations, and universities) work together across borders and the migratory arc to advance a coordinated pastoral/practical theology? The study collaborates with three migrant initiatives of the Catholic Church of North America that are responding to this call: Jesuit Migrant Services of Mexico, the Kino Border Initiative, and the Migrant-to-Migrant Ministry of the Archdiocese of Chicago. These faith-based initiatives attend to migrants along the various stages of migration in communities of origin, transit, destination, and return. The full study will be completed over a two year period and involve 60 in-depth qualitative interviews with migrants and their families, clergy and religious, pastoral agents and leaders of immigrant congregations in communities of origin, transit, destination, and return. This paper relies on a preliminary analysis of three initial qualitative interviews conducted in Mexico during the months of May and June, 2013.

Study Sample

Three individuals who have dedicated their lives to helping migrants were interviewed for this study. The interview invited the study participants to reflect on how their faith and the faith of migrants shape their work. The first person interviewed was a pastor who has worked with the issues of immigration in Latin America for over thirty years. Some of his work includes serving as a Catholic missionary in Venezuela for eight years and fifteen years of leading group immersion trips to El Paso and Ciudad Juarez. In the later role, he would bring people to the border to observe and learn about Latin America and vice versa. Currently he works with the Jesuit KINO Border Initiative, a project that combines the efforts of direct humanitarian work, education and advocacy on the U.S. side of the border.

The next interviewee was a Catholic nun. She helped build La Casa del Migrante (House of the Migrant) in Nuevo Laredo, Mexico beginning in 1998 and has also worked in Lechería, Mexico at a shelter for migrants in transit. In addition, she worked with the Conference of Latin American Religious Persons, which allowed her to travel to many countries in Latin America and view migration from many perspectives.

The last interviewee was a social psychologist who works with Jesuit Migrant Services of Mexico in rural communities where large portions of men migrate north to the United States. Her work is mainly with women. Before her employment with Jesuit Migrant Services she did missionary work. In her position with Jesuit Migrant Services she works to empower the woman of these communities, develop leadership, and improve their individual and family well-being through self-help groups and community banks. Through this close work with the women, she sees how the women have a great faith in God.

Procedures

Interviews were conducted in English and in Spanish, depending on what language the participants were more comfortable using. Each interview lasted between fifty minutes to an hour. The interviews were conducted in different locations. One was over Skype, one in Puebla, Mexico and the other in Arizona. There were multiple interviewees present at each interview. The interviews were recorded and then later transcribed for analysis.

Before initiating the interview, the participants were asked to sign consent forms, which were provided in their preferred language. The interviewers were all bilingual so there were no language barriers. The interviews were semi-structured, relying on an interview guide. The interviewees were asked a few prompt questions allowing them to share their reflections freely. If any information was missing they’d be asked to elaborate or were asked specific questions at the end of the interview. All interviews were audio taped and then transcribed for analysis. A inductive transcript-based analysis using constant comparison and open coding was conducted with the interview transcripts to identify naturally occurring themes and their interrelationships (Corbin & Strauss, 2008; Lincoln & Guba, 1986).

Initial Findings

As previously mentioned, the interviews were seeking to answer three basic questions: what were the pastoral needs of the migrants and their families, what were the pastoral challenges and responses, and how can Catholic faith inspired actors and organizations work together across borders?

Each interviewee had different answers for what they saw as the pastoral needs of the migrant and their families. The social psychologist said she saw how the women of the rural community relied on the church as a space where they could come and share the things they were living through. It was an environment in which they felt safe enough to open up and share their experiences. She spoke about Jesuit Migrant Services and how they provide spiritual support by holding self-help groups for the women to be able to talk about all the new challenges they are facing since their partners left.

The nun discussed the break down of the human spirit. She said she saw how the migrants lost their ability to feel human while on their journeys north, she said, “Ay una destrucción terrible de la persona (there’s a terrible destruction of the person).” She said that the pastoral need of the migrant came from trying to reconnect with their humanity, with their core. The nun offers prayers, which are, as she described as “humanista (humanistic).”

The pastoral challenges and responses the interviewees had, were quite different from each other. The pastor said he felt like the help they were offering the migrants wasn’t good enough. That yes it is necessary, but doesn’t meet the migrants greatest needs. He says that if the Catholic Church really wanted to help the migrants and make a difference then they wouldn’t care if they were breaking the law, by establishing shelters for migrants on the U.S. side of the border. He feels the Churches attitude should be, “We will take you in. You are fleeing violence. You are fleeing poverty. You’re fleeing oppression, and we will take you in.” He is frustrated that the church hasn’t taken a more aggressive approach at fighting U.S. immigration laws.

As for the nun one of her biggest pastoral challenges was not having the required or appropriate training to help the migrants with their emotional well-being. She says she knows that a lot of the migrants who stop at the shelter have been through very traumatic events and need therapy to be able to overcome them, but the shelter doesn’t have any psychologists or social
workers to provide the migrants with the emotional support they need. All she can do is pray with them and listen to what they have to say, which she knows isn’t enough.

Regarding the final question—how can Catholic faith inspired actors and organizations work together across borders—all three study participants gave strong answers. The nun said she strongly believed that it is necessary that there is better organization amongst churches regarding human mobility. She believes that those higher in the church hierarchy, such as bishops and priests, need to become sensitized about immigration; it is their social responsibility. For the Catholic Church to be able to work across borders, everyone has to understand immigration the same way.

The pastor says that to work across borders, organizations must always be up to doing more and then doing more. If one organization such as Human Borders is leaving bottles of water in the desert for migrants, but migrants are still dying, then that's not good enough. He insists that another organization must come in and do what they can to help, such as No More Deaths did when they began camping out in the desert to aid migrants faster. If immigration is a multilayered problem, then there needs to be a multilayered solution.

And finally the social psychologist argued that the way churches act has to change. Churches can no longer just provide sermons and prayer, they must also be working on the social problem that their communities are facing. A church must have a critical view of what is happening in the world around them. Through that they'll be able to work across borders to tackle social issues at a much larger level.

Conclusion

Immigration is as old as mankind. People have always moved, often across socially constructed political borders. Humans have a natural instinct to survive and their desire to find better lives will always outweigh the risks associated with migration and the threat of the possible consequences of breaking human made laws. Ultimately, the gospel preaches that all humans are migrating through this world. We are all temporarily on this earth seeking to make our way back to the heavenly Kingdom (Collier, 2007).

The Catholic Church as an institution supports humane immigration policies and plays a key role in the provision of humanitarian aid and the promotion of more humane immigration policies. If it is able to assemble the support of it many parishes and parisioners, it will have tremendous influence in reforming immigration policy and further extend its network of humanitarian support of migrants.

Individuals like the nun, the pastor, and the social psychologist have all voiced their opinion on how the Church can better serve immigrants. It is with the effort of people like them, who have dedicated their lives to aiding migrants, where true and deep change can occur. It is up to churches to stand alongside them and fight for this social change together.

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Exploring Oxygen Escape Pathways in Clam Dimeric Hemoglobin Using Molecular Dynamics Simulations

By Kevin Trujillo, Senior, Biochemistry with Kenneth Olsen, Tasso Pagagiannopoulos, and Arslan Zaidi.

Abstract

This study explores the oxygen escape pathways for the dimeric, allosteric hemoglobin from Scapharca inaequivalvis. We examined the ligand escape pathways by performing simulations on this protein using locally enhanced sampling molecular dynamics [1]. Understanding the mechanism of association between various mutants of clam dimeric hemoglobin will help us gain valuable insight into important structural and functional relationships for allosteric binding. Ligand-binding proteins often have internal binding cavities; thus, specific pathways for the ligand to enter these cavities from the solvent are required. Molecular dynamics calculations were conducted to simulate protein-ligand interactions and therefore gain valuable information regarding the association and dissociation of the ligand, the paths they take, and the subsequent impact their pathways have on the function of the protein. We performed simulations on the crystal structures of various crystal structures of Scapharca inaequivalvis, including the native structure, F97V, and I114F. The differences in ligand escape pathways and the differences in the time of ligand escape between the mutant structures have important implications for the structural and functional relationships of allosteric binding. Our studies have implications for differences in oxygen escape in the different clam dimeric structures that merit further study.

Mammalian hemoglobin is characterized by a quaternary structure that exhibits allosteric cooperativity. Oxygen binding to a single subunit thus affects the binding affinity for neighboring subunits. Although these allosteric properties of mammalian hemoglobin were first discovered over a century ago, the physical properties of mammalian hemoglobin (quaternary structure, interactions with salt and pH) have impeded further studies.

The clam Scapharca inaequivalvis has a dimeric hemoglobin that has been shown to exhibit allosteric cooperativity similar to that of quaternary mammalian hemoglobin [2]. Furthermore, the binding acts independently of any salt or pH alterations, unlike that of mammalian hemoglobin. For this reason, clam dimeric hemoglobin is a simpler model to study oxygen binding, while simultaneously providing a platform for better understanding oxygen binding in mammalian hemoglobin due to the direct contact between the subunit interface that allows for cooperativity [3]. Royer and his coworkers have previously used kinetic studies to show that a mutation of Phe 97 to Leu dramatically increases oxygen affinity while decreasing the cooperativity of oxygen binding to the hemoglobin [3]. The kinetic changes in oxygen binding in the F97L mutant can best be explained by the dramatic conformational changes of residue Phe 97 upon ligation in the clam dimeric hemoglobin. Furthermore, kinetic analyses of tryptophan mutants suggest that at least 75% of ligands leave by opening the His gate. Time resolved crystallographic studies have further confirmed the importance of the Histidine gate as a ligation route, while arguing against possible internal cavities as major ligation routes.

In Xenon binding experiments, the clam dimer mutant I114F has been identified as a secondary docking site involved in oxygen escape [4]. The function of such secondary sites has been implicated as making oxygen escape via the primary docking site more efficient by suppressing geminate rebinding. However, exact migration pathways in the clam dimeric hemoglobin are not well understood.

Determining binding pathways in clam dimeric hemoglobin is essential for understanding structural and functional relationships of hemoglobin binding, as well as for better understanding the overall conformational changes in clam dimeric hemoglobin upon ligation. In our studies, we have sought to use molecular dynamics to better understand such pathways. Our efforts include examining the oxygen binding pathways in mutations of various crystal structures of clam dimeric hemoglobin. Mutations will lead to different structural conformations of the clam dimeric hemoglobin, and may lead to functional differences in escape pathways that may affect oxygen binding. Therefore, by studying the escape pathways in various mutants of clam dimeric hemoglobin, we can better understand how structural differences in clam dimeric hemoglobin affect function. In this study, we have performed molecular dynamics simulations of the native structure of Scapharca inaequivalvis, as well as on the

Figure 1. Crystal structure of 1Hbi, the native clam dimeric hemoglobin.
mutants F97V and I114F. The F97V crystal structure has shown side chain packing in the heme pocket, whereas I114F remains in the interface of the dimer [5]. Using molecular dynamics studies, we can perform simulations to examine the pathways oxygen molecules opt to take when subject to such conformational differences in the various mutants. Understanding the mechanism of structural binding in clam dimeric hemoglobin between the various mutants tested may therefore provide useful insight into future pharmacological studies.

**Methods**

Our computational simulations involved locally enhanced sampling molecular dynamics (LESMD) [1]. First, we downloaded the necessary crystal structures from the Protein Data Bank, and we viewed them using Visual Molecular Dynamics (VMD) software. The structures that we obtained were 350H, 2AUQ, and 1JWN. In order to perform the enhanced sampling simulations, it was necessary to modify the structures by replacing the carbon monoxide ligand found in the heme pocket with 14 oxygens. 7 oxygen molecules were therefore inserted into each monomer of the dimeric clam hemoglobin, and the final structure was solvated with water and ionized. We added patches in the final structure to place a bond between the histidine and the heme to ensure proper function of the protein. LESMD calculations were performed using Nanoscale Molecular Dynamics (NAMD), which essentially predicts the movements of the different atoms using the laws of translational motion. We performed simulations for 10 ns, and we analyzed the trajectory files from NAMD in VMD. Crystal structures of the mutants are shown in Figure 2 and Figure 3.

![Figure 2. 2AUQ, crystal structure for the F97V mutant.](image)

![Figure 3. 2AUQ, crystal structure for the F97Y mutant.](image)

![Figure 4. Trajectories for 10 ns simulations of the F97V mutant. A is a front view of the protein, B is also a front view of the protein but with transparency, C is a view of the b subunits of the protein, while D is a view of the a subunit of the protein.](image)

![Figure 5. Trajectories for oxygen escape in 10 ns simulations of I114F. A represents a front view of the protein, while B is a transparent front view of the protein, C is a view of the b subunit, while D is a view of the a subunit.](image)
Results

F97V Trajectories: All of the oxygen left the protein in our 10 ns simulations of F97V with the exception of OA4 and OA5. The oxygen escape trajectories are shown in Figure 4. Figure 6 shows oxygen escape in F97V as a function of time.

I114F Trajectories: All of the oxygen left the protein in our 10 ns simulations of I114F with the exception of OA5 and OA7. The oxygen escape trajectories are shown in Figure 5. Figure 6 shows oxygen escape in I114F as a function of time.

Native Structure Analysis: All of the oxygen left the protein in our 10 ns simulation of 3SDH with the exception of O6A and O7B. The oxygen escape trajectories are shown in Figure 7.

Discussion

In the native, F97V, and I114F simulations, all of the oxygen escaped during the 10 ns simulations with the exception of 2 oxygen subunits. For the native simulation, one of the oxygen that did not escape within the 10 ns simulation was in the B subunit of the dimer, while both oxygen that did not escape in the other simulations were in the A subunit of the dimer. Our results indicate that oxygen escape in F97V is much slower than in I114F (Fig. 6), with the final oxygen (OA1) leaving after 5 ns in I114F compared to 10 ns in F97V (OB5). The dissociation rate for F97V is known to be slower than that of the native protein [4]. This decrease in dissociation rate has been attributed to side-chain packing in the heme pocket [4]. The dissociation rate for I114F is also slower than the native protein but significantly faster than the F97V mutant [8]. This is consistent with our results. The F97V mutation is near the subunit interface, while the I114F mutation exhibits heme packing within the subunit. It is likely that the mutation to a larger residue (I114F) disrupts the subunit more than the mutation to a smaller residue (F97V). The greater disruption of the subunit may then cause an increase in the dissociation rate. It is also interesting to note that the native structure exhibits faster dissociation compared to both I114F and F97V, despite having a larger residue Phe 97 at the subunit interface. More studies will need to be performed to determine the importance of having a larger residue near the interface, but our studies have shown that the native structure shows more crossing over than the other mutants with respect to the oxygen molecules that do not escape within the duration of the simulation, but less subunit-subunit interface interaction than F97V when comparing the trajectories for the escaped oxygen molecules.

As previously stated, all of the simulations revealed that two oxygen molecules were unable to leave the dimer within the 10 ns time frame. The trajectories for the confined oxygen are shown in Figure 8. The native structure contains the only oxygen in the B subunit that failed to leave (OB7), and it crosses considerably into the A subunit. Such behavior is absent in both the F97V and I114F trajectories, which show trajectories confined to the A subunit. The F97V trajectory shows more
interaction between the dimer interface, which is interesting considering the slower rate of oxygen escape in F97V compared to both I114F and the native structures. This is consistent with our conclusion that a larger residue such as Phe 114 can function as a docking site that effectively attenuates oxygen interface interactions more than the mutation to a smaller residue such as Val 97, and further supports previous studies involving I114F Xe cavities [4].

In other hemoglobin, mutations are known to change the flexibility of the protein and, therefore, their oxygen dissociation pathways [9]. We have demonstrated through simulations that the same thing is occurring in the dimeric clam hemoglobin. Future work on this project will include simulations of additional mutants and analyses of their effects on the flexibility of the protein. Using these data the structural and functional changes due to mutations can be correlated.

Conclusion

Our results support our hypothesis that mutations in clam dimeric hemoglobin have an effect on structure that influences oxygen escape. We elucidated differences in the time of escape for the mutants that we tested, with considerably faster dissociation in I114F compared to F97V. In addition, we were able to use LESMD to demonstrate that the I114F mutation causes a faster dissociation rate that is likely due to the attenuation of oxygen pathways near the subunit-subunit interface, effectively promoting oxygen escape. Further simulations will need to be performed in order to properly the significance of these escape pathways. Future tests should include other PDB mutations that are available, as well as longer simulations to better understand how the mutations influence the time of oxygen escape in the dimer.

References


Violence Exposure & Mood Among Latino Middle School Students

By Jefferson Uriarte, Senior, Psychology and International Studies
Faculty Mentor: Dr. Catherine DeCarlo Santiago.

Abstract

The purpose of the present study was to examine the day-to-day associations between mood and exposure to violence among low income, Latino middle school students while also observing gender differences. The participants were 58 middle school students in seventh and eighth grade. Participants completed study measures over a one-week period. On the first day, students completed baseline measures in order to assess exposure to violence and mood over the last six months. Following the completion of the baseline measures, daily diaries were administered for seven consecutive days. Results from this study suggest that exposure to community violence is prominent in low-income, urban Latino youth, regardless of gender. Such exposure has negative effects on the mood of Latino youth, especially for girls.

Throughout the past two decades, a growing number of scholars have been studying the impact of exposure to community violence as it pertains to the psychological wellbeing of youth in the United States (Gudino, Nadeem, Katoaka, & Lau, 2011; Jaycox, Stein, Katoaka, Wong, Pink, Escudero et al., 2002; Martinez & Ritchers, 1993). Although community violence affects all ethnic and socioeconomic groups, its effects are most prevalent on low-income, urban, and minority youth (Bureau of Justice, 1997; Crouch, Hanson, Saunders, Kilpatrick, & Resnick, 2000; Schwab-Stone, Ayers, Kasprow, Voyce, Barone, Shriver et al., 1995). For youth who have experienced violence, research suggests a link to greater emotional distress (Gudino et al., 2011; Jaycox et al., 2002; Martinez & Ritchers, 1993; Rosenthal, 2000; Scarpa, 2001). Despite the increase in research literature on the effects of community violence, there is relatively little information that focuses on the day-to-day impact of this exposure on low income, middle school students.

Violence Exposure on Latino Youth

Youth living in lowincome, urban settings are at higher risk of experiencing community violence. Schwab-Stone et al. (1995) found that African American and Latino students display higher levels of violence exposure when compared to Caucasian students. In a study conducted by Crouch et al. (2000), associations were examined between household income, race, ethnicity, and exposure to violence. The study demonstrated that Latino youths at all income levels report higher levels of violence exposure, relative to non-Hispanic white youth (Crouch et al., 2000). Although it has been shown that immigrant children are exposed to high levels of violence (Jaycox et al., 2002), Latino youth living in urban low-income neighborhoods report high levels of exposure to violence regardless of immigrant status (Gudino et al., 2011). In addition to community violence, Latino youth are also susceptible to high levels of stress due to bicultural stressors including discrimination, intergenerational gaps, and language stressors (Romero & Roberts, 2003). Thus, Latino youth in particular are at risk for an accumulation of stress that may negatively impact their wellbeing.

Violence Exposure and Mental Health

Research examining the association between exposure to community violence and mental health among young people is well documented (Boney-McCoy & Finkelhor, 1995; Gudino et al., 2011; Jaycox et al., 2002; Martinez & Ritchers, 1993; Romero & Roberts, 2003). Community violence exposure negatively impacts the psychological wellbeing of youth (Gudino et al., 2011; Martinez & Richters, 1993; Rosenthal, 2000; Singer et al., 1995). Research suggests that exposure to community violence results in high levels of depression (Martinez & Richters, 1993; Rosenthal, 2000; Scarpa, 2001; Singer et al., 1995), emotional distress (Jaycox et al., 2002; Martinez & Richters, 1993), and an increase in symptoms that are associated with posttraumatic stress disorder (Berman, Kurtines, Silverman, & Serafini, 1996; Fitzpatrick & Boldizar, 1993; Gudino et al., 2011; Jaycox et al., 2002).

Few studies have examined this relationship in a day-to-day context. A notable exception is a study conducted by Richards et al. (2004) using the Experience Sampling Method (ESM) among African American youth. In this study, the relationship between exposure to violence and delinquent behavior or symptoms of trauma was examined. The use of the ESM allowed for the immediate daily experience of risky and protective contexts to be studied. In this investigation, the participants carried programmable watches and booklets for a one-week period. Every time they received a random signal, the participants provided self reports on what they were doing, who they were with, where they were, and what they were thinking and feeling. The results indicated that African American youth who spent more time in risky contexts experienced greater exposure to violence, which in turn was associated with greater delinquent behaviors and greater emotional distress (Richards et al., 2004). The use of the ESM is one way that researchers have been able to examine very short-term time frames. The current study will examine the day-to-day associations between exposure to violence and mood among low-income Latino youth.

Gender Differences

Rising concern about the mental health of youth, has led scholars to not only study the effects of violence on wellbeing, but to also inquire about possible gender differences (Jaycox et al., 2002; Martinez & Richters, 1993; Scarpa,
Schwab-Stone et al. (1995; Singer et al., 1995). Schwab-Stone et al. (1995) found that boys are exposed to violence more frequently than girls. In a study of recent immigrant children in Los Angeles, boys were also more likely to report higher levels of exposure to violence than girls (Jaycox et al., 2002). It is possible that boys experience more exposure to community violence than girls due to higher rates of delinquent behavior (Moffitt, Caspi, Rutter, & Silva, 2001), which is a risk factor for violence exposure (Reingle, Jennings, Maldonado-Molina, Piquero, & Canino, 2011), though more research is needed to understand this potential difference.

Although girls are exposed to lower rates of violence, they are likely to exhibit higher levels of depression, emotional distress, anxiety, and posttraumatic stress (Jaycox et al., 2002; Martinez & Richters, 1993; Singer et al., 1995). Starting in early adolescence, girls begin to display significantly more symptoms of depression than boys (Hankin & Abramson, 1999). Among immigrant youth in Los Angeles, girls who were exposed to violence were more likely to report greater levels of emotional distress than boys (Jaycox et al., 2002).

The current study will examine gender differences among youth who have been exposed to community violence.

**The Present Study**

Although it is clear that exposure to community violence negatively impacts mental health, we know less about the day-to-day impact of violence on the mood of Latino youth. The purpose of the present study is to extend previous research by examining the day-to-day associations between mood and exposure to violence on low income, Latino middle school students. By examining the associations between violence and daily mood, we can begin to understand how depression and certain other mental health difficulties develop. With such understanding, intervention and prevention programs may be developed in order to better assist youth. First, the study aims to examine the rates of exposure to violence within the past six months and in an average week. Second, the study will examine the association between day-to-day mood and exposure to violence. Finally, the study will examine gender differences among low income, Latino middle school students who are exposed to violence-related stress. The hypotheses of the current study are: (1) students who are exposed to violence-related stress will report higher negative moods than students who are not exposed to such stress, and (2) male students will report greater exposure to violence-related stress than female students, while female students will report greater negative moods.

**Methodology**

**Participants** The participants were 58 middle school students in seventh and eighth grade between the ages of 12 to 15 (M = 13.3, SD = 0.68). The students were composed of 53.4% males. The participants identified their ethnicity to be Latino (97%) and mixed race (3%). Students attended a parochial school in an urban neighborhood within the city of Chicago. Approximately 83% of students received free/reduced lunch.

**Procedure** Researchers visited the selected school and gave brief presentations explaining the study to two classrooms of students. Students were provided with English and Spanish consent forms for their parents/guardians to sign. Students were asked to return the signed consent forms, indicating whether they had parental permission to participate. Among students whose parents consented to the study (85%), written child assent was obtained from each student before beginning study procedures.

Participants completed study measures over a one-week period. On the first day, participants were asked to complete baseline measures in order to assess exposure to violence and mood over the last six months. Following the completion of the baseline measures, daily diaries were administered for seven consecutive days. Students were also given measures to complete independently over the weekend, which were returned to researchers on the next school day. Research assistants, who collected the data immediately after measure completion, administered all measures. During each of the seven days of the daily diary component, students were asked to complete daily measures that assessed exposure to violence and mood. For participation, students received a $15 gift card following the completion of the baseline measures and $5 for each completed daily diary. The completion rate for each day ranged from 84.9%–98.3%. This study was approved by the Loyola University Chicago Institutional Review Board and complied with all its guidelines.

**Measures** Demographic measures. During the baseline assessment, youth provided their gender, age, race/ethnicity, country of birth, and language preference/use.

Exposure to violence. Exposure to violence during the last 6 months was assessed using the Hispanic Stress Inventory-Adolescent Version (HSI- A: Cervantes, Fisher, Córdova, & Nappes, 2012), a 72-item stress assessment designed for Hispanic adolescents. The eight-item Community and Gang-Related Stress section of the HSI was examined. The items included the following: “Neighborhood dangerous” “Saw drive-by shooting” “Saw weapons at school.” Students indicated if they had experienced the stressor and circled “YES” or “NO.” If they circled “YES,” students rated how stressful the event was for them on a 5-point scale (1 = Not at all, 2 = Somewhat, 3 = Moderately, 4 = Very, 5 = Extremely). A modified version of the Multicultural Events Schedule for Adolescents (MESA: Gonzales, Gunnoe, Samaniego, & Jackson, 1995) was also utilized to assess daily exposure to violence. Students completed 37 items from the original MESA each day. Four items from the violence/victimization subscale were utilized for this study, Example items include: “You saw someone commit a crime in your neighborhood?” “You heard gunshots fired in your neighborhood?” “Someone you know was threatened with a knife or a gun.” Students checked off the events that occurred and rated how stressful it was on a 4-point scale (1 = Not at all, 2 = A little, 3 = Some, 4 = A lot). Students also wrote a brief description of what actually happened.

**Mood** Daily mood was assessed using the Positive and Negative Affect Schedule for Children (PANAS-C: Laurent et al., 1999), a 27-item self-report questionnaire used to measure a child’s emotions. Examples included the following: “Happy,” “Joyful,” “Sad,” “Frightened,” “Nervous.” Responses were reported on a 5-point scale (1 = Very slightly or not at all, 5 = Extremely).

**Results**

**Rates of Violence Exposure** Exposure to violence was examined over a six-month period and also over an average school week. In the past six months, over three fourths of students (n = 44, 76%) reported having experienced community violence (M = 2.12, SD = 1.87). In an average school week, half of the students (n = 29, 50%) reported exposure to community violence (M = 1.17, SD = 1.57).

**Violence Exposure and Mood** As hypothesized, there was a significant positive correlation between violence related stress and negative mood among students over the last six months (r = .28, p = .04). Students who were exposed to more community violence stressors reported greater negative moods. However, there was no significant correlation between violence related stress and negative mood among students over an average school week (r = .18, p = .17).

**Violence Exposure and Gender** Contrary to hypothesis, results indicated that there was not a significant difference in violence exposure between males and females over the previous six months (t = .50, p = .97). In an average school week, there was also not a significant difference in violence exposure between males and females (t = .95, p = .35), suggesting males and females were exposed to similar rates of violence.

**Mood and Gender** As hypothesized, there was a significant difference in negative mood between males and females over the last six months (t = 3.15, p < .01). In an average school week, there was also a significant difference in negative mood between males and females (t = 2.78, p < .01). These results suggest that female students experience greater negative moods than male students both in the past six months and in an average school week.
Discussion

The purpose of the present study was to examine the day-to-day associations between mood and exposure to violence on low income, Latino middle school students while also observing gender differences. The results suggest that students in urban areas are being exposed to high levels of community violence. As students experience more exposure to community violence, they tend to report greater negative moods. The results also suggest that although there are no gender differences in the rate of violence exposure, girls are more likely to experience greater negative moods.

Youth living in low-income, urban settings are at higher risk of experiencing community violence. It has been documented that low income, urban Latino youth experience alarming rates of community violence exposure (Bureau of Justice, 1997; Crouch, Hanson, Saunders, Kilpatrick, & Resnick, 2000). Finkelhor, Turner, Ommrod, and Hambly (2009) found that 60% of a national sample of 4549 children had been exposed to violence in the past year, suggesting that youth experience high levels of exposure to violence. In this study, an alarming 76% of students reported having been exposed to community violence in the last six months, while 50% of students reported such exposure in a single week. High levels of community violence exposure have been linked to emotional distress among youth (Gudino et al., 2011; Jaycox et al., 2002; Martinez & Richters, 1993; Rosenthal, 2000; Scarpa, 2001).

It was hypothesized that students who are exposed to violence-related stress would report greater negative moods than students who are not exposed to such stress. In the last six months, the results indicated that there was an association between violence exposure and mood; meaning that students who were exposed to more community violence stressors also experienced greater negative moods. In an average school week, there was no significant correlation between violence related stress and mood. Such contradictory results between the two time frames raise some concerns. The accumulation of community violence exposure over a longer time period is likely to wear on students and affect their mood. According to Evans and Kim (2012), chronic stress can have adverse effects on how youth cope with certain stressors. Thus, students who have been continuously exposed to violence-related stress over an extended period of time may have difficulties coping, resulting in greater distress and negative mood. In contrast, exposure in a week may not have the immediate impact on mood due to how common of an experience it is for the youth. According to Gaylord-Harden, Cunningham, and Zelencik (2011), depressive symptoms may not appear when youth are frequently exposed to violence. Thus, youth may have become desensitized to the day-to-day violence exposure, but the accumulation of such stress over time still has a negative impact on their mood.

Contrary to hypotheses, there was no significant difference between violence exposure and gender for both six months and in an average school week. Previous research suggests that exposure to community violence occurs more frequently among males (Jaycox et al., 2002; Schwab-Stone et al., 1995). Although previous studies indicate that males face higher rates of violence exposure, the current study suggests that boys and girls experience similar rates of exposure. Such similar rates of exposure among males and females may be linked to an increase in community violence more generally. Though gang related violence is on the rise (Allender, 2001), both boys and girls who may not be directly involved in gang activity are being exposed to high rates of community violence. This study suggests that regardless of gender, the majority of urban youth are exposed to community violence.

Research conducted by Jaycox et al. (2002), Martinez and Richters (1993), and Singer et al. (1995), has revealed that females who have been exposed to violence are more likely to exhibit higher levels of depression, emotional distress, anxiety, and posttraumatic stress than males. Consistent with this prior research, the current study indicated that girls are more likely to report higher levels of negative moods when compared to boys. Starting in early adolescence, girls tend to exhibit higher depressive symptoms and greater vulnerability to negative mood than boys (Hankin, 2009). This study further supports previous research (e.g., Jaycox et al., 2002; Schwab-Stone et al., 1995) that indicates that girls are more prone to have adverse effects on their emotional wellbeing when faced with violence related stress.

To our knowledge, the current study is one of few that examines the day-to-day associations between mood and exposure to violence. However, there are a number of limitations that are important to note. Even though 58 students participated in this study, it had a relatively small sample size. Therefore, the results of this study may have limited generalizability. Future studies could recruit more participants as well as utilize other urban schools in order to increase the study’s external validity. Although most students completed all questionnaires and daily diaries, there was some missing data due to school absences and students not turning in weekend diaries. Future research would also benefit from the inclusion of additional variables that may influence students’ exposure to violence, such as family process variables or the role of the media. In today’s society, the media exposes youth to various stressors including violence while certain family factors may increase or decrease risk for violence exposure or mood problems resulting from such exposure. Future studies could examine these other important influences.

Results from this study suggest that exposure to community violence is prominent in low-income, urban Latino youth, regardless of gender. Such exposure has negative effects on the mood of Latino youth, especially those of girls. These findings bring researchers closer to an understanding of how exposure to community violence affects the day-to-day mood of youth. Future research should aim at creating a better understanding of what the specific needs of urban youth are and how to best assist them. With such knowledge, we can begin to alleviate the effects of community violence exposure by providing information to prevention and intervention programs, both in school and in the community.

Community violence is not a problem that only urban youth face. Although factors such as race and socioeconomic status are associated with higher rates of exposure, all children are affected by community violence. Thus, future studies could focus on different populations in order to gain a better understanding of the full effects of violence exposure among youth. Community violence has tremendous negative effects on youth and more knowledge must be attained in order to better assist those at risk.

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Italian Eritrea 1935-1941: The Intersection of Gender and Racial Hierarchies in Italian Fascist Colonial Society

By Sebastian Villa, Senior, History
Faculty Mentor: Dr. Cristina Lombardi-Diop

Abstract

This paper examines the significance of interracial sexuality in Eritrea during the Fascist regime between 1935-1941. From the beginning of Eritrean colonial history in 1890, the Italian government enacted few restrictions on settler’s lives, thus granting them freedoms that were not available in Italy. In order to understand the complex relationship between colonialism and Fascist ideology I posed the question; did interracial sexual relations in Eritrea complicate the envisioned models of a racial and gender hierarchy as dictated by the Metropole? Through extensive analysis of numerous secondary sources I will in fact prove that this question is undeniably true; however, there are a few components that require consideration. The intersection of race and gender served as the focal point of this project and as I conducted my research, I realized that each social entity such as Italian men, Italian women, Eritrean women, and mixed-race children provide their own singular contribution to my research question. It is my objective that this research project will contribute to the ongoing investigation of Italian colonial history and hopefully inspire new inquiry into areas that I did not discuss.

The emergence of geopolitics after the conclusion of the Berlin Conference in 1885 was the catalyst for the changing state of European nations and colonized parts of Africa. In attendance, fourteen countries discussed how to divide Africa; however, Italy’s participation as a colonial empire was staggered due to a late national unification in 1861 and the overwhelming dominance and wealth of significant countries such as Great Britain, France, and the Netherlands. Nonetheless, Italy’s conquest of Eritrea in 1890 marked the beginning of the country’s colonial history. The access to the Bay of Assab near the Red Sea, or modern day Eritrea, led to the gradual invasion of Eastern Africa, resulting in the Italian occupation of Somalia, Libya, and Ethiopia between 1890-1945. The reign of Italian rule, lasting for around sixty years, is an area of history that has received minimal attention when compared to other European powers. On this topic, works such as Italian colonialism in Eritrea, 1882-1941: policies, praxis and impact by historian Tekeste Negash and The Ethiopian War, 1935-1941 by historian Angelo Del Boca are undoubtedly seminal works that contributed to the gradual investigation of Italian colonial history. As a consequence of Italy’s deliberate repression of its colonial history, historians have found it difficult to uncover a past that is rarely presented or transparently discussed in the public sphere. Evidence of the intended effort to suppress the inquiry into this matter is the fifty-volume work L’Italia in Africa, published by the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The work of the Italian historian Angelo Del Boca speaks to the volume’s inaccurate recording of colonial history; as a result “there has been and continues to be an almost total repression of colonialism and its crimes, and genocides”. Del Boca’s work emphasizes the need to question the implications of the Italian presence in Africa, with specific attention to the dynamics of the social hierarchies that redefined the life and freedoms of both Italians and the colonized.

The atrocities committed by the Italian government indeed mirrored the experiences of other European powers; however, the case of Italy is quite unique due to the effects on metropolitan and colonial society of the authoritarian ideology and racist ideologies of Italian Fascism between 1922-1945. The violent, traditional, and racist complexities of the Fascist regime mark a severe distinction with that of the Liberal period. In the latter phase of colonial rule, the severity of Mussolini’s political intervention into the lives of Italian settlers were accompanied by an ideology that necessitated a rigid structure of gender and racial hierarchies. Although the impact of Fascism affected all of the Italian colonies, this essay will specifically examine the case of Eritrea from 1935 until Italy’s defeat in World War II. As previously mentioned, Eritrea’s colonial history began in 1890 and the annexation of Ethiopia to the Africa Orientale Italiana occurred in 1936. Ethiopia’s conquest contributed to the changing political and social relations within the Italian colonies in that Eritrea was used to quarter, train, and provide any further military assistance to both Italian and Eritrean soldiers. Quite memorably, some scholars such as Giorgio Rochat and Alberto Sbachi would claim that the particular unethical warfare techniques practiced by the Fascist regime speak to the heightened sense of power and influence emanated from the metropole specifically, after 1934.

Despite the brevity of this intensified form of colonial rule, the intricacy of the theorized ideology manifested in the metropole compared to daily colonial life requires further examination. The purpose of this paper is to understand the overwhelming effects of colonialism and specifically to analyze the models of masculinity and femininity as dictated by Benito Mussolini. Although metropolitan gender models envisioned strict roles for men and women, this paper will interrogate how these changed once Italians settled in the colonies and to what extent they were affected by inter racial relations.

Prior to understanding how colonial society came to be structured, one must consider the gendered principles of fascist ideology that completely disregarded individual agency. Under the Fascist regime, the definition of a citizen had to reflect the interests of the national party where moral behavior contributed to the national cause. In relation to a gender inequality, Italian historian Victoria de Grazia has explored the implications of Fascism’s gender hierarchies. According to de Grazia, “the “nationalization” of women in Italy
occurred under authoritarian, not liberal terms. Fascism took as axiomatic that women and men were different by nature. This break or distinction from liberalism went hand in hand with the changing rights given to Italian citizens, that is, the enforcement of a stringent model of appropriated behavior that favored men and further oppressed the rights of women.

While the Fascist movement theorized specific normative behavior for men and women, Italian settler life in Eritrea proves how ambiguous was the practice of such gender models. Although Mussolini attributed greater freedoms to Italian men, this drastically shifted after 1935 with the strengthening of political intervention in colonial life. The state sought to correct immoral behavior that could possibly lead to diminishing Italian prestige. A significant focus on morality within the Italian context was generated by the fear of racial degeneration. This paper will examine how the underlying themes of Fascist ideology consistently involved the relation of gender and racial prestige. These two social categories are obviously distinct but it is imperative to understand the interwoven nature of the two in that Italian men, the dominant group, were the forerunners who complicated this social structure by engaging in interracial sexual relations. The prevalence of interracial coupling also led to miscegenated children who only further complicated notions of white prestige. It was not until the later half of the 1930s when Mussolini sought to correct Italian men’s immoral behavior with the gradual increased migration of Italian women.

Since 1890, the Italians populated Eritrea and a significant majority of the populace consisted of Italian men. In comparison to pre-1934, the presence of Italians in Eastern Africa cannot adequately draw a comparison. In her extensive work, archivist Giulia Barrera points to the difficulty in determining an exact figure for the Italians who migrated to Eastern Africa between 1935-1941. Nevertheless, she states that the largest migration of Italian colonial history occurred in 1935 (61,807) and 1936 (102,548). An interesting notion to highlight with these numbers is the disproportionate amount of men leaving Italy compared to women. After nearly sixty years of colonial rule, the amount of women living in the colonies cannot be precisely determined but by 1939 there were a total of 10,000. Interestingly enough, a majority of these women did migrate to Eastern Africa during the Fascist period, only reinforcing the political intervention exercised by the metropole. The attempted measures to cease interracial sexual relations prompted the need to utilize Italian women. Although the Fascist regime emphasized the importance of female morality, Italian women’s experiences in Eritrea indicate the ambiguity surrounding gender roles even within the Fascist regime.

The essay is structured around four sections that introduce gender and racial hierarchies of other European colonials with a specific focus on Italian Fascism. In chapter one, the moral and practical behavior of European colonists highlights the significance of white prestige coupled with white privilege. It becomes clear that in European colonies racial hierarchies supported white male dominance. Chapter 2 describes the perceptions of masculine and feminine identity as dictated by the Italian metropole. This section portrays the socially accepted notions of family structure, which assigned specific gender roles. Italian men and women experienced the restrictions imposed upon them in various ways and these were further complicated once Italian settlers were in the colonies. In the following chapter, gender and interracial sexual dynamics within Eritrea and Ethiopia prove the heterogeneity surrounding Mussolini’s subjects in that specific actions such as interracial coupling immensely affected perceptions of white prestige. The concluding chapter elaborates further on interracial children and how their presence signified a threat to the strict ideological order of Fascism in relation to the racial and cultural definition of an Italian citizen. Italian women’s morality and Italian men’s virility and diverse forms of paternity will further explain the complex situation of Italian colonial rule in East Africa.

**Methods**

For this project, I conducted extensive research on a majority of secondary sources available on my topic. The historical focus of this paper examines European colonial history with a specific analysis of Italian history. In many of the Italian sources, the scholars had translated countless documents from Italian to English thus providing me with comprehensible knowledge on Fascism and Italy’s colonial empire. My objective with this project was to assemble an in-depth analysis of the Italian colonial experience despite my lack in Italian proficiency. The initial aim of the project was to focus on the role of Italian women living in the AOI; however, a majority of the archival information on this specific demographic is in Italian. Therefore, as a part of the agreement with my research mentor, Dr. Lombardi-Diop, I was solely responsible for investigating all available sources in English while she worked in Italy locating primary sources. The clear division in our work allowed myself to understand the depth and colonial history in regards to the intersection of gender and race. Specifically the works of historians Ann Stoler, Ann McClintock, and Margaret Strobel were the foundation of my general understanding of colonial history. Once I narrowed my focus on Italy and the fascist regime, I relied on the works of various Italian historians such as Angelo Del Boca, Cristina Lombardi-Diop, Giulia Barra, Barbara Sorgoni, and several more. Their historical analysis and ability to translate the material proved the immense contribution of these scholars. After consulting a significant portion of sources in English, I created a research question that specifically examines the effects of colonialism on gender models envisioned by the Fascist regime. Although I still do not consider myself an expert in this field, I am confident that this paper exhibits my strength as a scholar to appropriately analyze secondary sources to understand an area of history that is often neglected.

**Section 1. Racial and Gender Norms in Europe**

The colonial endeavors of European empires began at various times between the fifteenth and twentieth century; however, there are specific political and social realities within these colonies that prove universal similarities. In the historical study of European colonialism, a pioneer in the field is the historian Ann Stoler whose contribution highlights general themes within Colonial empires. In particular, the focus of gender hierarchies coupled with interracial relations signifies the perplexities experienced in colonial life. The necessity to uphold the image of white prestige demanded certain behaviors from colonial Europeans, but especially among white men who experienced the first hundred years of colonialism alone. In reference to European migration, some may believe that European women experienced the adventures of foreign travel for as long as their male counterpart. Stoler proves the inaccuracy of this claim in that European governments and private businesses created policies that prohibited married European men from migrating to the colonies. The belief was that Western men would become distracted by their romantic affairs, resulting in irrationally spending money and ultimately living in poverty thereby drawing a similar comparison to the racial degeneracy of the colonized. Instead, the belief was to simply respond to Western men’s sexual and emotional needs by promoting a system of concubinage. Stoler argues that, “concubinage arrangements were considered preferable because they imposed a less onerous financial burden on lower-salaried staff and helped newcomers to learn local language and customs quickly.” Thus, the implications of white European men cohabitating with non-Western women highlight the intricate intersection of race and gender.

The inaccessibility of European women in the colonies manifested in a traditional practice of concubinage that would not be affected until the early twentieth century. Until the arrival of Western women, “concubinage was considered to have a stabilizing effect on political order and colonial health—a relationship that kept men in their barracks and bungalows, out of brothels and less inclined to perverse liaisons with one another.” Nevertheless, the dynamics of interracial sexuality within the colonies further pressured the need to codify an identity of European citizenship. As a result of prevalent sexual intercourse, the mixed
offspring of such unions represented the blurred boundaries of these children's social status. To worsen matters, the lack of government involvement and the culture it fostered in the colonies aided the continuous reliance on colonized women. The utility of non-Western female bodies reinforced notions of racial and male superiority, thus stabilizing a system that brought significant benefits to European men.

Particularly, European men felt entitled to behave in a manner that satisfied their libidinous necessities, which resulted in defying their own adherance to a white superior order. The product of this defiance is characterized by the growing presence of mixed-race children whose identities were complicated by the politics imposed by the Metropole. As Stoler states, social categories were impaired and "the colonial politics of exclusion was contingent on constructing categories. Colonial control was predicated on identifying who was "white", who was "native", and which children should become citizens rather than subjects." The indeliberateness regarding the prestige of the mixed offspring helps to understand the complex dynamics of colonial culture. The dominance bestowed upon European men in their native and colonial land created certain opportunities where lines of racial purity were blurred. Clearly, in Europe the possibility of interracial coupling was rarely probable therefore colonialism presented a situation where the issue an increasing mixed race was not considered. The fear surrounding a growing interracial entity in the colonies served as a threat to the colonial order in which racial degeneration served to challenge white supremacy. The possibility of "white-Europeaness" becoming infected by the inferiority of the colonized was a fear shared by all major European empires. The imminent danger of racial degeneracy was simply the product of commonly practiced beliefs surrounding European culture during this time, whose values were influenced significantly by specific external forces such as Anthropology.

The utilization of science due to the credibility placed on the vitality of academia contributed to policies and social attitudes regarding perceptions of race. During the colonial era, particularly after the publication of Charles Darwin's On the Origin of Species in 1859, there were comprehensive and irrefutable developments that supported white dominance.

Europeans adopted one of Darwin's primary arguments that only the fittest in any environment will survive. In practice, colonial rule provided the opportunity to interpret Darwin's work to support a natural justification of creating a system that sought complete control over weaker species. The influence and academic legitimacy bestowed upon this belief marks the significance of strict racial boundaries. In relation to the attitudes and concerns surrounding interracial relations, Europeans relied on Anthropology to express their fears. As described by Italian historian, Barbara Sorgoni, "anthropology shared a basic assumption: namely, that through the study of the body it was possible to infer facts about the mind, it then being possible to derive from the psychological features of the various races their level of civilization. Thus, the stratifying levels of modernity praised European men and women whose skin pigmentation further reinforced their superiority as the bearers of advanced civilization. The development and prestige of European society; however, fell subject to reexamination once Western men intentionally created a new race that shared characteristics of degeneracy. The purity regarding the European populace diminished with the reproduction of mixed children whose biracial identity complicated the stringent models of white dominance.

Despite the social consequences surrounding interracial unions and potential offspring, the gradual response to this issue led to the emergence of European women in the colonies in the early twentieth century. In the colonial empire, the role of men and women were quite distinct. Colonial men, often granted the responsibility of the financial figure head working in the public sphere whose strength and dominance represented the nation. As for women, their responsibility was expressed in a sense of morality or symbol of the empire. Colonial historian Ann McClinton argues that women were "excluded from direct action as national citizens...they were subsumed symbolically into the national body politics as its boundary and metaphoric limit." These boundaries manifested themselves from patriarchal notions of individual agency in that women's significance reflected the moral pillars of the nation. As a result, the restrictions placed on European women emphasized the moral burden of their identity, while also involving their practical and essential responsibility as mothers. In other words, European women were "vital to the colonial enterprises and the solidification of racial boundaries in ways that repeatedly tied their supportive and subordinate posture to community cohesion and colonial security." Therefore, the experiences of countless European women in the Metropole and especially within the colonies merely convey a social role that they simply performed. Although not successful in the attempts to prevent miscegenation, the gradual introduction of European women in the colonies signifies the essential purpose of femininity in a territory marked by white male superiority.

Section II. Models of Masculinity and Femininity in the Italian Metropole

The distinct privileges of men compared to their female counterpart are arguably the consequence of patriarchal rule in the European context. As each empire maintained a unique form of rule, there is a specific case that represents a movement that occurred in only one country. Fascism or the Italian national regime led by Benito Mussolini in 1922 until the end of World War II established specific roles for Italian citizens. As mandated by the national party, the strength of the movement depended on the adherence to specific norms artificially created by the Italian state. Women, the dominant servants of the nation, focused on increasing the populace and fostering an environment conducive to fortifying the regime. Italian historian Robin Pickering-Iazzi elaborates on the moral implications of femininity during this time period. "Not surprisingly, the Fascist construction of female cultural identity attempted to restore woman to the traditional female role, but with a difference. The new Italian woman as exemplary wife and mother became the cultural model for the "moral" way of life in Mussolini's Italy." Similar to the realities within other European empires, the purpose of women received definition from forces outside of themselves. The structure of feminine identity was a priority within national politics, thus affecting the socialization process of Italian women's lives from an early age. In fact, the "Educazione morale, civile e fisica delle piccole e grandi Italiane" which outlined the goals the National Fascist Party set forth for female youth groups in 1929 advocated that young girls were to prepare "to serve the Fatherland as the greatest Mother, the Mother of all good Italians. The specific instruction taught within female youth groups certainly varied depending on the location; however, the insistent intervention into women's lives demonstrates the ferocity of the regime's intentions to eliminate feminine agency.

As mothers of the Fascist empire, thereby the theoretical and practical instruments of Italian morality, women occupied a space manipulated by patriarchal control. The lack of freedoms provided to Italian women begs the question of, what was the experience of Italian men during the regime? The investigation into this matter lends itself to the work of Italian historian, Sandro Bellasai. Bellasai's focus on fascist virility and masculinity demonstrates the apparent gender inequality permeated in the Metropole and in the AOC. Bellasai explains the foundations of Fascist ideology stating "in a historical perspective, fascism therefore represented an attempt – contradictory, unrealistic and inconclusive in many respects – to freeze the crisis of masculine identity that apparently was raging with renewed virulence in the 1920s." The crisis within the empire invoked the qualities of traditional European life, resulting in the restructuring of gender models. Therefore, the ideological manifestations of Mussolini advocated for the sustainability of a rigid male model. Distinct from other European countries, at the base of Fascism, aggression and virility characterized the unique qualities of the regime. According to the dominant discourse within the empire, notions of
respect and prestige were attributed to the violently normalized behavior of masculinity. This belief shaped the relations within metropole in that men exercised their authority in the public sphere, utilizing aggressive behavior in order to obtain their desires. In relation to violent or hostile action, the exemplary form of virility received its full potential once examined within the colonial context. Nevertheless, it should not be forgotten that virility also remained within the metropole, affecting domestic structures. The behaviors assigned to men and the freedoms placed upon sexual behavior highlight the significance of a contradictory ideology. The implications of this male appropriated sex drive resulted in the profound complications once the Italian state implemented Fascist policies in Eritrea in order to combat racial regeneration.

The peculiarity of fascist ideology marks a distinct form of Italian culture in comparison to the liberal period. During World War I, women were granted freedom to work in various areas of the public sphere in order to support their husbands. Once Mussolini abdicated control of Italy, the policies enacted severely diminished the agency of women. According to de Grazia, “Fascists condemned all the social practices customarily connected with the emancipation of women—from the vote and female participation in the labor force to family planning.” This statement accurately describes the daily lifestyles of women during the fascist regime, exemplifying the dynamics of family structure. In most cases, women were to remain in the home, diligently and meticulously focusing on their children whom were the future of the empire. As for Italian men, fascist ideology promoted the notions of complete patriarchal control resulting in their occupation in the majority of governmental, labor, and all of forms of work. Aside from the financial responsibilities within the home, men were to simultaneously adhere to their procreative capabilities. De Grazia argues that, “in the New Italy, true men proved their virility by beating up or purging with castor oil their ‘demoliberai’ or socialist enemies but by seeding offspring.” Fascist ideology permitted the emergence of a new cultural standard of life that drastically affected the Italian home; however, these dynamics were complicated once applied to the colonial occupation of Eastern Africa.

Section III. Gender Dynamics and Interracial Sexuality Dynamics in Italian Colonies

Colonial Culture, Eritrea Prior to 1935

The policies enacted by Mussolini characterized the Italian cultural community within the metropole, thus maintaining a certain homogenous environment. Specifically within the party, the emphasis of a gender hierarchy remained pivotal to the sustainability of the national cause whereas issues of racial prestige were not as prominent. It was not until the mid 1930s when the Italian government became concerned with issues of interracial relations; however, the enforcement of a racial hierarchy gained more traction in the colonies. The extent of interracial relations within the metropole cannot adequately draw a comparison with the AOD due to the minimal amount of non-Europeans residing in Italy.

Although the fascist regime commenced in 1922, the laws regarding interracial relations were not enacted until 1935 thus allowing nearly forty-five years of a more flexible colonial rule. In other words, this “flexibility” represents the liberal period in that colonial governors granted extensive freedoms to Italian settlers. Nevertheless, this does not imply that colonial policies outwardly promoted specific actions that could possibly complicate racial hierarchies. The behaviors of Italian settlers, colonial officials included, represents a demographic situation that significantly influenced certain social relations. In her work, Italian archivist Giulia Barrera studies the demographics of early Italian settlement and states that, “the sex ratio among Italians had been extremely uneven, even without taking military men into account. In fact, the early white settlement had essentially consisted of single men.” In this example, Barrera refers to the colonial environment of the early twentieth century; however, the historical absence of Italian women marks an important reason for the continuous presence of interracial relations even during the Fascist regime. Barrera elaborates on this gender disparity that further enticed Italian men to engage in sexual relations with African women. “In 1905, about eighty percent of the European men over the age of sixteen were unmarried, and many of the married men were then without their wives. The colony’s Europeans numbered over 1,300 unmarried men and only seventy-three unmarried women.” The unequal distribution of Italian male to Italian female sexual partners influenced the appeal of African women. Interestingly enough, the prevalence of Italian men in the colonies is not the singular reason for interracial relations.

Despite the mere absence of Italian women living in Eritrea, Barrera argues that there were additional societal and political situations that fostered an environment of friendliness and cohabitation among Italian men and African women. To begin, Barrera discusses the significance of the battle of Adwa in 1896 where the Ethiopian army led by Emperor Menelik II defeated the Italian forces. In response to this defeat, the Italian government revaluated its position over Eritrea and reformed certain aspects of its rule. Italy did not seek to incite another rebellion, possibly diminishing their strength further. Consequently, Eritrean land acquired by the Italian government was given back to the African people. A side from the redistribution of land, the battle of Adwa additionally highlighted the internal relations within the country. Barrera explains this notion clearly by elaborating on the demographics of the Italian army involved during the battle. “Eritrea’s birth as a colony was also baptized in blood. But the founding event that remained deeply entrenched in Italian memory, unlike that of other colonies, was a war with an external enemy, not an internal rebellion.” At the conclusion of the battle, the only victims were Italian soldiers whose colonial experience was quite distinct from the Italian civilians. Settlers in the African community did not directly participate in the repression of the colonized, thus instilling an image of the Italian army as an external entity. In contrast, the congenial internal relations of the settler community proved that if a conflict were to erupt, the danger was more likely to occur from outside than from inside the colony.

The case of Adwa reinforces the unique colonial history of Italy in that it was the first European country defeated by an African army. Some scholars such as Barrera argue that this event marked the catalyst for the social relations within the country until the fascist regime altered its colonial policies. A side from this military defeat, an underdeveloped and scarcely occupied workforce in the colonies additionally influenced social relations. In other words, “the Italian community was too small to allow for the existence of businesses that served whites only. Mixing with Eritreans was an economic necessity for Italian working class settlers, craftsmen, and small traders, and even for some members of the upper class.” As a consequence, the reluctance to engage with the African community was not a viable option if the Italian settlers sought success in their financial endeavors. Before 1935 or the extensive urgency to migrate thousands of Italian citizens in preparation of the Second Ethiopian War, the minimal amount of settlers in Eritrea demonstrated the vulnerability of colonial rule and the attractiveness to interact with Africans on an economic level. Nevertheless, the economic situation particular to Eritrea is merely a component of the colonial environment that permitted certain affable behaviors between the colonizers and colonized. Various characteristics within the settler community affected social relations, thus historically establishing an environment that loosely discriminated against interracial coupling.

Prostitution

The effects of certain political, economic, and demographic forces unquestionably influenced the prevalence of interracial sexual relations in Eritrea. To understand why fascist rule was not successful in curbing interracial coupling, one must also consider the history of prostitution in Eritrea.
The particular forces that existed within colonial daily life set the foundation for colonial culture and especially the norms regarding sexual behavior. As a result, Mussolini's intention to alter the immense frequency of intermixing was a failure and this is expressed in the utility of prostitution and concubinage. Although the practice of African female bodies for sexual pleasure existed throughout every European empire, the case of Italy represents the complex racial dynamics in relation to Fascism.

In order to solidify the strength and public approval of the national cause, Fascist ideology praised a restoration to traditional family life by which men theoretically received complete control. The unbalanced privileges given to Italian men was the product of the virile characteristics embodied within Fascist ideology. In a political movement founded on aggressive masculine principles, the motivation to conquer Italian women and their notions of agency was not satisfactory enough. The dominance and outright power demanded among Italian men further enticed the desire to strengthen their role outside of the metropole. Thus, the colonial experience presented the opportunity for Italian men to prove their supremacy on an international level. Even more, the practice of interracial coupling not only reinforced notions of gender superiority but of a racial component as well. Barrera elaborates further on the intersecting notion of race and gender. "Metropolitan legitimization of unequal gender relations intertwined with colonial discourse on African women provided Italian men with an arsenal of moral justification for exploitative relationships with colonized women." The attraction of occupying a space in colonial Africa that overtly granted unlimited accessibility to women's bodies demonstrates the appeal of interracial sexual affairs.

Regardless of the social stigmas surrounding racial degeneration, the prevalence of brothel use in Eritrea during the Fascist era indicates the effects of the colonial environment during the liberal period. Although there is no historical account of how many African prostitutes served Italian men, the issue of African brothels prompted the need for an evaluation of colonial racial policies. In order to combat interracial sexual relations, the Italian government began regulating prostitution in 1935. Barrera shares that the "state no longer just controlled and sanitized prostitutes, but took an active role in organizing brothels...from 1935 on brothels became completely segregated." Thus, segregated brothels necessitated the importation of Italian women whose sole duty was to serve the sexual needs of Italian settlers. Thereby in 1935, regular shipments of Italian women under the governmental subject heading "Tratta delle bianche" (traffic in white slaves) were sent to Eritrea. These prostitutes were hired on a six-month contract and once in the colony, they worked full time. In a strategic manner, Mussolini not only controlled the migration of Italian prostitutes, but he even went as far as ordering that brothels with white prostitutes be organized in each center of the empire where a significant number of Italians lived. The attempts to combat colonial sexual practices reinforce the unique qualities of Fascist rule. Mussolini's devoted adherence to notions of white prestige within the regime placed racial order above gender roles. Undoubtedly, Italian women's role of morality was complicated in that their worth was no longer determined by their role as mothers but as preventers of racial degeneration. Despite efforts to terminate Italian men's reliance on African prostitutes, the shortage of Italian women working in the colonies resembles the similar demographic situation of the liberal period. In other words, Italian prostitutes numbered in the hundreds, far from an adequate amount that could please thousands of Italian men. To further complicate racial relations, prostitution was not nearly as detrimental to the fascist regime as was concubinage.

Concubinage

Despite the frequent use of African prostitution in Eritrea, the affective relationships between African women and Italian men served a greater threat to the empire. To understand the appeal of such relations, one must consider the cultural context specific to the colonial environment. In the Italian context, cases of loneliness and a lack of familiarity with the land and culture enticed European men to seek native partners. In Eritrea, countless Italian settlers such as laborers, diplomats, and soldiers sought long-term relationships with Africa women. Moreover, the minimal presence of Italian women contributed to an environment that informally conditioned interracial sexual behaviors. Prior to 1935, colonial officials' intervention into interracial sexual relations was limited and intermarriage was legally possible. The accumulation of these particular characteristics produced a colonial environment where affective relations were not an anomaly.

As an entire colonial entity, the reasons to engage in mixed domestic arrangements certainly varied; however, Fascist ideology paradoxically influenced the desire to engage in longer-term relationships with African women. Rooted in Mussolini's political movement, family was a pivotal symbol within the nation and within this patriarchal unit, gender roles granted specific positions to men and women. Some scholars such as Barrera argue that Italian men perceived the colonies as the opportunity to reverse any progressions made by Italian women. Therefore, Eritrea presented the opportunity to reinforce notions of male privilege while at the same time respecting an additional hierarchy. One fundamental principle that the Italians agreed upon was that gender hierarchies should always complement racial hierarchies. In other words, a racial order cannot be gender neutral thus permitting an unequal relationship between African women and Italian men. In the case of multiple Italo-Eritrean relationships, Italian men refused to acculturate themselves to the Eritrean culture. Italian settlers often dismissed Eritrean customs such as practicing the Christian orthodox faith and learning the language. Nevertheless, this did not produce any complications within these relationships because Eritrean women occasionally learned Italian and adopted Italian behaviors. The presence of Italian culture within the home contributed further to the attractive qualities of acquiring and maintaining a relationship with Eritrean women. In many, but not all cases, Italian men benefitted immensely from these relationships, which granted them greater freedoms inside and outside of the home.

As interracial domestic arrangements proved beneficial to Italian men, these of course presented a few obstacles that ultimately challenged colonial order. In the dynamics of these mixed-unions, the hierarchical nature went well beyond the typical inequalities that all-Eritrean or all-Italian couples experienced. In other words, it was not only rooted in gender inequalities, but also in the colonial relation of domination. The pillars of colonial domination rested on the fact that Italian men could not appear vulnerable within the colonial environment. In practice, however, Italian men indeed expressed sides of themselves that were not shared in the public space. Barrera explains, "Italian men sought not only sex but emotional support. One cannot simply buy emotional support, or obtain it by force. Women's ability to provide their Italian partners with a sense of home served as a relative leveler in relationships." The comfort of a submissive lover who fostered a living situation that embraced Italian culture explains the prevalence of mixed-unions. The sacrifices and lifestyle choices made by Eritrean women were not a collective movement therefore their decisions can still not be entirely explained. Nonetheless, in some cases Eritrean women benefited from their relationship and especially among some women who in fact conceived a child. This additional component indicates the complex nature of Italian colonialism and how these relationships were a severe threat to Fascist prestige.

Although the vulnerability and loneliness experienced by Italian men was a common phenomenon, there was a general agreement that interracial marriages were not an appropriate action. Such decisions could only complicate colonial hierarchies further by granting certain legal rights to Eritrean women. Nevertheless, in some cases, mixed-unions resulted in situations that presented a societal issue more severe than interracial sexuality. Beginning in 1890 until the loss of Eritrea in 1941, countless mix-unions reproduced and their offspring exemplifies the internal conflicts of not only the colonial empire, but of the Fascist regime. The heterogeneous nature of Italian settlers reinforced realities of racial
Section IV. Italo-Eritrean Children and the Effects on the Fascist Regime

In every colonial empire, mixed-raced unions and their offspring became a defining characteristic of colonial society. The attitudes regarding racial degeneration did not deviate from one region to the next; however, certain policies regarding mixed-race children certainly varied. In 1940, the "Norms Concerning Children of Mixed Race" prohibited Italians from acknowledging the children they had with African women and from helping to support them. As for the mixed-race children, the law declared their status to be of a colonial subject. The sudden change in colonial regulations was due to updated policies influenced by the heightened intensity of the Fascist regime. Preceding legislation in 1940, the colonial environment condoned miscegenation and a law passed in 1933 even created the possibility for children unacknowledged by their fathers to obtain Italian citizenship. As for the children acknowledged by their father, citizenship was granted automatically. The abrupt change in colonial policies indicates the transparent break with the liberal period in Eritrea. In other words, the Metropole necessitated a restructuring of colonial society in order to restore the prestige of the nation state. Mixed-race children presented a situation that challenged white dominance, thereby necessitating certain actions such as updates in policy and increased migration of Italian women.

Despite attempts to eradicate any possibility of miscegenation, these relationships continued and the heterogeneity of the settler community exhibits the complexity of Italian colonial history. In Eritrea, every recorded mixed-race child of an Italian man and African woman; thus the issue of racial degeneration also intersected with the realities of masculinity and virility. As glorified in Fascist ideology, men were entitled to occupy a position of dominance in all situations. Within the Italian home, men were responsible for producing children for the future empire and were therefore within their right to satisfy their sexual pleasures. The consequences of this gender model promoted the popularity of interracial coupling and as codified in the ideology, Italian settlers simply applied these masculine and virile principles to colonial life. According to some Italian settlers, the process of bestowing citizenship to their mixed children was merely an example of their authority. Barrera elaborates further, claiming that "to deny this promise would have amounted to questioning paternal supremacy, which was a fundamental element of the social order, gender hierarchy, and masculine identity itself." Among a significant portion of Italian men, they looked beyond any legally codified instruction to decide the type of life their children would have. Although not all male settlers embraced their mixed-raced children, there were in fact a number of recorded incidents of Italian fathers who openly accepted their children. In one of her articles, Barrera describes the relationship between an Italian father, Giuseppe Pastacaldi, and his two mixed children. Instead of abandoning his two sons, Pastacaldi admitted his children to the Capuchin institute for mixed-race children in 1914 to ensure they would have an Italian education. During their stay at the institute, Pastacaldi regularly wrote to the Bishop of Asmara describing his positive feelings towards his children. Nevertheless, this example did not represent a pattern and many Italian men in fact abandoned their African families once they returned to Italy or after their families arrived in Eritrea. The oftentimes inter racial familial living situations indicate certain attitudes regarding racial identity and notions of supremacy. For some fathers, they were convinced that their Italian identity was sufficient enough to pass onto their children, thus distinguishing this racial entity from the Africans. On the other hand, countless Italian men and often the ones who did not chose Eritrea as their permanent home felt more inclined to disregard any paternal responsibilities. The heterogeneous nature of the settler community ultimately prompted the Metropole to enact certain policies toward the issue of miscegenation. Only to reinforce fascist gender models, Italian women were utilized in order to restore morality in the colonies.

Undoubtedly revered for certain socially constructed qualities, Italian women, the bearers of Italian morality and domestic force behind cultivating the future generations of the nation, were given an additional task in Eritrea after 1935. The expectation held by the Metropole was that Italian women could be utilized in various forms in order to regenerate the diminishing worth of colonial dominance in Eritrea. The migration of various demographics of women such as teachers, nurses, missionaries, wives, and prostitutes signifies the extent of the political intervention in Eritrea. In some instances, women were granted the opportunity to expand their rights in a way not possible in Italy. Nevertheless, the pivotal reason for women to migrate to Eritrea was in fact to bolster the standard of European prestige. In a report ordered on May 11, 1936, Mussolini ordered "no Italian man be allowed to stay in the colony for more than six months without his wife." The effectiveness of this report is questionable due to the continued practice of miscegenation. Nonetheless, the intention behind the policy reinforces the gender norms associated with Italian men and women. The virile nature of men coincided with the defining principles of Fascist ideology; however, it was these normalized behaviors that in fact complicated the envisioned gender roles for Italian men and women. Miscegenation and other forms of sexual practice within Eritrea indicates the unique characteristics of Italian colonial history in that the intersection of race and gender manifested itself in an environment that served an immense threat to the empire.

Conclusion

The rather extensive era of the liberal rule in colonial Africa in comparison to the Fascist intervention in 1935 presents colonial historians with a social situation that exemplifies the complexity of racial and gender hierarchies. The rather friendly intermingling in Eritrea since 1890 created an environment that only enticed Italian men to seek sexual relations with African women. Historians such as Giulia Barrera argue that aside from Italian men’s virility and dominant positions in Eritrea, there were additional factors that contributed to the prevalence of interracial sexual relations. Historically, the battle of Adwa in 1896 created a colonial setting where settlers were granted widespread freedoms due to the Italian government’s reluctance to intervene in Eritrea and potentially risk defeat in an additional battle. The lack of supervision conducted by the Metropole resulted in numerous Italian men abiding to their own standards of morality without consideration of the imminent consequences. Aside from this historical battle, the economic platform implemented by the Italian government promoted intermingling within the workplace. As a result of the Italian government’s unwillingness to interfere in Eritrean society, economic relations only intensified the familiarity between both racial entities thus attracting Italian men to pursue African women. Nonetheless, there may have been other forces that influenced interracial relations in Eritrea that have not been accounted for by historians. The importance of these diverse explanations lies in the ultimate consequences of interracial coupling, which only intensified the fortitude of the fascist period in Eritrea.

The countless intimate interactions between Italian men and Eritrean women whether they were prostitutes or concubines, resulted in the need to restructure colonial relations. According to customs established by the Fascist movement, Italian men’s consistent exposure to the public allowed for an immense accessibility of vice and immoral behaviors. In order to restore standards of ethical supremacy conducive to the prestige of the empire, Italian women were to actively eliminate any immoral qualities they found in Italian men.
The rigid gender roles manifested by Mussolini seemed impervious in a state founded on aggression and intolerance for minority perspectives. Nevertheless, the colonial empire created a situation that complicated gender and racial hierarchy. The strict normative behaviors associated with men and women were indeed threatened in the AOI. The virile nature of Italian men to pursue their sexual desires allowed Eritrea to become a land of opportunity, devoid of Italian direct rule. To complement the complexity of such relations, in many cases Italian men were also motivated by a need to receive emotional support. Moreover, the issue did not solely lie with a female counterpart. Among numerous Italian men, their offspring with Eritrean women created a racial entity that severely endangered the strict social hierarchies envisioned by the Fascist state. Until 1935, policies established by the Metropole inadequately addressed the sexual behaviors of Italian men and the commencement of the Fascist colonial policy signifies the austerity of not only racial dominance but also gender superiority.

The measures undertaken to restore balance to this intricate model of a racial and gender hierarchy indicates the area of this study that is still often neglected. Among most Italian women in Eritrea, their role as either wives or prostitutes demonstrates the urgency felt by the Italian government to correct all immoral behavior. Although Italian women occupied the role of moral guardian, their position in certain cases exhibits the intricacy of Italian colonial history. The need to terminate interracial sexual practices created an opportunity that disregarded morality among women in order to acquire a more pressing result. The extent as to how this affected Italian women's lives and specifically perceptions of themselves is an area of historical focus that requires more attention. The ability of the Italian government to treat women's bodies as tools with complete disregard of agency requires further analysis in order to appropriately understand how sexual practices in Eritrea affected not only Italian men, the nation, but also their women.

References
Conceptual Art: Graffiti and the Urban Environment

By Giselle Villatoro, Senior, Sociology
Faculty Mentor: Dr. Edward Flores
Graduate Mentor: Crystal Jackson

Abstract
Graffiti has been a source of controversy in the United States since its explosion on the streets in the 1970s. To some, graffiti (including street art) is a cultural expression filled with symbols, references, and names that can only be understood by the subculture itself. To others, graffiti poses a threat to the idea of collective efficacy and the social norms of public space. These two competing schools of thought are in line with the controversial treatment of graffiti in the public sphere. It is my goal to add to both sides of the existent literature revolving graffiti. Moreover, my goal is to analyze the graffiti scene through an artistic lens. I performed a visual content analysis of three Chicago neighborhoods: Pilsen, Rogers Park, and Wicker Park. Each neighborhood has a rich artistic history as well as a common issue of gentrification. My research questions ask is graffiti art or crime? What kind of crime is graffiti and what is the societal implication of looking at graffiti as crime? My visual content analysis reveals evidence of a vibrant culture of communication aimed at the entire public not only at the graffiti subculture. This is often overlooked by street cleaning policies which aim to rid the city of all graffiti as all graffiti receives the negative connotation associated with its illegality. Moreover, my data illustrates a creative city (McAuliffe), a city that is ignited by all forms of visual expression rooted in artistic ideas. Ultimately, the information gathered through my data collection will subsequently help further inform the conversation of graffiti in the public sphere and help better understand the connection between graffiti and the community in which it exists.

In the past and in our present time, most people are very critical of graffiti. To many, graffiti is the signal of a deteriorating neighborhood—a marker of a lack of control that represents crime and disorder within an urban setting. The notoriety of graffiti continues in our present day. For example, in June 2012 an article that came out on ABC Chicago local by Eric Horng, describes the increase in fines for offenders up from $700 to almost $2K. Not only is the increase large enough to be significant, the original price was already far out of reach for many of the graffiti writers as the majority of the graffiti writing demographic consists of young teenage boys. Another change: Horng discusses is a change in the law which is now open to a possibility of jail time left up to the discretion of the judge. In the same article by Horng, one Chicago resident named Faeem Shabazz describes his view that graffiti fines are not beneficial: “not all tagging is done by gangs […] I don’t think that fining them is going to be the answer. Anytime you just impose fines and extreme penalties with no solution, really, I think that’s counterproductive” (Horng).

This paper includes a visual content analysis of three neighborhoods in Chicago: Pilsen, Rogers Park, and Wicker Park. In order to obtain my visual content, I went to each individual area and recorded the graffiti and uncommissioned street art I observed. This includes post-ups, stickers, tags, murals, letters, and characters. Recently, however, there has been an effort to differentiate graffiti from street “art” by metropolitan agencies. As street art becomes valorized and celebrated, graffiti has become increasingly targeted and criminalized. Their commonalities, such as their roots visual language as a form of communication have been overlooked.

As Shabazz describes, this lack of understanding of graffiti can be more harmful to the neighborhood in the long run. The city of Chicago’s actions is exemplary of the ambiguity of the general public’s view on graffiti. The cost of this ignorance could be a serious negligence of the needs of the youth in urban environments. Just recently, “Mayor Rahm Emanuel announced (October 16, 2012) that the City will significantly increase its investment in combating graffiti in 2013 by adding resources to address 40,000 more graffiti removal requests” (cityofchicago.org). All of this energy is spent on cleaning up the graffiti, but very little is left at understanding the role graffiti plays in particular neighborhoods.

Therefore, I am concerned with analyzing the graffiti itself, how it can be used to describe an area as well as changes within an area without the overbearing negative bias associated with graffiti and increasingly disassociated with street art.

Literature Review
The graffiti art movement started in Philadelphia in the mid-1960s when two types of graffiti began to emerge: the gangs, and the loners. The gang graffiti was used exclusively to mark territory. By contrast, the ‘loners’ were not gang related. Instead, “they followed the main transport arteries of the city and had only one intention: to get their names out” (Stewart, 2009). As one early writer named Combread put it, “I did it because there was nothing else. I wasn’t going to get involved with gangs or shoot dope, so I started writing on buses. I just started with a Magic Marker and worked up” (Stewart, 2009). Combread lived in a poor neighborhood in Philadelphia where he and his friends were constantly exposed to the gang and drug culture. He sought respect not through the gangs, but instead by perfecting his writing craft. Combread’s sentiment reflects the sentiment of many other writers starting out at that time. They wanted be known, to be respected, and this longing for recognition drove them to seek better ways to leave their marks: better materials, better
designs, larger scales, and more ambitious locations. (Stewart, 2009).

This brings us to New York as the writers sought a larger degree of recognition they began to decipher ways to be viewed by a larger audience. The trains therefore provided them with a way to be known all throughout the city, "Subway graffiti was born of a specific time and place. It created a flourishing visual dialogue within a large group of young people, as opposed to the solitary practice writing graffiti had been in the past [...] they transformed a traditionally clandestine activity into something akin to commercial advertising" (Stewart, 2009). Nowhere in the world was subway graffiti as prevalent as it was in New York City of the late 1970s. It was then that graffiti began to become notorious nationwide as people complained about the mass amounts of writing that they deemed unsightly.

As the subway became the central location for 'pieces' (masterpieces) the notoriety of the graffiti subculture grew. Newspapers began to write about the disturbance created by the 'pieces'. For example, in an article from the Los Angeles Times titled "The Writing on the Wall: Public is Tired of Graffiti," Robert C. Toth writes mockingly of the movement: "It all began with one tag, 'Taki 183,' in 1970, which was romanticized in a newspaper Story. By 1974 there had been at least two art shows in avant-garde studios in which graffiti writers recreated their works on canvas. Both shows bombed..." A New York transit police chief he interviewed named Sanford D. Garelik goes on to say, "Graffiti was called an art form, just a passing fancy, self-expression. We gave these kids the recognition they wanted and we've had more graffiti since" (Toth, 1979). They saw the movement as a threat to the established social norms and they subsequently suggested that police further crack down on these individuals.

Not only the public and the press, but also researchers such as George L. Kelling and James Q. Wilson, who formulated the "Broken Window theory," found graffiti ugly and threatening (Kelling, 1984). To them, the seeming appearance of disorder perpetuates crime. They claimed, "the proliferation of graffiti, even when not obscene, confronts the subway rider with the inescapable knowledge that the environment he must endure for an hour or more a day is uncontrolled and uncontrollable, and that anyone can invade it to do whatever damage and mischief the mind suggests" (Kelling, 1984). Their theory summed up the majority view of U.S. society at the time as laws were created against graffiti, punishment was made more severe, and the transit authority invested thousands of dollars in creating chemical coatings that could be easily washed and harder to spray paint (Stern, 1980). This view represents a middle and upper-class concern: "This use of public infrastructure for the purposes of communication between spatially segregated neighborhoods was antithetical to the restructuring project initiated at the same time by business elites whose interest was in transforming the city as much as possible into an infrastructure to support corporations" (Dickinson, 2008). Therefore, graffiti was quickly rhetorically criminalizes as all subsequent perpetrators were labeled as thugs.

What the graffiti movement did was challenge the institutionalized concept of public art. Contrary to the argument that graffiti is a danger to collective efficacy, graffiti is instead a reflection of the city’s collective space: "Thus graffiti, as a transgressive performance in space, tells us graffiti, as a spatial practice that draws attention to the complex process at work in the social, cultural and political construction of urban space, has long been of interest to geographers (McAliffe and Iversen, 2011). The end of the graffiti movement signaled the beginning of the street art movement. Founded on the principles of the graffiti movement, which are: voice, freedom of speech, self-expression, respect, and social rebellion—the street art movement has become more political and as well as international. Artists such as Bansky convey antiwar sentiment, as well as political and social commentary through their pieces. The spray paint method also led to the experimentation of new methods such as stenciling, as well as the inclusion of paint. The reversion back to the walls has also brought about the creation of more intricate and detailed pieces as artists such as El Mac (who works in spray paint) creates photorealistic portraits on a larger than life scale (Ganz, 2004). The example set by the graffiti art movement inspired the current international street art movement to create public art meant to be an essential part of the urban landscape: site specific and intrinsically connected not only to its location but to the people within it. Ultimately, the rebellion expressed by the graffiti art movement resonated with underappreciated subcultures all over the world. The end of the graffiti movement in the '90s allowed for the international street art movement we are currently experiencing. (Waclawek, 2008).

Materials and Methods

The goal of my paper is academic. I want to add to the conversation of graffiti by building on the existent literature revolving graffiti and the criminalization of graffiti. Waclawek tells us that "the diverse forms of ephemeral urban art that have arisen since the mid-1990s—as result of the pioneering work of signature graffiti writers—have, to date, evaded substantial study in an academic context" (Waclawek 2008). She describes the creation of the street art movement through the solidification of the train as the main form of communication and competition between writers. With its loss, due to the establishment of laws and methods to stop graffiti on trains, the movement lost their main tool for intercity communication. Therefore, I chose to visually record the reversion of graffiti back to the walls and flat spaces that Waclawek discusses occurred after the end of the graffiti movement in the 1990s. Through this method of visual content analysis I was able to observe patterns that indicate organized forms of communication within graffiti.

The visual content analysis I performed is a qualitative method. I went to three different neighborhoods in Chicago: Pilsen, Rogers Park, and Wicker Park and took pictures by foot. I used the Chicago Transit Authority Blue line, Pink line, and Red line system as well as east and west through a series of buses. Each location was chosen because of its accessibility to transportation systems. Another important factor in choosing the neighborhoods were their historical and current histories in art. Each neighborhood can be described as an artistic enclave.

There was no direct human interaction in my research. All data collected was obtained through existent publicly accessible data and public spaces (such as streets, lamp posts, walls) in which graffiti was readily seen and recorded through my photograph method. In order to conduct my visual content analysis of the graffiti and interviews I traveled to the specific locations. The images I took of the graffiti were taken with my BlackBerry Torch 9810 camera that is a 5MP and reproduces rich color. I first scoped out each area in order to get a better feel of the graffiti and the environment within it. It was through these visits that I decided it would be best to look at just one specific street within the Pilsen and Wicker Park area only; the streets of focus were 18th Street for Pilsen and Damen for Wicker Park. Each street was chosen due to its heavy foot traffic as well as its proximity to the train. Each street also proved to be areas of heavy graffiti concentration. I took about 200 pictures total between neighborhoods of graffiti tags and stickers. In contrast, the Rogers Park neighborhood is relatively small: Sheridan Road (east); Howard Street (north); W. Ridge (west); and
W. Devon (south), which makes it easy to walk through as I conducted most of my data collection by foot. It took me approximately 60 hours to travel and collect images from the Rogers Park area. My goal was to capture images of all forms of graffiti visible in the streets. I took about 80 pictures of graffiti in Rogers Park. The graffiti concentration in Rogers Park proved to not be as densely concentrated within one street as is true for the other neighborhoods, therefore it was necessary to collect images from the entire neighborhood.

**Discussion**

**Neighborhood Demographics**

It is important to note the neighborhood in which the different images of graffiti exist since street art and graffiti are inherently tied to their location in terms of physicality. Therefore, as stated before, graffiti and street art both create a dynamic in the area in which they are located through the simple knowledge that it is unmoveable. I will briefly examining the demographics of each different neighborhood.

For the past decade Pilsen has held over 80% of Chicago’s Latino population. Moreover, Pilsen’s population age demographic is relatively young. In the 1990s its average median age was 18 years older (uicn.org). The economic status of Pilsen is lower than that of the rest of the city; the average high school graduation rate is about less than half that of the rest of the city (however, census data from 2000 demonstrates an improvement since the 1990s); the crime rate is high as a result of gang violence, yet the gang related incidents have largely decreased since the 1990s; lastly, property values are low. The community is united by its vast Mexican heritage, which has allowed Pilsen to build a strong close-knit and well-organized community. The residents are committed to improving their neighborhood as can be seen by the large networks of community organizations available at Pilsen such as various churches, social justice agencies, and schools (uicn.org). The community has also established its own website, the Pilsen Portal, to bring recent news and policy awareness as well as neighborhood events to its residents. This awareness of the issues faced by its residents, as well as the use of the Spanish language for communication, is indicative of the interest the Pilsen neighborhood has in aiding its residents. Pilsen has recently experienced a decline of about 7% of its foreign born population suggesting a current change. This current change can be connected to its increasing white non-Hispanic population; this population has increased significantly since the city was at its Latino population peak of 93.5% in 1998 (uicn.org).

Historically, Wicker Park has welcomed immigrant communities from initially German families to Polish residents in the 1940s and then Puerto Rican and Mexican families in the 1960s. The average age demographic of the area, 20-39 years old, is young in comparison to the rest of the city (wickerparkbucktown.org). The overall education demographic is very high as the percentage of bachelor’s degrees obtained was 44% in 2007. Although the Wicker Park population continues to grow, the racial and ethnic population has decreased. Specifically, “while the population of non-Hispanic whites has risen steadily over the past seventeen years, from 35% of the population in 1990 to an estimated 58% of the population in 2007, the Hispanic population has experienced an equal decline of 23%, from 55% in 1990 to 32% in 2007. Many Hispanic families had to move as renting in the area became unaffordable while some others choose to leave” (wickerparkbucktown.org). The amount of affluence in the neighborhood has also increased. However, this is not true for the entire area as there are various pockets of lower SES households. This indicates an economic gap between the residents that continues to rise. The social implications of this increasing gap might indicate future threats to affordable housing and diversity. Moreover, the “high percentage of rental units usually suggests that residents are less invested in the area and less willing to engage in civic involvement in a meaningful way” (wickerparkbucktown.org).

Lastly, Rogers Park is a very diverse neighborhood. Its average median income is approximately $39,720. Over the years Rogers Park’s population has grown more diverse as well as older. Once an Irish, German, and Luxembourger community, Rogers Park in the “1970s saw the movement of immigrants from Asia and the Americas as well as growth in the African American Population. According to the 2000 census, 63,484 people lived in Rogers Park. Of these, 46 percent were white, 30 percent African American, and 6 percent Asian or Pacific Islander. A total of 28 percent were of Latino origin, 79 percent of whom were of Mexican ancestry. Thirty-four percent of those living in Rogers Park were foreign-born. Since 1960, Rogers Park has been home to a number of nursing and retirement homes” (encyclopedia.chicagohistory.org). Rogers Park has an extensive amount of apartment building complexes as well as a large concentration of local stores and markets on its larger streets (encyclopedia.chicagohistory.org).

**Visual Content Analysis**

By simply looking at the visual content I gathered it becomes apparent that graffiti (all forms including un-commissioned street art) “is a cultural practice that produces a commons and creates a shared, public, democratic visual space” the issue becomes that it is “troublesome for the project of neoliberalization, which is about radical privatization of the public sphere in the service of capital accumulation” (Dickinson, 2008). The criminalization of graffiti, as stated before, has its roots in the issues of class and race. The issue of space therefore becomes the essential criteria for determining graffiti’s illegality. It is important to note, “cultural space denotes those arenas in which young people and others construct meaning, perception, and identity” (Ferrill, 1997). It is no question that the majority of the writers are young and often male. The visual content provides us with various examples of references to pop-culture and contemporary issues, as well as light hearted jokes and visual scenarios. Therefore, their demographic consists mainly of the less powerful. Those who have more power marginalize these young writers as they try to contest the control of cultural space. Therefore, the ordinance of the City of Chicago to clean up all graffiti can be seen as an assertion of the city’s power over those without power. As the punishments and policies continue to become more severe, the youth become more attracted to practicing graffiti “emerging from the confluence of practiced artistry and dangerous illegality, the adrenaline rush defines for writers the wired excitement of writing graffiti” (Ferrill, 1997). Graffiti is used as a vehicle to exhort some sort of control as well as an expression of creativity. Therefore, the shift to zero tolerance practices is inherently doomed to be inefficient in deterring graffiti writers and street artists.

The issue of space also comes into play in the debate of graffiti as art; the existence of graffiti in the public sphere, moreover, on other people’s property, troubles the established notions of the proper places for art to exist (i.e., museums, parks, or designated spaces). Graffiti refuses to be contained within the proper space designated for art. Therefore, in doing so “the illegality of this refusal represents a dramatic extension of modern art’s aim to disrupt and challenge the everyday, by refusing to locate such disruptions within a space which renders them predictable” (McAuliffe and Iveson, 2011). The sole contribution graffiti has made to the area of art and the issue of space is intrinsically connected to its illegality and physical attachment to the public sphere.

Ultimately, the strength of my visual content data is that it represents how graffiti aims to “provide space for those shoes presence is not strongly represented in visions of order” (McAuliffe and Iveson, 2011). This communal experience which graffiti often forces upon the viewer creates a visual multiculturalism. Therefore, the artistic practice of creativity has found its way into the street and created the possibility for a creative economy (McAuliffe, 2012) that once again challenges our concepts of what is in and out of order.

**Conclusion**

Ultimately, what my visual data represents is a visual dialogue within the city. The purpose of graffiti and street art is not rooted in vandalism but instead in discourse. In each different neighborhood we can see common themes of politics, culture, subculture, and an affirmation of
identity in all works but most visibly apparent in the tags which are often meaningless to the outside public.

Moreover, within the different samples we can see different forms of creativity, which pertain to each individual neighborhood, come to life. Therefore, the issue of the public sphere then becomes important: “Indeed, one can only maintain the position that graffiti is crime and not art by doggedly ignoring its content, and focusing only on its location” (McAuliffe and Iveson). If graffiti was not at all representative of its community it would not exist. The content I found in the vast majority of my photographs was not violent or negative: it often was just a simple reflection of the person who created the work, whether it is a tag or a more intricate mural.

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THE IMPACT OF DEMOCRATIZATION ON THE FORMULATION AND IMPLEMENTATION OF AFRICAN FOREIGN POLICY: CASE STUDY OF GHANA

By Hilton Adolinama, B.A. 2013, International Studies and French
Faculty Mentor: Dr. Peter Schraeder

Introduction
The purpose of this paper is to examine the impact of democratization on the formulation and implementation of African foreign policy, with specific focus on a case study of Ghana. Foreign policy experts in the contemporary period have often insufficiently explained the formulation and implementation of Ghanaian foreign policy based on the three main paradigms; big man theory, great powers theory and dependency theories.

The first theory of Ghanaian foreign policy usually examines the actions of the national rulers, usually authoritarians or dictators, as the most important factor in the creation and implementation of state policy. This is also referred to as “big man” theory of African foreign policy because it posits that, the foreign policy of Ghana had largely been a personal formulation of strong men in Ghanaian history. Proponents of personal rule theory cite the rule of Kwame Nkrumah under the Conventions People Party (CPP), Lieutenant General J.A. Ankrah under the National Liberation Council (NLC) and most recently under Jerry John Rawlings from the Provincial National Defense Council (PNDC) era.

The second theory that scholars are quick to point to when describing the foreign policy of Ghana is great power theory. This theory suggests that, the foreign policy of Ghana is dictated by external powers, such as the EU, the United States, Russia and China. It argues that, Ghana like most African countries do not have a foreign policy that is in the interest of the state. Rather, it is incapacitated by great powers to promote their own interest.

The third and last theory often used by scholars in depicting African foreign policy and its relationship to the outside world is dependency theory. Dependency theory states that Ghana, like most African countries, is still dependent on its former colonial powers. That is to say, the relationship that exists between Ghana and Britain is influenced by aid which the former receives. Neo-colonized relationships, in the eyes of dependency theorist, are orchestrated maneuvers, designed by colonial powers to still keep their power and influence on the policy of their former colonial subjects. Foreign policy decisions are therefore dictated from London or Paris but not a genuine sovereign endeavor from Ghana and other African states. An example of such a relationship is the one that exist between France and its former colonies in Africa, most recently with the intervention of France in Mali, and the Central Africa Republic.

A closer look at Ghana’s foreign policy formulation and implementation, however, reveals a rather complex and evolving system of decision making and execution. Scholars have not taken into consideration the recent wave of democratization in Ghana and the rest of the African continent as a contributory factor to explain Ghana’s relationship with its neighbors and the world. Under the 1992 Constitution of the Fourth Republic of Ghana, the system of government practiced in Ghana is parliamentary democracy with separation of powers among the Executive, the Legislature and the Judiciary, guaranteed under the constitution.

Ghana was the first country in sub Saharan Africa to attain independence from British rule in 1957, and paving the way for the gradual independence for the rest of the sub Saharan region. In 1998, President Bill Clinton was the first American president to ever visit Ghana to encourage a young and fledgling democracy. In his speech at Ghana’s independence square he recognized that Ghana once again was ready to lead the continent on a democratic path. “Here in Independence Square, Ghana blazed the path of that new Africa. More than four decades ago, Kwame Nkrumah proposed what he called a “motion of destiny” as Ghana stepped forward as a free and independent nation. Today, Ghana again lights the way for Africa. Democracy is spreading.” George W. Bush also visited Ghana when he took office, similarly commending it for its sound governance and role model status.

After two decades of peace, stability, good governance, transparency and credible democratic transition of power, Ghana is once again a role model not only for its neighbors but for the African continent as a whole. President Obama during his 2009 visit to Africa acknowledged the important role of a democratic Ghana in the formulation and implementation of foreign policy, “The 21st century will be shaped by what happens not just in Rome or Moscow or Washington, but by what happens in Accra, as well.”

The puzzles that American, Chinese and European politicians and diplomats visits to Ghana pose is that they are not a satisfying explanation for great power theory. Unlike the Zimbabwe phenomenon where Robert Mugabe still clings to power, the peaceful transition of power from Jerry Rawlings to John Agyekum Kuffour and to Atta Mills and finally to John Mahama equally debunks big man theory since they have graciously handed over power in contradiction to “big man” theory which would have stipulated that they stay in office and continuously keeping in hostage the foreign policy of the state for their own personal benefit. Additionally, Ghana’s was colonized Great Britain and therefore any attempt to justify neo-colonization dependency theories apart from Britain is equally fragile.

Although big man, dependency theory and the interest of foreign superpower was the cornerstone of explaining Ghana’s foreign policy after Kwame Nkrumah’s over in 1966 and the end of Rawlings’s PNDC era in 1992, Ghana’s foreign policy in a contemporary democratic era cannot be defined exclusively within the terms of these three theories. In the ensuing paragraphs, I will outline the growing culture of democracy in Ghana as an evolving paradigm in the emergence of new power blocks (state and non-state actors) in foreign policy formulation and implementation.

Ghana is a parliamentary democracy with separation of powers among the Executive (the
It is therefore prudent to consider the influential contributions of these state actors in foreign policy decision making and execution. The 1992 constitution provided for a system of checks and balances on each of the three branches of government. The 1992 referendum and election of Jerry Rawlings marked a new beginning towards democracy and a new era in foreign policy formulation and implementation. This was a major accomplishment for Ghana because it was the first time a government in Ghana had relinquished military rule and contested for political power through the ballot box. The 1996 elections however had greater expectations and was the very crucial in Ghanian history; it was the first time since independence that an elected president had successfully served their mandated term without the intervention of a coup d’état. Kwasi Prempeh, writes in his book, "Toward judicial independence and accountability in an emerging democracy: the courts and the consolidation of democracy in Ghana", points out that, "The simple fact of a Rawlings-led government now aggressively canvassing the country for votes, and even contemplating the possibility of electoral defeat, is a hopeful sign that the idea of the ballot box as the source of political legitimacy may be finding favor with a segment of the Ghanaian political elite that, until now, had shown little, if any inclination toward political pluralism or constitutionalism."

The 1992 constitution came about as a result of continuous pressure on the ruling PNDC government from civil and professional organizations such as the Ghana Bar Association (GBA) and the Ghana Student Union (GSU) which agitated for the reinstitution of a unified and independent judiciary and, with that, the elimination of the parallel and generally compliant public tribunals created after the 1981 coup d’état. The birth of an independent judiciary in Ghana in 1992 vested the court with two main functions; to serve as a watchdog over executive and legislative power and to validate or strike down legislative, executive, civil or criminal actions as either constitutional or unconstitutional within the new constitution. Article 125 of the 1992 constitution mandates an independent judiciary that "neither the President nor Parliament nor any organ or agency of the President or Parliament shall have or be given final judicial power." The constitution further makes provision for administering and financing the judiciary through a consolidated fund, free from "control of any person or authority. The distribution of state power between the Judiciary and the other two branches of government, is a necessary prerequisite to avoid power being vested in the hands of a totalitarian or two competing branches of government. The judiciary is a neutral body that poses a challenge to big man theory since it ensures that the affairs of the state, including foreign policy are not at the mercy of an impulsive and power-thirsty ruler in a democratic Ghana.

The executive branch of government is charged with spearheading foreign policy formulation and implementation in the interest of state. Undoubtedly, the executive is the most powerful of the three branches of government in Ghana. The president wields more power than any other individual or agency in Ghana. Chapter 8, Article 74 of the 1992 constitution gives the president in consultation with his cabinet (the council of State) the authority to designate diplomats to represent the state in foreign countries and also the authority to make and implement policy. The president, as head of state and of government, is equally designated as the one to receive foreign envoys on behalf of the country. In as much as the president is the most important and powerful official in the country, his authority however is limited in a democratic Ghana. He does not have absolute power and Consequently has to submit his foreign policy goals and any agreements and treaties to parliament for a vote. In fact, the 1992 constitution mandates the president to have advisors (the council of state) to ensure that policy matters are not subject to the personal interest or individual Impulses. As head of state, the president is the chair of the National Security Council, the agency which deals with issues relating to the security of the state. He is mandated by law to include the minister of foreign affairs, defense, interior, and finance and such other ministers as the President may determine, the inspector general of Police, the directors of all intelligence services, the commissioner of customs and borders amongst other appointees. The partner that emerges is one that seeks to limit the power of the executive from being the sole decider when it comes to foreign policy formulation and implementation in a growing culture of democracy in Ghana. It shows a rather sophisticated system of governance and foreign policy formulation in a growing culture of democracy, that is not subject to the personal goals of so called big men” but rather a collection of bureaucrats and government officials.

Among the duties of the parliament such as the enacting and laws and the introduction of policy of the state, the Legislature is a direct check on executive power. Members of parliament are voted to represent their constituencies to whom they are directly responsible for. It is therefore incumbent for constituents and their parliamentarian to have a relationship under a representative democratic state. There has to be engagement between an MP and their constituents. This is crucial for MP’s to advocate the constituents view or stance on matters of policy that may affect their lives and the country as a whole and not become a rubberstamp for the agenda of the president. This is evident on the legislative floor where foreign policy legislation from the executive is scrutinized, questioned, debated and eventual voted into law or voted down. There is therefore accountability on the part of an MP to his constituency which is part of Ghana’s emerging democracy. The power of an MP therefore lies in the hands of the average citizen or voter. “There is one crucial moment that defines the relationship between a constituent and his/her MP—the election. Held every four years, an election offers each constituent an opportunity to consider and assess their MP’s performance, registering their support or otherwise at the ballot box”. Consequently, there is a scenario for parliamentarians to view matters of policy that is reflective of the interest of the state rather than the interest of the Ghanaian Executive. The influence of democracy on foreign policy in Ghana however has largely been ignored in lieu of the three prevailing theories put forward by recent scholarship.

Prior to the 1992, foreign policy was simply the right of the political elites (Ghanaian big men) and external forces such as donor countries and agencies (great power and dependency). Aid was often given with stringent conditions attached. It simply was in the interest of the donor country or agency any the only option was to accept or refuse. Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) were imposed on the country by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in 1983 effectively handing over the Ghanaian economy to external factors. Between 1957 and 1993 policymaking in Ghana was considered an activity to be undertaken only by politicians and a core group of civil servants or management teams. The culmination of the personal actions of Ghanaian political elites and the meddling of the IMF and World Banks in the economic policy of Ghana might be an apt support of personal and external foreign policy explanation, it does not explore the recent influence of Ghana democracy and the growing influence of non-state actors such as ordinary citizens, Non-Governmental Organizations (NGO’s), the Electoral Commission and career civil servants.

Unlike the fluctuating nature of political and

“The 21st century will be shaped by what happens not just in Rome or Moscow or Washington, but by what happens in Accra, as well.”

- President Barack Obama, 2009
ministerial appointees, whose positions are secured or unsecured depending on whether their political party is in power or not. Career bureaucrats continue to carry out the day to day formulation and implementation of Ghana’s foreign policy in spite of political change. Joseph R. A. Ayele acknowledged in his contribution to The public policy making process in Ghana: how politicians and civil servants deal with public problems” that “given the political instability and frequent ministerial reshuffles, bureaucrats on average remain in their positions longer than the politicians, and therefore, have the opportunity to alter policies over time in a way they have seen fit. In other words, the duration of bureaucrats’ appointments in their agencies played a great role in affecting not only their policy advocacy, but also their capacity to formulate and implement policies. Ayele elaborates the conflict and tensions that exist because of this increasing power with political appointees on one hand and bureaucrats who are usually well educated with advanced degrees and who might have passed an entrance exam to work at the department that they work in. Such conflicts and tensions goes to explain the dwindling nature of personal rule in an increasingly democratic Ghana with non-state actors challenging political appointees over the nature of foreign policy making and implementation.

The influential role of the media in Ghana on democratization and foreign policy decision is one of the variables that challenge the big man foreign policy theory. Alongside the Executive, Legislature and the Judiciary, the Ghanaian media is considered to be the fourth tenant of Ghana’s flourishing democracy. The media in Ghana work as a watch over the executive, the legislature, government agencies. President Obama single out Anas Aremeyaw Anas as an example of an increasingly professional media which seeks out the “truth.” The media in Ghana is a vehicle for educating citizens about their rights and responsibility in a democratic state. The media plays the role of overseer, watching over actions of political elites to ensure they are held accountable for their actions. By the 2004 elections, Ghana had gone from one media outlet, the Ghana Broadcasting Corporation to 127 radio stations, 6 TV stations and more than 60 newspapers. The media was responsible for criticizing the Kuffour administration during his fourth year in office, was the most travelled leader since independence, having made over 63 visits to foreign countries. He has visited many neighboring countries to strengthen relationships and to seek for foreign aid since he had taken Ghana into the HIPIC initiative which foresaw the forgiveness of partial debt obligation of Ghana if the state met certain obligations. This had caused so much debate with the opposition NDC and some Ghanaian citizenry who challenged the constitutionality of the president to exclusively dictate the foreign policy of the state by taking the country into the Heavily Indebted Poor Countries Initiative. This new shift of freedom of the media and freedom of speech by the Ghanaian general public, who had come to see phone-inradio and TV programs, contrast sharply with the situation 12 years ago under the Rawlings PNDC military government (before the 1992 elections), when people were afraid to even read certain antigovernment publications secretly distributed from London. The media in Ghana therefore serves as a means of check and balances on the power of the executive, leaders of institution and consequently function as of the key institution that dictates the national agenda including foreign policy. SMA KuuHe notes that media pressure on the executive lead to the resignation several government officials under the Kuffour administration. In Ghana, during the Kuffour administration, unfavorable press reports over the loss of $46,000 led to the removal and jailing a former minister of sports, Mallam Issah in 2001.

Another state actor that is challenging the big man theory in Ghana is the electoral commission. The Electoral commission of Ghana (EC) unlike Kenya, Ivory Coast, Zimbabwe and several African countries that were not able to ensure free and fair elections and transition of power from one leader to the other, the Electoral commission of Ghana has conducted for successful and credible elections with two peaceful transfers of power between the NDC and the NPP. Against the back drop of failed and contested elections in many African countries, the EC has organized four successful general elections with marginal errors. It had failed to be an instrument of the executive and has largely not been vulnerable to manipulations from the ruling party to tweak an election in the favor such as in the case in Zimbabwe under Robert Mugabe. This is a direct challenge to big man theorist since the EC ensures that no big man stays in power beyond his or her mandated term. Despite the role of the Electoral commission which is considered as credible and fair in Ghana, scholars of big man theory have failed to analyse the role of the EC in dictating foreign policy. Even though the 2012 elections are being contested at the Supreme Court in Ghana by the opposition for electoral fraud, there has not been any direct reference to the EC as conducting fraud on behalf of a particular party. The EC has striven to be autonomous of the political system in Ghana.

Bibliography
Are Pten--/– and Fak--/– MA9- Leukemic Cells More Sensitive to Anti-Leukemic Drugs?

By Rafael Gutierrez, Senior, Biology
Faculty Mentor: Dr. Peter Breslin, S.J.

Abstract
Chemothapeutic agents will not efficiently kill leukemic cells (LC) that are not rapidly dividing. We found that Pten, a tumor repressor, inhibits cell proliferation by repressing PI3K/Akt-mTor proliferative signaling in LC. Deletion of Pten promotes the proliferation of MLL-AF9 transduced LC (MA9-LC). We also found that Fak maintains Pten protein levels in MA9-LC. Deletion of Fak enhances the proliferation of MA9-LC due to the reduction of Pten protein. Therefore, we predict that inactivation of Fak-Pten pathway will lead to an improved response of LC to chemotherapeutic treatment. We want to test our hypothesis by examining whether Pten knockout (Pten--/–) and Fak knockout (Fak--/–) MA9-LC are more sensitive to chemotherapy compared to Fak and Pten intact MA9-LC (WFLC thereafter) in vitro culture.

P phosphatase and tensin homolog on chromosome 10 (PTEN) is a known tumor suppressor gene that, when mutated, can lead to the development of different types of leukemia. PTEN’s phosphatase activity results in dephosphorylation of protein tyrosine kinases, but the enzyme also works on lipid substrates such as phosphatidylinositol-3,4,5 trisphosphate (PIP3). PTEN functions as a negative regulator of the phosphatidylinositol-3-OH kinase (PI(3)K)-Akt pathway, which plays crucial roles in cellular proliferation, survival, differentiation and migration (Zhang et al., 2006). When PTEN inhibits Akt, FOXO1/3 phosphorylation is inhibited; pFOXO1/3 is the inactive form of this transcription factor because it is prevented from translocating to the nucleus. Thus, in cells with PTEN expression, FOXO1/3 induces expression of its target genes, p21, p16, and p27, which code for cyclin-dependent kinase inhibitors and are thus all negative regulators of cell cycle progression, known to be FOXO1/3 responsive.

Animal model studies have demonstrated that PTEN is required for maintaining hematopoietic homeostasis by preventing the mobilization and exhaustion of HSCs as well as restricting the expansion of myeloid progenitor cells and thymocytes. Pten--/– HSC show impaired ability to sustain hematopoietic reconstitution, meaning that they are compromised in their ability to generate new stem cells. This is believed to be due to a “disregulation of their cell cycle and decreased retention in the bone marrow niche” (Zhang et al., 2006). HSC are found in bone marrow niches, but when Pten has been mutated or deleted, HSC detach from the bone marrow niche and migrate to the peripheral circulation and the spleen (Zhang et al., 2006). HSC have a homing mechanism that directs them to their niches in the bone marrow when they become mobilized. According to Zhang et al., however, when the bone marrow does not contain many open niches, the HSC do not lodge; lodging is a process that describes retention of stem cells within the microenvironmental niche. Impaired bone marrow lodging results in some HSCs’ infiltrating into the spleen. There is a difference between cells attached to their proper niches in the bone marrow and those that go to the spleen. HSC attached to the bone marrow seem to be more quiescent (they do not divide), while those cells that infiltrate the spleen undergo multiple rounds of cell division and differentiation (Zhang et al., 2006). According to Hollander et al., down-regulation of PTEN allows for increased phosphorylation of Akt substrates, which in turn alters the activity and/or localization of proteins that are components of this pathway. This, in turn, “affects processes such as cell cycle progression, metabolism, migration, apoptosis, transcription and translation” (Hollander et al., 2011). According to Cristofano et al., mice that were genetically modified to have a dysfunctional Pten gene (Pten--/–) developed clearly visible tumors with a shorter latency for leukemia development in contrast to mice that are heterozygous for the Pten gene (Pten+/–), suggesting a gene dosage effect. This is due to the fact that, although in this situation HSCs are impaired in their ability to selfrenew, they are still capable of differentiating. This differentiation of HSCs is increased in myeloid and T-cell lymphocytic lineage cells but is conspicuously impaired in B-cell lineage differentiation. Because of this increased proliferation of myeloid and TALL cells, Pten-null mice develop myeloproliferative disorders (MPD), which typically progress to T-cell acute lymphocytic leukemia. It is believed, then, that Pten plays an important role in mediating cell determination or cell fate.

Fak mediates integrin induced adhesion signal in most type cells studied. In T-ALL cells, active Fak induces anchoring-related cell survival by stimulating survival gene expression. According to Tamura et al., “When the signals from matrix are interrupted, normal cells may undergo apoptosis.” Tamura mentions in his report that, “association of the p85 subunit of P13K with T397 of Fak is induced by the attachment of cells to matrix and that P13K is required for integrin stimulated Akt activation.” This over-expression of Fak allows for increased PI3 levels and the subsequent phosphorylation of Akt. It is believed that Pten physically interacts with Fak, thereby reducing the latter’s tyrosine phosphorylation (Cristofano et al., 1998).

In hematopoietic malignancies, the tumor repression activity of Pten in acute T-lymphoblastic leukemia (T-ALL) is well studied. However, the role of Pten in acute myeloid leukemia (AML) is still largely unknown. Mutations/deletions of the Pten gene are frequently detected only in blood samples of T-ALL but not in AML patients. Pten protein was detected in most AML samples especially in LSC. As consequence, Akt activity is reduced in AML LSC. Zhang’s Lab found that Pten represses the proliferation and maintains the undifferentiated LSC in AML. These studies suggested that Pten plays distinct roles in the pathogenesis of AML and T-ALL. The Zhang-Breslin Model suggests that when integrin or other extracellular matrix components interact with Fak, a cascade of events leads to the inhibition of proliferation (Fig
We believe this method is more accurate than the one previously used because flow cytometry separates only the living cells and tosses the dead cells out. By doing this, we believe we get a better representation of the proliferation abilities of the cells. The sorted CFU for the three genotypes (WT, Pten+/-, and Fak+/-) shows that by the second plating, most of the Pten+/- and Fak+/- cells are dead. In the count of the first plating, one can see that WT and Fak+/- cells have similar proliferation rates but Pten+/- cells proliferate at a much faster rate. The averaged data suggest that Pten+/- cells divide at double the rate (producing twice as many colonies) or have a twice as high a colony-forming ability than the WT AF9 cells. The fact that we see such a great decrease in the number of cells in the second plating to discrepancies in the way the cells were counted before paling (Fig. 3).

The colony-forming ability of both Pten+/- and Fak+/- MA-9 LC is reduced during the second and third CFU plating.

The CFU assay showed a consistent decline of the ability of the Pten+/- and Fak+/- LC to form colonies. As seen in Figure 4, as the WT LC kept a consistent colony-forming ability, the ability of Pten+/- and Fak+/- LC decreased. The Pten+/- LC had the highest ability to form colony in the first plating, having almost twice the capacity than WT LC. The same can be said for the Fak+/- LC. They began with a vigorous ability to form colonies. They also formed colonies at almost twice the ability of WT cells. By the second plating, however, Pten+/- LC were less able to form colonies than were WT LC. By the third plating, it is clearly visible that both Fak+/- and Pten+/- LC are both less able to form colonies than WT cells (Fig. 4).

Treat cells cultured in methylcellulose with AraC. AraC treatment of cells growing in methylcellulose

The first set of CFU assays using cytosine arabinoside (AraC) treatment consisted of incubating the cells in PBS alone or supplemented with 10 μM, 20 μM, 50 μM, or 100 μM concentrations of the drug. Cells were plated at a concentration of 2000 cells per plate and counted seven days later. Our data show that the cells growing in the control (PBS) conditions were consistent with the rest of the experiments. Pten+/- and Fak+/- LC exhibited a substantially higher ability to generate colonies than the WT cells. The rest of the data, however, show that the concentrations of AraC used were too high for these cells to survive (Fig. 6).

Because the concentration of the drug used was too high it was decided to repeat the experiment using the following concentrations: PBS (control), 0.1 μM, 0.3 μM, 1 μM, and 2 μM of AraC. These concentrations once again gave us the same results in the PBS, giving us further proof that Pten+/- and Fak+/- cells have a higher ability to produce colonies. The data for the lower concentrations, however, were inconclusive because the plates showed no colonies, suggesting that we needed to redesign our experiment (Fig. 7).
MA9-LCs are sensitive to AraC at 0.001 μM, while they are resistant at 0.01 μM.

The data collected from the AraC treatments in methylocellulose with PBS (control), 0.001 μM and 0.01 μM concentrations were not very conclusive either, considering that they showed no significant difference in the ability of the different genotypes of cells to produce colonies. When we put these data together with the data of the previously mentioned CFU, however, we are able to see that MA9-LCs are sensitive to AraC at a concentration of 0.001 μM, while they are unaffected at a concentration of 0.01 μM. This means that there must be a “Goldlocks” concentration in between those two concentrations that we can use to give us more effective data (Fig. 8).

0.05 μM AraC should be an appropriate concentration to test the sensitivity of WT, Pten−/−, and Fak−/− MA9 cells.

This set of data is derived from a CFU assay performed according to the following conditions: PBS (control), 0.01 μM, 0.05 μM, and 0.10 μM AraC. We believe that these data are important because they provide a general idea of what kind of concentration of AraC is necessary to use in methylocellulose in order to be effective. We have concluded that the appropriate concentration of AraC to use is at 0.05 μM because at 0.01 μM and 0.10 μM, the ability of WT cells to produce colonies is too close to the control or too few colonies, respectively. At the 0.05 μM concentration we are able to grow enough colonies to be able to compare and analyze data (Fig. 9).

**Treat cells growing in suspension culture with AraC, then perform CFU assay.**

This set of data shows the colony-forming ability of the three genotypes of cells (WT, Pten−/−, and Fak−/−) treated with AraC in suspension. These data are significant because we found a statistically significant difference in the ability of the three genotypes to form colonies. At an AraC concentration of 0.5 μM, Pten−/− and Fak−/− cells had a statistically significant reduced ability to form colonies. This is important because it shows a 10-fold difference in concentration than in methylocellulose, suggesting that there must be something at play causing the cells in methylocellulose to produce fewer colonies.

**Discussion**

We have applied the use of colony-forming unit assays to thoroughly understand the implications of altering the production of Pten and Fak proteins in MA9-LCs. Through this assay we have been able to analyze the ability of Pten−/− and Fak−/− MA9-LCs to form colonies compared to WT MA9-LCs. With the data collected we have been able to summarize that Pten−/− and Fak−/− LCs produce more colonies in the first plating but their ability to produce said colonies declines with every subsequent plating. This implies that the stem / progenitor cells within the colonies must be differentiating and therefore not regenerating, further reducing the number of colony-forming units. We have also been able to determine the concentrations of AraC to use in both methylocellulose and suspension culture in order to obtain data that are comparable. The appropriate concentration at which cells to grow in methylocellulose treatments of AraC seems to be 0.5 μM because we get colonies growing at a lower level than the control but not many cells die. The concentration that seems to be most appropriate, with a statistically significant difference in ability to form colonies between WT and Pten−/− and Fak−/− was 0.5 μM. At this concentration Pten−/− and Fak−/− produced significantly fewer colonies than WT MA9-LCs. There is a 10-fold difference in the concentration necessary between the two different media, methylocellulose and RPMI-1640 suspension medium. We believe that this might be due to the fact that methylocellulose is a much more viscous medium than RPMI-1640. In future studies we will look at the influence and activity of protein pumps in both methylocellulose AraC treated LC and suspension AraC treated LC. Future studies will also include in vivo studies that will essentially give us a more clinical relevant model. These studies should essentially give us a better idea of how cancer cells are necessary to generate leukemia in a laboratory-bred mouse. If we can detect where those cancer causing cells, sometimes referred to as stem cells, we might be able to learn more about their specific environments. Even further studies surrounding the environments that host these cells, called niches, could give us more insight as to what interactions with the environment lead such cells to stay replicatively quiescent, and thus much harder to treat with conventional chemotherapeutic agents.

**Materials and Methods**

**Cell Culture.**

All cells were incubated at 37°C, 100% humidity, and 5% CO2. Cells were cultured in 6 well plates in RPMI-1640 medium supplemented with 10% FBS, 1% penicillin/streptomycin, 100ng/mL rmSCF, 50 ng/mL, rmIL-6, 20 ng/mL rm IL-3, and 20 ng/mL rmGM-CSF.

**Colony-Forming Unit assay.**

WT, Pten−/−, and Fak−/− MLL-FA9 cells were seeded into MethoCult GF M3434® (StemCell Technologies) at 1000 cells/mL and incubated at 37°C, 100% humidity, and 5% CO2 for 7 days. Numbers of colonies were counted by using an
inverted microscope at 40X magnification. Each experiment was performed in triplicate (plated 3 times). All data were collected and triplicate data were averaged.

**Sorting Using Flow Cytometry and Antibodies**

In order to sort the desired 1,000 cells/mL, the aforementioned genotype MLL AF9 cells were sorted using flow cytometry. Cells were collected from stock plates and washed with 15 mL of RPMI-1640 medium supplemented with 10% FBS, 1% penicillin/streptomycin. Cells were pelleted and the supernatant was removed. The cells were washed a second time with 4 mL of RPMI-1640 medium supplemented with 10% FBS, 1% penicillin/streptomycin. Cells were pelleted and most of the supernatant was removed (300 μL of solution is left to keep cells in suspension). Each tube 300 μL tube containing its respective genotype of cells (WT, Pten−/−, and Fak−/−) was then treated with 30 μL of Propidium Iodide (PI) staining solution. The PI antibody used for this study was purchased from ??? Data were collected using a BD LSR Fortessa cell analyzer and analyzed using Flowjo software.

** Colony Forming Unit assay using Ara-C-treated cells**

In order to have the desired 500 cells/mL, the aforementioned genotype MLL AF9 cells were counted using hemocytometer. The concentration of cells obtained was then diluted to make sure that we had the appropriate concentration. Once we had the desired concentration of the WT, Fak−/−, and Pten−/− cells, we placed the cells in MethoCult GM3434 (StemCell Technologies) containing 1% penicillin/streptomycin. Thus there were 15 tubes divided into sets of 3. Therefore, there were 5 WT tubes (1-PBS tube, I-1.0 μM Ara-c tube, 2-0.5 μM Ara-c tube, 1-1.0 μM Ara-ac tube, and 1-2.0 μM Ara-ac tube), 5 Pten−/− tubes (1-PBS tube, I-0.1 μM Ara-ac tube, 2-0.5 μM Ara-ac tube, 1-1.0 μM Ara-ac tube, and 1-2.0 μM Ara-ac tube), 5 Fak−/− tubes (1-PBS tube, I-0.1 μM Ara-ac tube, 2-0.5 μM Ara-ac tube, 1-1.0 μM Ara-ac tube, and 1-2.0 μM Ara-ac tube). All tubes were mixed fully to assure that the cells were dispersed throughout the medium. The tubes were allowed to settle for a few minutes to make sure that there were minimal bubbles. Each tube was partitioned into three places containing 1mL of medium (500 cells/mL). The 45 plates were incubated at 37°C, 100% humidity, and 5% CO2 for 7 days. Numbers of colonies were counted. All data were collected and triplicate data were averaged.

**Statistical Analysis**

Significant differences were determined by the Student’s t-test unless otherwise noted. * indicates p<0.05, and ** indicates p<0.01 when compared to vehicle-treated control.

**Bibliography**


Figure 5: The concentrations of Ara-c above 10μM are too high, indicated by the lack of colony growth.

Figure 6: The concentrations in this experiment proved to be too low. There was no statistically significant difference in the ability of the cell types to produce colonies.

Figure 7: The appropriate concentration of Ara-C to use is 0.5μM because at 0.1μM and 1μM, no effects or almost complete inhibition of CFU was observed, respectively. At the 0.5μM concentration, we are able to grow enough colonies to be able to compare and analyze data. $ indicates significant difference from WT.
Catholicism, Human Rights, and Women: A Comparative Study on the Catholic Church in El Salvador and Peru

By Linette Mejia, Senior, Political Science
Faculty Mentor: Dr. Gunes Murat Tezcur

Abstract
This study focuses on the roles of the Catholic Church in both the Peruvian civil war and the El Salvadoran civil war. Through this research I found that three primary factors affect church activity during times of conflict: religious competition, the nature of the insurgency, and the nature of the government. In El Salvador, the Evangelicals and Pentecostals provided religious competition to the Catholic Church. Trying to attract more followers, religious competition impelled the transformation of the Church and its reorientation towards democracy. In Peru, Catholicism was established as the official state religion and therefore, the Catholic Church faced little to no religious competition. With no incentive to change its conservative ways, the transformation of the Peruvian Church was slow. The next factor that affected church activity was the nature of the insurgency. In El Salvador, the guerrilla group FMLN, had a supportive relationship with the peasants and the Church. In Peru, the Maoist guerilla group, the Shining Path, had no type of relationship with the church because of its extreme intolerance of religious belief, and for the most part had a negative relationship with the peasants. The last factor that affected church activity was the nature of the government. The government’s severe brutality against the peasants caused the El Salvadoran Church to align itself with the peasants and against the regime. In contrast, in Peru the Church had a strained, but still present, relationship with the government. In Peru, the peasants were caught in the crossfire between the insurgency and the government. These factors led the Catholic Church in El Salvador to be more active in denouncing human rights violations, whereas in Peru the Catholic Church was more passive.

This paper is a comparative study focusing on the roles of the Catholic Church during the El Salvadoran civil war and the Peruvian civil war. It discusses the impact of the war on women and their roles in these civil wars. Through a systematic investigation of the scholarly literature, this paper discusses factors, namely religious competition, the nature of the insurgency, and the nature of the government, affecting the Church’s willingness and ability to condemn human rights violations perpetrated by the government or insurgency during times of conflict, and its pursuit of social justice. Under what circumstances did the Church finally decide to promote human rights and fight for social justice? What factors impelled the Church to pursue such platforms? The paper suggests that wherever there was religious competition (impelling the transformation of the church and reorienting it towards democracy), clear identification of victims and perpetrators within the conflict, and a supportive relationship between the church and the insurgency, the Church pursued a more active platform in advocating human rights. The paper also briefly explores how women’s involvement in the civil wars and the emergence of women’s organizations were related to the Church’s activism. This study will advance our knowledge on the participation of religious actors, more specifically the Catholic Church, in democratic struggles. It will also further our knowledge on women’s political participation during revolutionary movements.

This organization of the paper is as follows. It first focuses on one country at a time, before comparing the Church’s involvement in both countries as well as women’s participation in the civil wars. Each country section explains the roots of the violent conflict; describes the Church prior to the civil war and discusses its transformation during the war; identifies the factors impelling the change within the Church; explores the relationships between the government, the Church, the people, and the insurgency; briefly mentions how the Church fostered revolutionary activity among the peasants and finally touches upon the impact of the war on women and their revolutionary activity.

The Roots of Conflict in El Salvador
Since the Spanish conquest, economic and political inequality has been prevalent in El Salvador as it has been in most of Latin America. Even after gaining its independence from Spain in the 1820s, this unequal division of land and income has prevailed; the elite, constituting less than 2% of the population, owned more than half the country’s land (Time 1978: 112). The roots to such inequity can be traced back to the country’s colonial history when the Spanish unevenly distributed a high portion of land and income into the hands of a few. During this period, indigenous communities kept losing land used for subsistence farming to those who produced cash crops, especially coffee (Petersen 1997: 25). As farmland transformed into coffee plantations, the number of peasants displaced continued to grow. With limited options the landless and job-hungry peasants were forced to work on the coffee plantations, further strengthening the power of the coffee oligarchy, small groups of coffee growers who dominated all economic and political life in El Salvador. Dependent on its main cash crop, coffee, El Salvador faced a serious economic crisis in the late 1920s when the international coffee market was on a decline (Ibid., 27). Relying on the forced cheap labor from the landless peasants, and fearing further rebellion from them, the oligarchy allied itself with the military. As long as the military ran the government they would maintain the semi-feudal system created by the powerful oligarchy (Kumm 1978: 728). In the midst of the country’s economic and political turmoil, in December of 1931 the military overthrew the
recently elected President Arturo Araujo (reformist) and replaced him with Hernandez Martinez. A month later the people, mostly indigenous, revolted and killed about 100 people. In suppressing the uprising, the government killed an estimated 10,000-30,000 people, mostly indigenous (Petersen 1997: 27). Fearing further oppression, the indigenous dropped their native speech and customs and adopted the way of life of the mestizos (those of mixed Indian and European blood). This massacre, known as la matanza, serves to illustrate the repressive history of El Salvador.

Although coffee continued to remain the country’s leading export, cotton and sugar accounted for a high-rising percent of exports in the 1970s (ibid., 28). As cotton production increased, sharecropping decreased and peasants started losing access to land as landowners started renting to the new class of cotton growers. Although the introduction of cotton and sugar provided permanent or seasonal jobs to peasants, the labor demand was not sufficient to balance out the loss of land suffered by the peasants. In search for land, many peasants migrated to urban areas of the country or crossed into Honduras. Pressured by peasant movements, the Honduran government decreed a land reform in 1969 in which Salvadorans were expelled and sent back to their home country (Berryma 1966: 64). Fearful of the impact such an influx of peasants would have on demographics, the Salvadoran elites launched an attack on Honduras in June. About 130,000 Salvadorans were displaced due to the “Soccer War” between Honduras and El Salvador (ibid., 64), further adding to the increasing land pressures. The El Salvadoran government was unable to satisfy the economic needs of the refugees and “between 1961 and 1975, the landless population in El Salvador had grown from 11.8 to 40.9 percent of rural families” (Williams & Peterson 1996: 877). Even the process of industrialization during the 1960s and 1970s proved insufficient in providing work for the growing number of peasants in urban areas.

The Church in El Salvador Prior to the Civil War

Besides the military government, the Catholic Church in El Salvador was closely affiliated with the coffee oligarchy. Instead of being interpreted into the language of the people the scripture was read in Latin, during his sermons the priest would have his back face the people, and there was little participation from laypeople in affairs outside the church (Petersen 1997: 44). The priesthood had a much stronger presence in the urban areas of the country than in the rural areas (Shortell 2001: 87). There was also a clear division of attention received from the church as the parishes and schools that served the ruling classes received more energy and time from the church than the poorer population did (Williams & Peterson 1996: 873).

The highly unequal land distribution and forced labor upon the peasants was justified by the Church by “its claim that the unequal and political order on earth was divinely ordained and could not be changed by human effort and that earthly problems mattered less than the hope of a better lot in heaven” (Petersen 1997: 44). Retaining close ties to the ruling classes was necessary for the church to maintain its privileged position in society. In exchange for providing doctrinal arguments against new ideologies, the church received freedom to preach and evangelize, government officials attended ecclesial functions, and the state continued to offer favors to church administrators” (ibid.). Encouraging passivity and fatalism, the church taught the people to accept their conditions and look towards a better future in the afterlife.

The Transformation of the Church in El Salvador and the Coming of War

The Catholic Church had always been known for its conservative history, but as El Salvador descended into civil war in the late 1970s and early 1980s, the Church transformed its stance into one fighting for social justice. There are four primary reasons explaining the Church’s transformation: the Second Vatican Council (1962-65), the 1968 Latin American Bishops’ Conference (CELAM) which made way for the use of liberation theology, the leadership of Archbishop Chavez and his implementation of the progressive doctrine espoused by the Second Vatican Council and the Bishops’ Conference, and government repression. Although the Church and state were known for its closely integrated alliance, some of the church started to oppose the authoritarian government and promote human rights and advocating for democracy beginning in the late 1950s (Philpott 2004: 38). Gradually breaking its alliance with the powerful, most of the Church started to cater to the poor and began engaging in pastoral activity directed towards the peasants. During this period Archbishop Luis Chavez y Gonzalez (serving from 1939-1977) began to change the Catholic Church in El Salvador through reform projects and encouraging priests to organize (Williams & Peterson 1996: 873). He also questioned the government maintained semifeudal system created by the coffee elite and encouraged more critical approaches towards change in the government. With the purpose to promote assistance programs and development projects within the archdiocese of San Salvador the Archbishop founded the Diocesan Social Secretariat in 1958 (Petersen 1997: 49). In the early 1960s Catholic nuns and priests started moving out of their traditional covenants and moving into the poverty-stricken communities of the peasants where they shared the struggles and burdens of the people (Berryma 1997: 10). These projects all served as the foundation for the social and pastoral reforms that emerged in the 1970s.

The Second Vatican Council (1962-65) addressed relations between the Roman Catholic Church and the modern world. Its main purpose was to reconsider the position of the church in the modern world. The council considered reform of the liturgy and aimed at bringing the layman closer to church activities, therefore encouraging diversity within the church. Emphasis was also placed upon the pastoral duties of the bishops, encouraging them to step out of their administrative duties and become more directly involved in church affairs. Certain church practices were also changed and the Council opened the door for languages beside Latin to be used during Mass. The 1968 Latin American Bishops’ Conference (CELAM) in Medellin, Colombia provided the most important transnational stimulus for change within the church. With a growing concern for social justice, the church affirmed its responsibility to act on behalf of the poor and weak in this meeting and condemned the present economic and political structures in Latin America. Acknowledging its past role in sustaining these unjust social structures by disproportionately allocating its resources to the middle and upper classes, these meetings advocated for change (Philpott 2004: 38). Liberation theology, a political movement within Catholic theology in which biblical readings were interpreted through the plight of the poor (Drogs 1995: 465), further stimulated modifications within the church. Influenced by Marxism, liberation theology argues that God identifies with the oppressed and that Christianity involves a commitment from both the church and its followers to fight against oppression in hope for social and political changes. Combining the Scripture with the teachings of Karl Marx, liberation theology justified the overthrowing of oppressive social systems causing social and economic inequities.

The conclusions of the Second Vatican Council and the Latin American Bishops’ Conference (CELAM), and liberation theology further propelled church innovations in El Salvador. In response to these meetings, major changes were made within the church including the switch from reading the scripture in Latin to Spanish, embracing modernity, refusing payment for the sacraments, and relying on lay workers to spread the gospel (Kumm 1978: 729). With the support of Archbishop Chavez, nuns and priests started initiating new reform programs and new pastoral methods to address the social inequalities prevalent in the country. To achieve socio-economic justice the church encouraged the continuous development of comunidades eclesiales de base (base or grassroots Christian
communities, otherwise referred to as CEBs) (Peterson 1997: 49). These base Christian communities, small lay-led groups who would meet in the peasants’ homes to read the scripture and engage in biblical reflection, combined religious teaching and spiritual growth with economic development (Berrymann 1997: 10).

Through social action projects the peasants were able to form alliances and networks, paving the way for political mobilization (Williams & Peterson 1996: 874). This work often incorporated the approach of conscientización (consciousness-raising) in which people would use the scripture to reflect on their life experiences and “challenge the notion that it is God’s will that some be rich while others are desperately poor” (Berrymann 1986: 58).

Promoting independent thinking, priests and nuns would urge the peasants to look for the root causes of their present situations and to act on it by forming their own organizations.

While these transformations within the church were taking place, socioeconomic and political crises were having a devastating toll on the lives of many. Within this socio-economic context, the fourth factor to impact the church was the severe brutality imposed by the government on the poor and its steady refusal to implement reforms. The high concentration of land in the hands of a tiny minority spurred various uprisings and calls for change from the peasants that were strongly opposed by the ruling elites. The economic and political crisis of the 1970s and 1980s further increased the rates of unemployment and poverty. Through the guidance and support of the CEBs and through the method of conscientización people began to question the root of the inequality and poverty prevalent in the country and started voicing their discontent towards the existing social structures. A more radical approach was seen to be the way forward to resolve issues stemming from the unjust social system. New political actors, including political parties, peasant federations, student organizations, workers, and Catholic activists, had entered the scene and started mobilizing against the regime (Williams & Peterson 1996: 878). Faced with high activity and growing unrest from popular organizations, the elites feared another uprising and so the military regime decided to step up repression against opposing groups. Guerrilla organizations responded to the escalated repression by kidnapping and assassinating business and political leaders. Unlike the military regime who arbitrarily murdered peasants, the guerrilla organizations clearly defined their targets as the political and economic elite and anyone associated with them. After 1979, the growing violence developed into a full-blown civil war.

**Church**

Through CEBs, peasant training centers, the establishment of institutions, and other various grassroots organizations, the Catholic Church promoted social justice issues during an era of political violence. Although the popularization of the church in El Salvador gained support from within the hierarchy, not every sector of the church agreed with the church’s siding with the poor and many church officials rejected progressive pastoral methods, creating divisions within the church. Monsignor Romero, who had begun as a conservative but whose stance rapidly evolved into one supporting the people, played an eminently role during the conflict in El Salvador. His conversion to a new progressive perspective was motivated by the murder of his good friend, Father Rutilio Grande, in March 1977. Following Father Grande’s death, Monsignor Romero broke away from the government and refused to take part in any government official celebration until the murder was investigated. As more attacks on priests and nuns, parish houses, and members of the laity continued, Monsignor Romero became increasingly outspoken against the crimes and human rights abuses committed by the government (Klaiber 1998: 174). He valiantly denounced the political repression and economic oppression faced by the peasants and urged the church to take on a position in favor of agrarian reform. With the church divided, Monsignor Romero not only entered into growing conflict with the military and oligarchy; but also with the conservative bishops and even the Pope himself. He even began having regular meetings with more progressive and radical priests and the CEBs, and trade unionists and militants from the Revolutionary People’s Bloc (BPR) (Lowy 1996: 105). His Sunday sermons were based on social and political events and provided the standpoint of the poor, reaching hundreds of thousands of listeners throughout the country even through radio. He cited cases of disappearances and torture and soon came to be known as the “archbishop of the people” (Klaiber 1998: 174). Monsignor Romero later published a letter to President Carter, requesting he stop sending military aid to El Salvador. After the assassination of Monsignor Romero in 1979, Monsignor Rivera y Damas became archbishop of San Salvador. Although he was much more cautious and moderate than his predecessor, he still defended the rights of the peasants and continued to denounce military violence. Monsignor Rivera y Damas played more the role of a mediator after the outbreak of war in 1981 (Berrymann 1997: 20).

Fearing the Church’s influence, the regime heightened its oppression of the people and “stepped up its persecution of church leaders, pastoral agents, and members of Christian base communities along with other activists” (ibid., 10).

In addition, pastoral agents were being assassinated and forced into exile. In 1977, the Salvadoran church faced a wave of persecution. That same year Father Rutilio Grande, a Salvadoran Jesuit who was central to the rebel cause, was assassinated as he was driving to mass. Between February and May of that year “ten priests were exiled, eight others were expelled; two were arrested” (Montgomery 1982: 218). Nuns, catechists, and Delegates of the World, too, faced persecution as they were kidnapped, attacked, and assassinated.

In El Salvador, pastoral work usually led to political activism. The formation of CEBs and the centros de formacion campesina (peasant training centers) were some of the most important new developments produced from the Second Vatican Council and the Latin American Bishops’ Conference. Within a six-year span (1970-1976), seven training centers for catechists and delegates of the world (village lay leaders) were established throughout the country (ibid., 212). These centers not only provided instruction on religious traditions and biblical study, but also provided instruction on health, agriculture, and economics (ibid). Father Walter Guerra, who was responsible for these centers for many years, said that “in our villages the catechist is not only a religious leader, but also, at times, a political leader” (ibid.). Through the work of CEBs, people gained a sense of dignity and unity. A more religious and politically aware congregation emerged through the CEBs as they helped facilitate political discourse and raised the level of conscientization. This method of conscientization “led people to feel a need for organizations, to create organizations, and to learn leadership skills within them” (Berrymann 1986: 76).

CEBs heavily contributed to political mobilization: through group reflection and conscientization institutional structures and the existing political system were called into question, often leading to demands for change to a greater democracy; through CEBs and training as catechists and delegates of the world peasants acquired the leadership and organizing skills necessary for political organizing, often producing many revolutionary leaders; and base communities strengthened the collective identity of the people (Peterson 1997: 52). By 1980 thousands of lay leaders and CEB members had become more politically involved through revolutionary organizations, many of them becoming a part of the militia or even becoming revolutionary leaders. Constituted by peasants, students, teachers, and labor unions, the United Popular Action Front (FAPU) was the first mass popular organization that stemmed from CEBs in Latin America.

The combined work of centers and CEBs comprised the base of the popular church as they were the most effective programs and reached the most people in the country. The People’s Church, along with their radical interpretation of the Catholic theology, was crucial to the revolutionary cause in El Salvador. Having instilled in the peasants a belief in the right to an education, the
right to a fair wage, and the right to proper medical attention, the People's Church was the first to organize peasants in Central America (Krauss 1982: 8). The Christian Federation of Salvadoran Peasants (FECCAS), which was headed by the one of the Delegates of the World educated by Father Grande (Lowy 1996: 103), and the Union of Field Workers (U.T.C) worked closely with the People's Church and the CEBs. As repression of the church increased, the U.T.C and FECCAS became further radicalized, opening the doors for cooperation with the Manist-oriented Popular Liberation Forces (FPL) in 1977 (Krauss 1982: 8). For many FPL guerrillas, “liberationist Catholicism” (Krauss 1982: 8) served as a source of inspiration. The guerrilla-controlled territory in Chalatenango had thousands of peasants organized in cooperatives, many of which had first started as CEBs. These cooperatives or “war machines” were where the peasant members cooked, ate, and worked together as well as dugged bomb shelters and trenches for the guerrilla group (ibid., 9). In El Salvador, the Jose Simeon Canas Central American University (UCA) also played an important role in the revolutionary process. Founded by Jesuits, the UCA opened in 1966 “to implant in the children of the oligarchy a socio-political perspective markedly different from that of their parents—to instil in them a sense of social justice” (Montgomery 1982:216).

On the Road to Reconciliation: the Church and the Peace

In November 16, 1989 a group of soldiers entered the Central American University (UCA) and murdered six Jesuit priests, all professors of the university. The death of the Jesuits was the worst act of violence directed against the Church in the war since the assassination of Bishop Romero. With end of the Cold War, international pressure had increased for the government and FMLN to arrive at a negotiated peace. The United Nations had assumed the Church's role of mediator: "The church ceded its mediating function to the United Nations basically because it had already fulfilled its mission, which was to begin the dialogue and move it forward" (Klaimer 1996: 190). In April 1991 the Mexican Agreements were signed, constituting a decisive step on behalf of both parties. To help implement the peace agreements, the National Commission for the Consolidation of Peace (COPAZ) was created. COPAZ was made of members from the government, the FMLN, political parties, Archbishop Damas and Lutheran bishop Medamo Gomez (ibid.). In December 1991, both parties agreed to finally sign a peace agreement and on January 16, 1992 President Alfredo Cristiani and other principal members of the government, and the principal commanders of the FMLN signed the Chapultepec peace accords that put an end to twelve years of civil war.

The armed forces were regulated, the FMLN was demobilized and it soon metamorphosed from a guerrilla army to a political party, the National Guard and the Rural Police - notorious for their human rights abuses were abolished, and a Truth Commission was created to investigate the crimes committed by both parties during the war (ibid., 191). Although peace had been achieved justice had still been denied to the victims of the war because of the amnesty law that was legislated in 1993. Throughout this whole peace process, the church, had played an important role in beginning dialogue about peace between the government and the FMLN. Arturo Rivera y Damas had helped initiate this process and in September 1992, the FMLN requested the presence of Damas as the guerrilla commanders took an oath converting their army into a political party.

Radicalization of Women Springs from the War

Women were heavily politicized as a result of the armed conflict in El Salvador. Based on a patriarchal structure, Salvadoran women were forbidden to work the land and had been limited to household chores, but as the armed conflict grew in El Salvador women began to detach from the cultural and social patterns that had confined them to the private sphere. The outbreak of the war provided women an outlet from patriarchal relations. The desire to have more decision making power in their lives compelled women to join guerrilla groups during this period of time. Following the outbreak of civil war in 1979 women became more involved in the public sphere than ever before, “making up 29.1 percent of FMLN combatants and 35.52 percent of FMLN political personnel during the war” (Hipscher 2001: 138). Although participation within the guerrilla army presented women with opportunities to break down the traditional sexual division of labor, it did not help liberate women. They may have participated in marches and mobilizations, but women still primarily played the role of caregivers; they not only served as combatants and radio operators, but also served as cooks and were held responsible for the supply of food, clothing and ammunition. Most of the time, women in guerrilla groups were also responsible for providing shelter to pregnant guerrilla women and for the care of newborn children (Ibanez 2001: 120). Unfortunately, the revolutionary movement had remained dominated by men, and sexism and patriarchy continued to run rampant within the organization.

Women usually found their way in political-military organizations through the university, professional associations, or a firm commitment to the popular church (ibid.). Instilling a sense of social justice, the Church helped facilitate revolutionary thought and helped women realize that gender equality was vital in achieving social justice. In fact, one of the first organizations to denounce the atrocities committed by the government was church-supported COMADRES (Committee of Mothers and Relatives of Political Prisoners, Disappeared and Assassinated of El Salvador), founded in 1977 under the supervision of the Archdiocese of Monsenor Romero (Stephen 1995: 813). This group of women and mothers had a strong basis within the Christian base communities, and brought with them strong holdings of liberation theology. Together, COMADRES, priests and nuns confronted the government and demanded an end to the regime's oppression. The peasant associations sponsored by the Church, the continuous repression and terrorization of the community, and the universities’ efforts to raise awareness encouraged people to fight back and join armed organizations.

Social and Political Background of Peru

The new military regime that had overthrown the government of Fernando Belaunde Terry (1963-68) and had risen under the command of General Juan Velasco Alvarado (1968-75) was unlike other military regimes in Latin America during that period; the leaders were reformists who had swept out the old oligarchy by implementing new land reforms. Hence, Peru's military regime differed greatly from the oligarchic regime of El Salvador. In addition, educational reforms aiming “to create a more socially critical and nationalist mentality among both teachers and students” (Klaimer 1998: 143) were also implemented. Aiming to gain the loyalty of the lower classes, the military government pushed to conscientize (a concept focused on raising awareness through in-depth understanding of the world) the people. The Catholic Church and the government also shared a good relationship in which the church supported many of the regime's reform proposals, and many priests were even commissioned to act as advisors to the government (ibid.). Unfortunately, not all of Velasco's goals were met, largely because he never won the support of the middle class (ibid., 144). In 1980 the country returned to democracy as Belaunde was reelected president for a second term. But as the country situated itself for the return to democracy, after twelve years of military rule, the Shining Path initiated its campaign of terror to capture power.

The Shining Path: Origins and Implications

The Shining Path, originated in Ayacucho in the 1960s as a regional faction of the Maoist Communist Party of Peru (Klaimer 1992: 136). Ayacucho was one of the poorest and most isolated cities located in the Southern Andes. This colonial province was isolated from the coast and marginalized from main commercial centers (ibid., 136). The reopening of the National University of
San Cristobal of Huamanga (Ayacucho) in May 1959 provided hope for the people of the region as it promised to bring new life to the city. In 1962, Abimael Guzman joined the university as a philosophy professor. Heavily influenced by his trip to China during the cultural revolution of Mao, Guzman soon became “the leader of the Maoist faction among the Marxist groups” (Klairer 1998: 145) and later founded his own party, the Shining Path. Under his charismatic sway, Guzman drew members for his party from his teachers and his own students, who came from lower-middle-class families and “whose cultural horizons were very limited” (ibid., 146) due to their rural lifestyle. He successfully convinced his followers that the only way to change the country was through revolutionary violence.

Ironically, although most of the students in the movement were of lower-middle-class background, many of the founders were middle-class intellectuals (Klairer 1992: 137). In the beginning of its inception, the Shining Path had successfully gained the support of the peasants and urban dwellers, but their appeal soon diminished. Unlike other guerrilla groups in Latin America, the Shining Path not only targeted the wealthy but also victimized the poor and killed anyone suspected of collaborating with the authority. Most of those killed by the movement were peasants in the Andes, natives in the Amazon basin, and urban dwellers in coastal cities (Klairer 1998: 141). Aiming to destroy the state, the Shining Path began by murdering police and confiscating their weapons. They also murdered mayors, judges, elected officials and many civilians, and justified their actions by claiming that “the police and all elected officials represent fascist governments” (Kleiber 1992: 137). The party was also known for village massacres, in which the residents were accused of providing aid to the military or government. Unlike the FMLN in El Salvador who primarily targeted the military, the government, the Shining Path was ambiguous in nature and arbitrary in deciding who to attack.

Another characteristic that made the Shining Path stand out from the rest of the left in Latin America was its extreme intolerance of religion. The Shining Path strongly held to the Maoist belief that religion was the “opium of the people” (Klairer 1998: 146). Unlike the FMLN of El Salvador who had gained support from some churches and clergy members, it was difficult for the Shining Path to gain base among pious Catholics because of its anti-religious ideology. The movement had many of the characteristics of a fundamentalist sect: “It revolved around a cult leader; the followers practiced total submission to the party; they accepted all the dogmas of the party without criticism; finally, they closed off all dialogue with the outside world” (ibid., 147). The party’s fundamentalism is the reason why it did not approach the Catholic church as other guerrilla groups had in the rest of Latin America. Because the conservative clergy of the colonial city, Ayacucho, did not attract university students, the Shining Path found it unnecessary to attack the Catholic Church and its official representatives. But as the movement started moving beyond the borders of Ayacucho, it began to encounter progressive church officials who attracted the youth. These churches and clergy who incorporated new progressive pastoral methods now posed as a barrier to the Shining Path, who wished to achieve control of the hearts and minds of the people. To counteract the progressive sections of the church and its movement, the Shining Path set out to kill all members of that popular movement.

The Catholic Church in Peru: Background

Similar to the church in El Salvador, sections of the church in Peru already exhibited progressive tendencies such as “the assumption of a moral tutorial role on behalf of social justice, decentralization of functions and responsibilities, and an expanding network Church-sponsored social services” (Fleet & Smith 1997: 77). But there were four factors that further stimulated progressive reforms within the church: 1) the Vatican II Council, 2) the Bishops Conference in Medellin which paved the way for the official inquiry into liberation theology, 3) important voices of the progressive church such as Cardinal Juan Landazuri Ricketts and Bishop Jose Dammert, and 4) new Church related organizations such as the National Office of Social Information (ONIS). Similar to Archbishop Chavez of El Salvador, Cardinal Juan Landazuri Ricketts (archbishop of Lima from 1955-90) was a major actor in the transformation of the Peruvian church as he initiated progressive pastoral methods within the church. He proved successful in distancing church leaders from political and socioeconomic elites (Fleet & Smith 1997: 85). During the time he served as president of the Peruvian Episcopal Conference (1956-68), “the Peruvian church transformed from closed and conservative to very open and modern” (Klairer 1998: 150). During this time, more than half of Peru’s forty-one dioceses denounced and protested against abuses committed by the authorities (Romero 1989: 262). Bishop Dammert was another influential voice within the church’s transformation. Finding himself in charge of an old and conservative diocese, he set out to transform the church into one oriented towards the ideals put forward by the Vatican II and Medellin Conference. Bringing about the most radical change in Cajamarca, Bishop Dammert founded the Institute of Rural Education which provided the people the skills needed to organize and form peasant vigilante bands, or rondas. As did it in the Catholic Church of El Salvador, the Vatican II Council and the Latin American Bishops Conference in Medellin helped advance and expand the progressive reforms that were already in place within the Catholic Church of Peru. Since then, the church has identified itself with the struggle of the peasants and many bishops have supported the peasants in their demand for agrarian reform (Klairer 1992: 138).

Peru also served as one of the focal points for the development of liberation theology, a theology that stimulated the need for the peasant and urban poor to organize, which later flourished after the Medellin Conference. A priest of the diocesan clergy, Gustavo Gutierrez, helped promote liberation theology through his famous published
work A Theology of Liberation in 1971 (Klieber 1998: 150). The National Office of Social Information (ONIS), “a clerical pressure group with substantial influence on the bishops and on public opinion generally” (Fleet & Smith 1997: 88), was established in 1968 by socially advanced priests, nuns, and lay Catholics. Greatly influencing the hierarchy with its progressive ideals, ONIS was also a crucial player in the church’s transformation. ONIS churches would be loaned to other popular organizations for meetings and hunger strikes (ibid, 99). ONIS helped radicalize the clergy in that it provided “a channel for the exchange of information” between Peruvian priests and foreign priests who had been assigned to work in Peru (Pena 1995: 74). This communication network was further broadened through its exchanges with lay groups and international organizations. However, like any other church, divisions existed within the Peruvian Catholic church. The Church did not identify with a specific class or party. Some bishops had good relationships with the military, others shared bonds with their legislators. Some bishops supported conservative circles, others leaned more towards liberal elements (Fleet & Smith 1997: 80). But for the most part, the church officials confronted by the Shining Path were committed to the popular movement. The one exception to this case was the conservative clergy in Ayacucho.

The Catholic Church in Peru: Response to the Shining Path

As a result of 1) the adopted social doctrine that emerged from the Vatican II, 2) the Medellin Conference which made way for liberation theology, 3) the new progressive pastoral methods initiated by important voices of the progressive church, and 4) the great influence of church organizations such as ONIS, the Catholic Church was a major obstacle to the violent political vision of the Shining Path. The progressive church played an important role in mobilizing popular opposition to the Maoist movement. Similar to the process in El Salvador, through conscientization the progressive church had created a sense of solidarity among the people of Lima and the rural regions. For those who came into contact with the progressive church “religion came to be associated with the idea of working for development and building fraternal ties among neighbors” (Klieber 1998: 143). This sense of solidification helped the people organize and defend themselves.

Wherever the ideals of the Vatican II and the Medellin Conference were successfully implemented, the Shining Path usually made little headway. In contrast, in areas where the social doctrine of the progressive church had not been implemented, the Shining Path was more successful in spreading its reign of terror. In the conservative and isolated city of Ayacucho, the Shining Path was able to easily spread its influence to the youth. As the clergy remained “very conservative and intellectually closed” (ibid, 151). Furthermore, a majority of the priests who belonged to the diocesan clergy were over the age of sixty and about seven of them lived in other dioceses. The clergy also taught high school, but the students could not relate the strict religious instruction to modern life. The newly reopened National University of San Cristobal of Huamanga (Ayacucho) differed from the colonial clergy in that it provided “modernity, creativity, openness, concern for the real world” (ibid, 152). The university and the radicalized professors attracted the youth as the Marxist staff taught lessons that related to daily social and political problems. Without competition, the university became the only place in the region where students could further their study. The reopening of the new state university had set up the stage for the emergence of the Shining Path and the political radicalization of the students.

During most of the period of the Shining Path’s reign in Ayacucho the church remained silent and avoided taking a firm stance against the party. The church also avoided taking a stance next to the innocent who were accused of terrorist activities. But the church started to slowly change its stance after Pope John Paul II’s visit to Ayacucho in 1985. The pope’s visit inspired the Conference of Religious in Lima to organize a Committee to Support the Emergency Zones which conducted missions in the areas of Ayacucho that were most affected by the violence (ibid, 152). Father Ranly, a main promoter of the missions, “organized workshops, seminars, and retreats to help priests and religious women face the violence with spiritual strength” (ibid, 153). Also, the Archdiocesan Office of Social Action in Ayacucho (OAASA) was reoriented towards new functions: it created a social services department which provided aid and attention to prisoners and victims of the violence. But as the violence intensified the missions had to be suspended, and under Bishop Luis Cipriani’s direction the OAASA had to be disbanded, returning the church in Ayacucho back to its original passive stance.

Contrary to the spread of the Shining Path’s reign in Ayacucho, in Cajamarca the Shining Path made no progress because the peasants were already well organized. Unlike the peasants in Ayacucho, the peasants in Cajamarca were relatively better off as most of them were small landowners. The peasants united in 1976 to form the first rondas, or bands of peasants who were armed by the state against the Shining Path to defend their own localities, in order to protect their herds against bandits (Klieber 2004: 179). The functions of these bands soon expanded to dispute settlement between towns and between families (Klieber 1992: 100). In the 1980s other peasant communities started banding together to protect themselves from the Shining Path violence. The peasant bands were effective in reducing crime and constituted a barrier to the advancement of the Shining Path. It is important to note that there was a Christian component to these rondas as the Church was important to the creation of them. Many of the ronderos were catechists or students who had been trained in the Institute of Rural Education, founded in 1962 by Bishop Jose Dammert. For these peasants, “going out at night to protect their herds was perceived as a civic duty inspired by biblical solidarity” (Klieber 2004: 179). Furthermore, the post-Vatican II trends promoted by Bishop Dammert and fostered by the Institute of Rural Education, helped push the peasant community towards organization and community solidarity.

Puno was similar to Ayacucho in that both cities were extremely poor and located in the Andean region. Puno also had a very large Indian population. But there were two distinct differences between the cities that accounted for the failure of the Shining Path to take hold in Puno: an active and progressive church, and high political and social awareness among the people of the region (Klieber 1992: 99). The city of Puno has a history of numerous campaigns trying to mobilize the peasants. Since the late 1950s the peasants of Puno had gone through a politicization process and were already organized in peasant unions. The agrarian reform under the military in 1969 strengthened the new social consciousness of the peasants and also got rid of many haciendas which were later converted to communal centers. Although these centers were beneficial to the peasants, the reform also provided negative outcomes such as the fact that not all peasant communities had received land from the reform. Seeking to bring the benefits of the reform to everyone, private organizations, NGOs, and even the church started to participate in helping peasants organize. Members of the church created many centers for the formation of pastoral agents, numerous credit cooperatives for peasants in the city, and founded the Institute of Rural Education in Puno (similar to the Institute of Rural Education in Cajamarca) (Klieber 1998: 157). Continuously emphasizing the importance of community and solidarity to achieve social justice, the church helped bring about the formation of the peasants. Unlike the timid church of Ayacucho, the church in Puno interacted with the peasants and responded to the Shining Path through public demonstrations of solidarity such as marches and masses (Klieber 1992: 99). In May 1968, the church of Puno organized a peace march in which the police, military, political actors, and popular organizations were invited to attend a symposium discussing ways to promote peace and to fight against the Shining Path’s reign of terror (Klieber 1998: 159). Besides organizing marches, the church also founded offices solely dedicated to human rights. Through its demonstrations, organizations, and institutions the church in Puno openly defied the Shining Path, unlike the quiet
church of Ayacucho.

Human Rights Engagement: The Church and the People

The war unleashed by Peru’s own Shining Path led to efforts in establishing a space for human rights in the country. By 1984 the Armed Forces in Ayacucho were responsible for more than 5,000 deaths, including 1,000 desaparecidos (disappeared people) (Munoz 1998: 449). Although it was clear who the aggressor was, no action was taken against the Armed Forces regardless of the denunciations made against the Army by government prosecutors. Noticing the lack of response to the prosecutors’ accusations, the people realized that they would have to organize and pressure the government to change the way of the army. This fight for recognition of the desaparecidos and justice for the victims and families is the context in which human rights work emerged and developed in Peru. It is important to note that because men constituted about 89 percent of the disappeared (ibid: 454) most of the participants of these activist groups were women or female relatives of the disappeared.

The eighties witnessed an emergence of peace groups and human rights activism in Peru. The National Association of Family Members of the Detained-Disappeared (ANFASEP) was created in 1983, and then the Committee of Family Members of the Detained-Disappeared (COFADEI) was created in Lima the following year by relatives of the disappeared and detained. At first the church hierarchy in Ayacucho did not side with the victims and refused to support the Episcopal Commission of Social Action (CEAS) because of its progressive leanings, but by 1984 Catholic (progressive) and leftist trends were developing in human rights activism (ibid: 50). In mid-1984 the Commission for the Defense of Human Rights and the Construction of Peace (CODEP) was created by scholars, and political and religious leaders. At the same time, religious intellectuals (affiliated with the Church) came together to form the Peruvian Association of Studies and Research for Peace (APEP) and in July 1985 the association organized a seminar to present their findings. In response to the growing conflict in Peru, several human rights groups decided to create the National Coordinating Committee of Human Rights in 1985. Twenty of the forty-four member groups that constituted the committee were church-related groups. As the principal NGO in defense of human rights in Peru, international human rights groups heavily relied on the committee for the reporting of human rights violations. The first executive secretary of the committee, Pillar Coll, was a devout Christian. Her successor, Rosa María Mujica, was the founder of the Peruvian Institute on Education in Human Rights (IPEDEH) which emphasized the importance of spreading the idea of human rights to students. Shortly after, the movement Peru, Life, and Peace was created in 1989 by a group of priests, intellectuals, and artists. The human rights groups and the peace groups worked together to organize the civilians against the Shining Path’s terrorism and the state’s severe brutality. They gave courses on human rights, organized peace marches, and offered legal assistance to any victim of the police or military (Kleiber 2004: 179). Under President García’s administration an official Peace Commission was created in 1985; Bishop Beuville represented the church (Kleiber 1992: 138). Peace movements also occurred in the universities where most of the leaders were devout Christians.

The End of the Shining Path

Under President Alberto Fujimori (1990-2000), the government had managed to successfully deal with the Shining Path by ceasing to use violence against the population and by instituting a “law of repentance” that encouraged less devoted figures to desert the Maoist movement (Kleiber 1998: 142). Under Fujimori’s management the military was able to capture Abimael Guzman in 1992 which provided a serious decline of morale within the Shining Path. His capture marked the beginning of the end of the Shining Path. Two years after Guzman’s arrest, the level of violence and the number of people reported missing had drastically declined. The church participated in the peace process by defending those wrongfully accused of terrorism. In 1995 the church, along with various human rights groups, denounced an amnesty law pardoning government officials for their war crimes and human rights violations against civilians (Kleiber 1997: 167). Unlike the church in El Salvador, which had played a mediating role between the government and the subversives, the Shining Path’s hostility towards the church made it impossible for the Peruvian church to take on such a role. Instead the church “limited its role to that of consoling and giving moral orientation to the country, or to condemning violence and the abuse of authority by the police or military” (Kleiber 1998: 167).

Salvadoran and Peruvian Churches in Comparative Perspective

The Catholic Church played an extremely important role in the revolutionary struggle in both El Salvador and Peru. Both of these countries represent a case in which a significant sector of the Catholic Church was directly involved in the revolutionary process, but the hierarchy as a whole in Peru has proven less reactionary than the hierarchy in El Salvador. The Salvadoran hierarchy took more progressive positions than the hierarchy in Peru, and the Salvadoran clergy had combined a pastoral line with a political line to a greater extent than in Peru. Through its CEBs, catechists, and priests, the Salvadoran church was more involved in the revolutionary process than the Peruvian church. Although the Church did not support revolutionary violence, the Church did help foster political change through raising awareness of the political situation and providing the peasants with the necessary tools to mobilize against the regime.

What was responsible for the different roles of the Catholic Church in these two countries? For one, while there was religious competition in El Salvador, there was an absence of strong challenges from other religious denominations or secular movements in Peru (Fleet & Smith 1997: 77). During the Salvadoran civil war, the Protestant church started gaining popularity and momentum. The Protestant church started speaking about the conflict and offering ways to relate religious instruction to modern day life. In order to not lose its base, as well as to gain more followers, the Salvadoran Catholic church reoriented itself to more modern and democratic ideals and initiated new progressive pastoral methods. Religious competition had prompted the clergy in El Salvador to promote change within the church. On the other hand, Catholicism had been decreed the state religion in Peru, leaving no room for the practice of other religions. Without religious competition, the Peruvian church had no motive to change its structure or practices. It felt no need to implement the international transformations that resulted from the Vatican II council and the Medellin Conference, and furthermore felt no need to get entangled in political affairs. This was one of the many reasons why the church in Ayacucho decided to not take a stance against the Shining Path in Peru.

Another factor responsible for the different actions taken by the churches in Peru and El Salvador is the nature of the insurgency and its relationship with the church. After reorganizing the church towards the orientations of the Vatican II and the Medellin conference, the Salvadoran church was committed to raising political and social awareness through conscientization, and helping the peasants gain leadership skills through CEBs and centres so that they could start mobilizing. The church in El Salvador even contributed leaders to the top levels of revolutionary organizations. Whereas the FMLN in El Salvador was sympathetic to the religious sentiments of the poor, the Shining Path of Peru was intolerant of religious beliefs. As the progressive church was its competitor, the Shining Path attacked it. In the absence of such competition in El Salvador, the FMLN and the Church had more cooperation. While the FMLN targeted the economic and political elite, the Shining Path’s violence was not very selective and they targeted many groups. The Shining Path’s totalitarian nature made it difficult for the Church to cooperate...
with the Maoist movement. Many sections of the church feared reprisal from the movement and therefore preferred to remain silent. The Shining Path was not a peasant movement and could not be supported to denounce the government of its human rights violations. Because the Salvadoran church had a good relationship with the insurgents and had their support, the church was more confident in denouncing the government and its committed atrocities against civilians.

The nature of the government and its relationship with the church is another factor in explaining the differences between the roles of the church in Peru and the roles of the church in El Salvador. In the case of El Salvador, it was clear that the government victimized large segments of the peasant society. To keep the coffee oligarchy in power, the military government continued to brutally oppress the poor and when the peasants rebelled against the government the military stepped up its violence. With a clear distinction and deteriorated relationship with the government, the church mostly identified who was behind the violence and brutality against the people. The situation in Peru was not as clear as the situation in El Salvador. Like the Shining Path, the government of Peru also inflicted torture and violence on the people, and both the government and the movement targeted peasants. Stuck between the oppressive regime of the Peruvian government and the terrorism of the Shining Path, the church had nowhere to turn to for support, making it harder for the church to denounce the actions of both the Shining Path and the state. The somewhat cooperative yet strained relationship between the church and state further silenced sections of the church in Peru.

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The Effectiveness of School-Based Interventions for Treating Trauma in Schools

By Janet Ocampo, B.S.W. 2013, Social Work
Faculty Mentor: Dr. Deanne Guthrie

Abstract

This is a review of school-based intervention programs for children who have experienced trauma. Eleven studies conducted in schools thoroughly evaluated the effectiveness of treatment incorporating cognitive behavioral therapy, traumafocused cognitive behavioral therapy, cognitive behavioral intervention for trauma in schools, and play therapy. All of the studies found that treatment in schools was effective for treating trauma symptoms and improving behavioral functioning and academic performance. The improvement of academic performance gives evidence that schools can be an ideal setting for mental health intervention while still impacting the school’s education mission. Additional results revealed impacts of school-based treatments while implications for practice, research, and policy further address the importance and need for school-based interventions, which will be addressed in-depth.

Mental health services are a vital need for children. It is estimated that nearly four million children in the United States struggle with a diagnosable mental disorder (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 1999). Not only can mental health issues disrupt a child’s emotional state but other consequences may occur. For example, traumatic events can lead to anxiety problems, depressive symptoms, and dissociation (Jaycox, Stein, Kataoka, Wong, Fink, Escudero, & Zaragoza, 2002; Singer & Anglin, 1995). Trauma also affects school performance, as IQ and reading score decreases, lower grade-point average (GPA), more days of absence, and decreased rates of high school graduation have been associated with exposure to traumatic events (Delaney-Black, Covington, Ondersma, Nordstrom-Klee, Templin, Ager, & Janisse 2002). Unfortunately, less than 20 percent of children needing mental health services receive them (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 2011). Research has pointed to the high number of youth needing mental health services and the few that have consulted a mental health professional. One research study showed that only 16% to 17% ever sought a mental health professional because of their problems (Rones & Hoagwood, 2010). In fact, 75% of children receiving services are receiving them through schools (Farmer, Burns, Phillips, Angold, & Costello, 2003).

Schools have been an ideal environment for children to access mental health services; however, few rigorous programs are ever added to the school setting (Rones & Hoagwood, 2000). Schools are an ideal environment because they offer a familiar setting and provide a safe, supportive, and a local location to eliminate the transportation barriers that many families face (Ehrnolt, Smith, & Yule, 2005; Rolfnes & Idsoe, 2011). It also helps minimize the stigma associated with mental health services from community clinics (Hansel, Ososky, Costa, Kronenberg, & Selby, 2010). Studies have shown an increase in utilization among school-based mental health clinics (Guo, Wade, Keller, 2008). Unfortunately, there are not enough mental health services in schools to help children who are in urgent need of services.

One of the most common factors associated with mental health problems in children is psychological trauma (Van der Kolk, 2005). Approximately, 46% of youth nationwide will experience symptoms of PTSD following a traumatic event and these symptoms include poor concentration and intrusive thoughts, which can interfere with school performance (Jaycox et al., 2002; Saigh & Brenner, 1999; Singer & Anglin, 1995). It is estimated that more than 25% of children and adolescents will be exposed to a traumatic event by the time they are 16 (Costello, Erkanli, Fairbank, & Angold, 2002). Rates of traumatic exposure vary from the type of trauma and sample characteristics but high rates of trauma exposure have been reported across studies. For example, youth who have witnessed violence are as high as 85% and rates of victimization are as high as 66% (Stein, Jaycox, Kataoka, Rhodes, & Vestal, 2003). Prevalence rates of sexual abuse are also high for female youth, which was estimated to be at 40% and 13% among male youth (Bolen & Scannapieco, 1999). Traumatic encounters have been also found to interfere with school performance. The distress that students have after experiencing trauma can cause disorganized behavior or agitation (Kataoka, Langley, Wong, Baweja, & Stein, 2012). This can cause children to have a harder time focusing in school and lead to aggressive behavior in school. In addition, this can cause greater deficits later on in life. Students who have mental health issues that are left untreated put them at an increased risk for continued emotional and behavioral difficulties that can transpire into adulthood (Heim & Nemeroff, 2001). One longitudinal study found that only one-fifth of the abused youth they followed experience successful employment, less than 50% graduated high school, and more than 50% had a psychiatric disorder (McGolin & Widom, 2001).

One study conducted found that manageable forms of stress during childhood usually contribute to the ability to deal with stress and adversity later on in life (Haglund, Nestadt, Cooper, Southwick, & Charney, 2007). Unfortunately, exposure to stress does not always come in manageable portions and everyone has different abilities to handle stressful events. As a result, unmanageable forms of stress can result in seeking a mental health professional. Early intervention can serve as a key to prevent any direct consequences from trauma exposure. The problem is having accessible services that youth can utilize. Just because students are being
referred or identified as needing mental health services, does not mean they will receive those vital services (Hansel et al., 2010). There are barriers that restrict access to mental health services and it can range anywhere from transportation issues, safety issues, and financial issues. However, providing mental health services in school can overcome challenges that youth and their families face and mental health services in schools have also been shown to be effective. Studies conducted in schools have shown a significant decrease in PTSD symptoms of those who were exposed to trauma and received early intervention compared to those in controlled groups who received delayed intervention (Rolfnes & Idsoe, 2011; Kataoka et al., 2012; Kataoka, Jaycox, Wong, Nadeem, Langley, Tang, & Stein, 2011).

Having the option to see mental health professionals during school or after school can be a key factor in diminishing the high rates of students who need, but cannot access, mental health services. Students will not worry about issues they face if they had to see a mental health professional in the community. Schools also normalize the situation as well as provide a familiar environment. However, few schools offer that opportunity to its students. The aim of this paper is to identify the importance of providing mental health services in schools and to examine the effectiveness of school-based intervention programs that reduce symptoms of traumatic exposure.

**Methods**

A systematic search of literature was done in order to identify potential studies for this review. Search engines, academic databases, and reference lists from relevant articles were used to find the best potential studies. The two main databases used were Academic Search Premier and PsychINFO. In the databases, combinations of key terms were used to narrow the search. The following terms were used: school-based, trauma, intervention, counseling, emotional trauma, children, school, therapy, and treatment. In addition, in order for a research study to be included in the review, it had to meet some important characteristics. First, the study conducted had to be done in a school or multiple schools. Second, the students who participated in the study had to have experienced some form of trauma, but the type of trauma or the amount of trauma experienced was not limited in this research. Finally, the study had to be done after the year 2000. The goal was to include more recent studies. Once it was determined that a study would be included, the next step was to complete a table that compared each study across different areas. This included target population, target problems, outcome domain, treatment methods, results, and detailed results. The aim was to explore what type of treatments were offered in schools and to determine what was effective or not effective after treatment was given to students. Another goal was to include around ten studies conducted. Although more than ten studies where found, it was narrowed down to the best possible, nonbias studies that were done.

**Results**

The school-based interventions included in this review went through careful inspection in order to be selected. Table 1 summarizes the outcomes found in each study.

Cognitive Behavioral Therapy (CBT) and Play Therapy were found to be the two most prevalent therapies done in schools. Although both therapies were found to be effective, play therapy was found to be more effective for younger children since their cognitive ability has not yet fully developed. Landreth (2009) describes play therapy as the “bridge to gap between concrete experience and abstract thought” (p. 281).

One reason play therapy has been found to be more effective with younger children is its ability to help children communicate their unique and varied developmental needs (Bratton & Jones, 2005). Most children do not fully develop a capacity for abstract thinking until they reach the age of 11. They are not able to understand complex issues, motives, feelings, or process meaningful verbal communication (Piaget, 1962, as cited in Bratton et al., 2005). Thus, play therapy is a treatment that helps children express their complex issues. For example, death is a complex issue. Although death is universal, it is difficult for children to comprehend; and many do not understand the basic facts of death until they are 8 or 9 years old (Webb, 2010). Thus, play therapy is an appropriate treatment for young children. Toys used in play therapy serve children as a helping device to assist them in discussing difficult and complicated issues. Landreth, Ray, and Bratton (2009) describe it as “toys are like the child’s words, and play is the child’s language” (p. 281).

Cognitive Behavioral Treatment (CBT)

Out of the 11 studies, 7 incorporated CBT treatments. Some CBT treatment techniques include psychoeducation, relaxation, social problem solving, cognitive restructuring, and exposure (Cognitive Behavioral Intervention for Trauma in Schools, n.d.). Studies incorporated CBT treatments or similar treatments including Trauma-Focused Cognitive Behavioral Therapy (TF-CBT), Individual Cognitive Behavioral Treatment, and Cognitive Behavioral Intervention for Trauma in Schools (CBITS). Many of the studies focused on CBT and TF-CBT. All of the studies found CBT, TF-CBT, and CBITS to lead to a significant reduction in PTSD symptoms. Some studies also found an improvement in school performance, including both increased grades and overall GPA, after CBT was implemented (Kataoka et al., 2011; Saltzman, Pynoos, Layne, Steinber, & Aisenberg, 2001).

As mentioned previously, trauma can impact a student’s school performance. The level of severity of PTSD can be linked to level of school performance (Saltzman et al., 2001). One study’s findings suggested that students with severe levels of PTSD had a significantly lower mean GPA than other students whose PTSD levels fell in a moderate range (Saltzman et al., 2001). Students receiving school-based treatments were classified into an early intervention group and a delayed group. Both early and delayed intervention groups did not significantly differ on any of the baseline school performance characteristics. After treatment, it was found that the early intervention group had a higher grade percentage in Language Arts and Math when compared to the delayed intervention group (Kataoka et al., 2011). Another study comparing early invention and delayed intervention found a significant overall GPA improvement (Saltzman et al., 2001). These results infer that the needed mental health services, especially early intervention, gave students an opportunity to focus and concentrate in school which in return improved their grades (Kataoka et al., 2011). However, many school officials shy away from mental health services being provided during school because it takes class time away and students will miss vital class information that can result in lower grades. This was not found to be the case with children receiving treatment during school hours and whose grades were examined pre and post treatment.

Another important aspect to realize is that improvement of grades can permit students to resume or participate in many school activities that are only accessible to students with passing grades (Saltzman et al., 2001). Such activities can include field trips and recreational activities. In addition, participation in such activities has implications for encouraging long-term development of skills and adaptation (Pynoos, Steinber, & Whath, 1995). CBT also had an evident reduction in depressive symptoms in children who had experienced trauma (Hansel et al., 2010; Silverman et al., 2008). Children in an early treatment group who experienced depression and/or PTSD revealed a significant reduction in symptoms when compared to the delayed treatment group (Kataoka et al., 2003). As for one study that showed a slight reduction in depression, it was noted that a possible reason may be linked to ongoing adverse circumstances in the students’ lives and also the fact that treatment did not include a specific depression module (Beck, 1972 as cited in Saltzman et al., 2001). In other words, the treatment given to the students did not focus on reducing depression symptoms.

**TF-CBT**

TF-CBT is a treatment that is similar to CBT. TF-CBT is primarily used to address the biopsychosocial needs of children who have experienced Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) and/or other problems related to traumatic exposures (The National Child Traumatic Stress

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Loyola University Chicago

107
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Study</th>
<th>Target Population</th>
<th>Target Problem(s)</th>
<th>Outcome Domain</th>
<th>Treatment Method</th>
<th>Results</th>
<th>Detailed results</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bratton et al. (2005)</td>
<td>93 play therapy outcome studies, including 36 studies in school setting</td>
<td>Emotional and behavioral disorders</td>
<td>Symptom reduction</td>
<td>Play Therapy</td>
<td>Effective</td>
<td>1. It was found that humanistic approaches, child centered and nondirective, demonstrated a larger treatment effect compared to nonhumanistic approaches. 2. Play therapy was an effective treatment for children’s problems.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hansel et al. (2010)</td>
<td>115 students: mean age of 13.96, 50 Male and 55 Female. Children who have experienced trauma: traumatic loss/bereavement, domestic violence, impaired caregiver, natural disaster, community violence, school violence, sexual assault/rape, sexual abuse etc.</td>
<td>Symptom reduction</td>
<td>TC-CBT Trauma-Focused Cognitive Behavioral Therapy</td>
<td>Mixed</td>
<td></td>
<td>1. PTSD, intrusion, avoidance/numbing and arousal scores were significantly lower when compared to baseline scores. 2. Student’s scores on anxiety, depression, and posttraumatic stress were significantly lower compared to baseline scores. 3. No significant differences were revealed on hyper response, anger, dissociation, overt dissociation, and fantasy dissociation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kataoka et al. (2003)</td>
<td>129 Elementary and middle school students (82 received intervention, 47 Waitlist) : 114 Female, 115 Male; 131 from Mexico, 42 El Salvador, 25 Guatemala, 39 Other</td>
<td>Depression (10%) and PTSD (90%)</td>
<td>Symptom reduction</td>
<td>CBT</td>
<td>Effective</td>
<td>1. Compared to waitlist control group the scores of children who received treatment had significant reduction in symptoms. 2. A linkage between academic and mental health outcomes was found. Academic performance improved for students who received early intervention.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kataoka et al. (2011)</td>
<td>26 middle school students: primarily Mexican-American students; 44 female</td>
<td>PTSD related to violence</td>
<td>Symptom reduction</td>
<td>CBITS</td>
<td>Effective</td>
<td>1. Increased in caregiver empathy, reduced child behavior problems, and decreased parental stress. 2. Students receiving Child-Centered Play Therapy where found to have a significant reduction in emotional and behavioral problems. 3. The studies also found other positive effects in reducing behavior problems, improving self-efficacy, and enhancing the teacher/student relationship. 4. In CCPT children learned to accept themselves, respect themselves, assume responsibility for themselves, be creative and resourceful in confronting problems, self-control, to make choices, and be responsible for their choices.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iolfsnes &amp; Idoe (2011)</td>
<td>19 research studies of school-based intervention targeted at reducing PTSD</td>
<td>PTSD</td>
<td>Symptom reduction</td>
<td>Group, CBT, games, worksheets, imagery exposure</td>
<td>Effective</td>
<td>1. 16 studies used CBT methods for treatment. Studies found a high reduction in PTSD symptoms. 2. When CBT was compared to TF-CBT it was found that more students accessed and completed treatment in the school setting than in the clinical setting despite the fact that both services were free.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saltzman et al. (2001)</td>
<td>812 students surveyed; 26 participated; 11 to 14 years old, 51% boys and 49% girls, 58% Hispanic, 28% African American, 4% Caucasian</td>
<td>Posttraumatic stress symptoms, complicated grief symptoms, depressive symptoms, and GPA related to community violence</td>
<td>Symptom reduction</td>
<td>Trauma/ gist-focu ed group psychotherapy program: CBT</td>
<td>Effective</td>
<td>1. Posttraumatic stress scores significantly decreased from pre to post-treatment 2. Complicated grief symptoms significantly decreased from pre to post-treatment 3. Depressive symptoms had a slight decrease from pre to post-treatment 4. GPA significantly improved from pre to post-treatment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schneider et al. (2013)</td>
<td>Children and Adolescents who have experienced trauma</td>
<td>Trauma</td>
<td>Symptom reduction</td>
<td>TF-CBT, Child/Parent Psychotherapy, Pre-School PTSD treatment, EMDR, Early, Preventive Treatments</td>
<td>Effective</td>
<td>1. Among trauma-focused psychotherapies it was found that TF-CBT and Child Parent Psychotherapy have the strongest empirical support. 2. TF-CBT demonstrated improvement for child and parent PTSD, depression, anxiety, and child behavior problems at 1 and 2 year follow up. 3. TF-CBT showed clear positive therapeutic outcomes for children (ages 3-17) who have experienced sexual abuse and effectiveness for children experiencing trauma such as: community violence/terrorism, interpersonal violence, multiple traumas from foster care placement 4. EMDR demonstrated reducing PTSD symptoms in adults but it was shown to be less effective for children.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Silverman et al. (2008)</td>
<td>21 research studies: school-aged children ranging from 3 to 18 years old</td>
<td>PTSD related to sexual abuse (52%), physically abused (14%), community violence (14%)</td>
<td>Symptom reduction</td>
<td>CBT, non-CBT, Sexual Abuse Interventions, Child Only Treatment, Child + Parent Treatment</td>
<td>Effective</td>
<td>1. Significant differences were found for (in child internalizing and externalizing behavior) the treatment group but not in the control group. 2. Parents involvement enhances treatment effects for symptoms of anxiety and depression, but it did not seem to enhance the effects for reducing PTSD and externalizing behavior problems.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thompson &amp; Shannon (2012)</td>
<td>Children and school setting environment</td>
<td>Symptoms of Trauma from Domestic Violence</td>
<td>Evidence for possible symptom reduction</td>
<td>Group Intervention, Structured Intervention, Bibliotherapy, Play Therapy</td>
<td>Evidence to be Effective</td>
<td>1. Not an experimental design. Primary Objectives: a) Conflict resolution and problem solving b) Identification and expression of feelings c) reduction of self-blame d) safety planning; developing coping strategies, utilization of supportive adults e) increased knowledge, awareness, and attitudinal changes about the use of violence f) enhanced self-concept</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Network, 2012). Studies using TF-CBT revealed that student's overall PTSD, intrusion, avoidance/numbing and arousal scores were significantly lower following treatment when compared to baseline scores (Hansel et al., 2010). Trauma Checklist scores following treatment also revealed that anxiety, depression, and posttraumatic stress were statistically significantly lower compared to baseline scores (Hansel et al., 2010). However, TF-CBT was found not to have any significant impact on hyperresonance, anger, dissociation, overt dissociation, and fantasy dissociation (Hansel et al., 2010).

TF-CBT revealed to be therapeutically effective for children (ages 3-17) who have experienced sexual abuse, exposure to community violence/terrorism, interpersonal violence, and trauma as a result from multiple foster care placements (Schneider, Grill, & Schneider, 2013). Studies also revealed that TF-CBT demonstrated improvements for child and parent PTSD, depression, anxiety, and child behavior problems at 1 and 2 year follow up (Schneider et al., 2013).

Cognitive Behavioral Intervention for Trauma in Schools (CBITS)

CBITS is a school-based, group, individual intervention program that incorporates CBT techniques. It is designed to reduce symptoms of PTSD, depression, behavioral problems and improve grades, attendance, support, and coping skills (Cognitive Behavioral Intervention for Trauma in Schools, n.d.). CBITS is one treatment along with CBT that has shown to be effective in reducing trauma symptoms. Studies conducted using CBITS have revealed improvements in PTSD and depressive symptoms (Stein, Jaycox, Kataoka, Wong, Tu, Elliott, Fink, 2003; Kataoka et. al., 2003). CBITS also showed to have a positive impact on grades and GPA. Students who were exposed to community violence and received CBITS showed improvements in grades compared to students who had delayed treatment (Kataoka et al., 2003). This suggests a linkage between academic and mental health outcomes (Kataoka et al., 2011).

Play Therapy

Adults have the ability to reason logically, organize thoughts, and to maneuver abstract reasoning. During the concrete operational stage, children have the same ability to reason logically and organize thoughts, but lack the ability to maneuver abstract reasoning and can only think about physical objects (Landreth et al., 2009). In essence, play therapy helps children overcome their difficulties with abstract reasoning and helps close the gap between physical experience and abstract thought (Landreth et al., 2009). During Child-Centered Play Therapy (CCPT) children are expressing their feelings and reactions through play and are developing a number of characteristics along the way. Children learn to accept themselves, respect themselves, assume responsibility for themselves, to be creative and resourceful in confronting problems, self-control, self-direction, to make choices, and be responsible for their choices (Landreth, 2002).

Play therapy has shown measurable positive effects occurring in little as two sessions and a range of medium to large beneficial effects occurring under 14 sessions (Bratton et al., 2005). Four play therapy sessions given to at risk fourth, fifth, and sixth grade students who lived in low social economic statuses, achieving below age-grade level, and high crime communities or home showed maintained self-esteem scores and an increase of their internal locus of control while the control group showed a significant decrease in self-esteem (Post, 1999). After 10 sessions of child-centered play therapy, Flahive and Ray (2007) found a significant improvement of internalizing and externalizing problems reported by their teachers and externalizing problem behaviors reported by their parents in fourth and fifth graders. Garza and Bratton (2005) also report a significant decrease in externalizing behavioral problems, reported by parents in a study done for Hispanic elementary students, after 15 CCPT sessions. As Bratton et. al., (2005) mention “play therapy appeared equally effective across age, gender, and presenting issue” (p. 376).

When evaluating self-efficacy and self-esteem in play therapy, significant improvements were found compared to peers who did not participate in play therapy (Fall, Balvanza, Johnson, & Nelson, 1999; Post, 1999). Evidence was also found in reducing aggressive behavior (Schumann, 2005) and reducing teacher-child relationship stress (Ray, 2007). Many early play therapy research in schools did not have an adequate research design which hindered the evidence. However, more experimental designs providing empirical support for play therapy in school settings have demonstrated effectiveness and improvement of important factors shown to impact school performance and lead to academic success (Landreth, 2009).

Parent and Teacher Involvement in Treatment

Parents and teachers play a vital role in the development and growth of a child. Students who have been impacted by trauma are in need of mental health services that have been shown to be effective. Not only can providing mental health services to students help reduce symptoms but involving parents and teachers can positively impact the child (Landreth, 2009). Landreth (2009) notes that including parents and teachers and “training these important adults to interact more effectively with children offers significant preventative and remedial potential” (p. 287). Child Parent Relationship Therapy (CPRT), which is a structured filial therapy and incorporates play therapy principles for teachers and parents to use with their children and students, has shown significant effects (Landreth & Bratton, 2006). Some effects include increased empathy, reduced child behavior problems, and decreased parental stress (Landreth, 2009).

ChildParent Psychotherapy (CPP) is another treatment that involves parents in its therapy. CPP combines cognitive behavioral, attachment-based, and psychodynamic therapies to treat young children who have been exposed to trauma. CPP is designed to help parents positively react to their child’s emotions and behaviors by using play and empathic parent-child communication (Schneider et al., 2013). CPP was found to have a significant decrease in child PTSD and problem behaviors while increasing child attachment security. Also, Mothers who participated in CPP were found to have significant decreases in depression and avoidant PTSD symptoms when compared to the control group (Schneider et al., 2013).

Combined Parent-Child Cognitive Behavioral Therapy (CPC-CBT) found to also have beneficial components. CPC-CBT is a treatment designed for parents who are at risk of or who engage in physical abuse to their traumatized children (Schneider et al., 2013). When pre and post treatment groups were compared, improvements in child PTSD, positive parenting skills, reductions in child behavior problems, and reduction in parental use of physical punishment were found (Schneider et al., 2013).

Discussion

Impact on Mental Health

Overall, the studies addressed in this paper found school-based interventions to be effective for children who have experienced trauma. The main treatments the studies addressed were Play Therapy, CBT, TF-CBT, and CBITS. All treatments were found to be effective for treating some of the outcomes the study aimed to address. Some treatments were found to be effective in treating a number of problems not just posttraumatic symptoms while other studies were found to be effective in treating some symptoms but not all. A study focusing on TF-CBT found treatment to positively impact anxiety, depression, and posttraumatic stress compared to baseline scores. However, when hyperresonance, anger, dissociation, overt dissociation, and fantasy dissociation were compared to baseline scores no significant difference was found (Hansel et al., 2010).

Other studies found a reduction in depression symptoms (Kataoka et. al., 2003; Kataoka et. al., 2012; Silverman et. al., 2008). However, one study focusing on reducing posttraumatic stress symptoms by using CBT, in a trauma/grief-focused group psychotherapy program, found only a slight reduction of depression from pre to post treatment (Saltzman et al., 2001). When looking at the study closely it revealed a couple of reasons for the lack of reduction. First, the treatment procedure did not include a specific depression module to address comorbid depression. Adding
an additional treatment to address depression should be added after the initial PTSD intervention is completed (Shalev, Friedman, Foa, & Keane, 2000). This points out the multiple needs, and possibly multiple types of intervention needed to appropriately help children who have experienced trauma. Second, it is possible the depression could be caused by continuing adverse problems in the students' lives (Beck, 1973 as cited in Saltzman et al., 2001).

Impact on School Performance

Students exposed to trauma have been linked to problems including PTSD, depressive symptoms, dissociation, and anxiety (Kataoka et al., 2011; Jaycox et al., 2002). Violence exposure can even lead to decreased social competence, higher rates of peer rejection, decreased IQ scores and reading ability, lower GPA, increased days of school absence, and decreased rates of high school graduation (Kataoka et al., 2001). Teachers are often reluctant to have students pulled out of class as they will miss instructional time. Also, teachers are under pressure to have student demonstrate academic improvements (Kataoka et al., 2001). The misconception that many educators and school staff members have is that students will miss out on vital class information which can result in lower grades or GPA. However, multiple studies found an increase in grades and overall GPA performance (Saltzman et al., 2001; Kataoka, et al., 2001). Research suggests that treatment improved grades because it gave students an opportunity to focus and concentrate in school (Kataoka, et al., 2001). These findings emphasize that treatment can not only increase mental health outcomes in students who have experienced trauma but also improve school performance. This makes schools a natural place to therefore support trauma treatment.

School-based interventions are important not only because it has shown to be effective in reducing symptoms and increasing GPA but it is also important because it is accessible. Ethnic minority youth are less likely to receive such services. Latinos are one example, since many are without health insurance and language barriers have made it hard for Latinos to receive services (Flores & Vega, 1998). Another vital aspect to include is the fact that youth are more likely to complete services in schools than other clinics even if both services are free (Rolfness & Idsoe, 2011). One example is a randomized study comparing two treatments for youth. It was found that 91% of youth completed a school-based intervention compared to 15% who completed a clinic-based intervention (Jaycox et al., 2010).

Importance of Treatment in Schools

Another important finding in this study was the barriers to addressing school-based mental health services. Although schools have an ideal entry point for improving mental health services for children (Cooper, 2008) there are many significant barriers to receiving appropriate services (Saltzman et al., 2001). For example, in one study, the school district was reluctant to grant permission to survey students regarding sensitive issues (Saltzman et al., 2001). Another barrier was parents granting permission to students to participate in the survey and some parents who granted permission to participate in the survey later denied their child permission to receive mental health services. This may be linked to parents' lack of knowledge of either mental health services or a lack of knowledge of their child's traumatic exposure and/or related difficulties (Saltzman et al., 2001).

School-based treatments have shown to be effective in participation as well as effective in reducing symptoms. Schools are a key environment for students who are in need of mental health services. Schools reduce the number of barriers facing children who need mental health services by providing a safe and normalizing environment, solving transportation issues, and financial issues. However, not many schools offer an opportunity for students to receive mental health services and many students are faced with the hardships of having to cope with posttraumatic symptoms as well as other symptoms. Early reports indicate that 20% to 50% of American children will experience trauma at home, in school, and in their communities (Finkelhor & Dziuba-Leatherman, 1994). A greater number is indicated for children who will be traumatized from witnessing violence (Jaycox, Langley, Stein, Wong, Shamma, Scott, Schonlau, & 2000). Rigorous treatments implemented in schools addressing traumatic exposure can significantly reduce the symptoms of students who have been exposed to trauma and even reduce symptoms of students who have witnessed a traumatic event.

Recommendations

It is evident based on research that having more access to school-based school services has given more access for students to receive mental health services, and has had a positive impact on academic performance and behavioral functioning. Policies allowing more mental health professionals in the school settings can make an impact on a student's overall well-being while still positively impacting the education mission. Training teachers to recognize trauma symptoms can help students who are actively or silently suffering from past or continuing experiences. Teachers can select students who might benefit from treatment and have a mental health professional step in to further screening and in depth analysis of present symptoms and behaviors. Even educating parents about trauma symptoms can help them recognize and take action if they see symptoms in their child. This can also help increase the low amount of students who receive mental health services each year. School social workers or social workers in general, being trained in play therapy methods can also help students express feelings that are often difficult for younger children to express. Schools are an ideal place to provide both mental health services to children and education about mental health concerns to children and their families.

Limitations

While a systematic search of the literature was done, only published peer review articles were found and incorporated to this study. It is possible that other unpublished or dissertation research could have added valuable evidence to this research. When research in school settings were compared to other research in non-school settings, a tremendous difference was found. More research in school settings can add evidence to the necessities or restrictions of school-based treatments. It was unclear if all students receiving treatment had severe trauma symptoms or behavioral problems or if they had mild cases of trauma.

Articles found on treatments for children were more geared toward cognitive behavioral therapy and older, verbal, children with higher cognitive functioning. More studies incorporating play therapy in schools can be vital in determining how much of an impact can play therapy have on children.

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ABSTRACT
This paper explores the current status of primary education in northern Uganda. The focus is on the role of the government and non-governmental organizations (NGO) in providing funding and resources for primary education. Findings show that (1) the central government has decreased its funding of primary schools in northern Uganda; for instance, many primary schools have not received their termly disbursements for the academic year of 2013; and (2) NGOs have played less of a role in supporting primary schools. Why has the central government failed to provide consistent funding for primary schools in northern Uganda? This paper attempts to address this question and makes an argument for increasing government’s support of primary education via the construction of school blocks, funding of education and a greater oversight of schools’ expenditures.

The people of northern Uganda have experienced long periods of conflict in the form of military insurrections that have severely disrupted ways of life. The conflict in the region has had lasting effects that are still impacting families, even in the post-conflict setting. Many families have been impoverished and suffer from disrupted social networks, lack of controlled assets, and loss of personal capabilities. The three stages of life that are most susceptible to influence by poverty are fetal, early childhood and youth. Individuals within these stages who experience poverty are at greater risk of long-term poverty (Bird, 2011).

At the same time, education provides a venue for betterment and resilience by increasing productivity and wage rate of an individual. Individuals who are given access to education are more likely to overcome the impoverishing consequences of conflict in the region. Additionally, education can have other positive effects on the individual such as increased personal identity and social well-being, which also contribute to positive livelihood (Bird, 2011). Given these statements, education is a positive alternative for those living in a region previously affected by conflict.

This Research explores the current status of the relationship between the government, NGOs, and primary schools in northern Uganda. More specifically, it looks at the way in which the central government is supporting primary schools in northern Uganda in the wake of conflict and the problems that have come up along the way. This paper also offers insight regarding the current role of NGOs in supporting primary education in the region. By providing a clearer picture of the problems faced by the primary school system, this research hopes to contribute insight into how the quality of education and access to enrollment can be improved in northern Uganda.

The research tested two hypotheses: 1) that primary education is not a priority of the Ugandan government in terms of funding and allocation of resources; and 2) that there is a growing dependency on non-governmental organizations and foreign donors to directly provide primary education in northern Uganda. The paper draws from primary data collected from 15 different sites across the Gulu, Amuru and Lira districts. Qualitative information was based on stakeholder analysis and experience as well as key informant interviewing.

In regards to the first hypothesis that primary education is not a priority of the Ugandan government in terms of funding and allocation of resources, the research supported this claim, but also suggested that there are problems within the primary education system attributed to primary school administrators; not just government officials.

Primary teachers in northern Uganda are oftentimes underpaid and, at times, not paid consistently. One head teacher reported that several teachers at their institutions had not received payment from the government for three months. Another deputy teacher from a different institution reported a salary of 270,000 Ugandan shillings ($108) per month, which is a relatively little amount when considering the living costs of a single individual in northern Uganda; let alone the costs of supporting a family. Observers must also consider the fact that most teachers are parents with several children to support, and that many educated African family members will feel compelled to take charge of their nephew and nieces’ educations (food, school fees, uniforms). In some cases, the lack of funding from the government for teachers is so severe that several schools rely on the parents of pupils to pay teachers. One head teacher reported that out of 23 teachers employed at their schools, five teachers were being paid solely by parent contributions. It is important to note that the role of a head teacher is to monitor the other teachers, report to school administrators, determine school curriculum, and communicate to the local community.

Primary schools experience a lack of oversight by government officials. In order to make sure
government funds are being used effectively and efficiently, district inspectors, employed by the central government, are supposed to visit a school three times per term. Given that there are three terms in one school year, this means a total of nine school visits throughout the year. Inspection visits are made to determine whether or not school staffs are performing at a satisfactory quality, and also to make sure that government funds are being spent effectively. That is, whether instructors are teaching the correct curriculum, materials are bought according to the correct number of pupils and sanitation levels meet the right standards for the safety of the pupils. According to an interview with a head teacher at a private school who previously worked at a government sponsored school, many inspectors fail to visit schools regularly; sometimes visiting a school only one or two times throughout a single year. While another public school administrator admitted that district officials aren’t being paid enough to implement their jobs effectively, the fact remains that many schools are not being monitored regularly with regards to performance. Therefore, they aren’t being held accountable for the funds they are receiving from the government.

It was also reported that the central government has been unresponsive to efforts made by teachers, particularly requests made by the Uganda National Teacher’s Union (UNATO) for additional support. Similarly, other requests by primary school administrators for additional help from the government have been ignored, leaving primary school administrators such as head teachers, to deal with lack of funding and resources for students and staff.

While evidence suggests that the first hypothesis that primary education has not been a priority of the central government is correct, the research also presented a number of instances in which the actions of school administrators and staff have directly resulted in less than adequate learning circumstances for pupils. Numerous head teachers from primary schools in both the Giulu and Amuru districts described teacher absenteeism as a serious problem facing the school. Teachers are supposed to conduct around eight classes per day. However, some may choose to teach two or three classes throughout the day and leave the school whenever they choose. These practices continue due to a lack of rules and disciplinary guidelines, in addition to failing to monitor and implement the rules and guidelines that are in place.

Additionally, many teachers fail to adhere to productive academic curriculum. As two head teachers mentioned during the interviews, there has been efforts to focus on music, dance, sports and drama at schools in different parts of Gulu district. This presents problems in the academic performance of the pupils because there is not enough time being spent teaching academic subjects such as math, reading and science. As a result, many pupils receive low marks on end-of-the-year exams. The research suggests that teachers focus on these activities because they are easy to implement while many among the teachers may not be well qualified or willing to spend extended amounts of time teaching traditional academic curricula such as math, reading and science.

In regards to the second hypothesis, that there is a growing dependency of the Ugandan government on non-governmental organizations and foreign donors to provide primary education in northern Uganda, the research did not support this - instead, the research found that the role of NGOs and foreign donors has decreased. In various interviews with primary school administrators, it was found that support from NGOs and foreign donors, in the form of monetary funding and resources such as building blocks and school supplies, decreased. The research found that this decrease was a result of the end of the military insurgency that took place across northern Uganda from 1986 to 2007. Conversely, after the insurgency was no longer present in northern Uganda and moved West, NGOs began to leave the country of Uganda.

The research revealed relatively little support from NGOs and foreign donors in redevelopment efforts following the conflict. As families moved back to their home villages in the north once they felt it was safe, many schools had to be completely rebuilt and restructured as a common consequence of the conflict was complete destruction of school facilities.

In regards to foreign donors providing financial support of the central government, there has also been a decrease. This can be attributed to mismanagement of funds and corruption within the government that has lead foreign donors to withdraw funding as recent as December, 2012. This decrease in foreign donors has had an impact on the primary education system-as government officials have reportedly told school administrators that there is a shortage of funds in response to requests for additional monetary support from the government.

Although the presence of NGO support for primary schools in northern Uganda has decreased, there are several NGOs that are still actively providing assistance in certain schools in the target regions such as sponsoring pupils, providing teacher workshops and school materials.

This research has highlighted the following points as priorities to be considered:

- Any further support for primary schools in northern Uganda in the form of funding and allocation of resources should be supplemented with thorough rules and guidelines and provide adequate oversight for transparency.

- Non-governmental organization stakeholders must consider the fact that many of the consequences of regional conflict such as poverty, the destruction of local economies and the destruction of social networks are sustained even after conflict has shifted away from the original location. Similarly, they must consider that regional conflict oftentimes creates informal local economies that are also disrupted once conflict has ceased. NGOs must also consider that removing their services in the wake of conflict can have negative consequences in the face of redevelopment.

- Primary school administrators and staff such as teachers must remember that the education and, as a result, the potential for economic livelihood of their pupils are directly affected by their efforts as educators.

**Education as a Tool for Social Betterment**

Education is a vital tool for social and socioeconomic development. When implemented effectively, it has the power to increase labor productivity and the salary of an individual. Education can also increase a person’s sense of cultural identity and human capabilities. It also allows for an individual to make the best of their assets and handle difficult situations more easily. This is important to consider for northern Uganda considering the history of conflict in the region. Now, amidst redevelopment, education is an essential tool that must be implemented effectively, efficiently and thoroughly. Following a period of conflict, individuals equipped with education are more likely to find livelihood than those individuals without education because those with education will be able to better adjust to social dislocation.

**Hypotheses, Methodology and Site Selection**

Hypothesis 1:
Primary education is not a priority of the Ugandan government in terms of funding and allocation of resources

Hypothesis 2:
There is a growing dependency on non-governmental organizations and foreign donors to directly provide primary education in northern Uganda.
Methodology

Prior to conducting fieldwork, a literature review was done through U.S. academic libraries. Hypotheses were discussed and agreed upon by the principal investigator and the associated mentor. Qualitative research was gathered through stakeholder analysis, consultations and key informant interviews. Prior to conducting consultations and key informant interviews, the PI explained the purpose of the research.

Qualitative methods were used for this research given the dynamic qualities of the topic. They were also used for this topic because certain panel data such as enrollment statistics and government disbursements for particular schools in northern Uganda were unavailable and was useful in exploring changes in the context of particular events such as public policies, social provisions, cultural occurrences and social relationships. This allowed for the PI to analyze the status of primary education during and post-conflict.

Site Selection

The fieldwork of this research was conducted in three districts of northern Uganda: Gulu, Lira and Amuru. Lira and Amuru were chosen to provide a rural alternative to the urban setting of Gulu. All three regions have been significantly affected by conflict between the Lord’s Resistance Army (LRA) led by Joseph Kony and the Ugandan government. During the conflict, many primary schools in the rural outskirts were evacuated - several schools visited in the Lira and Amuru districts have altered drastically since the LRA left the country in 2007. Enrollment has increased in rural schools now that families feel it is safe to move back to their villages.

Brief History of Conflict in Northern Uganda

Northern Uganda has suffered from violence and conflict for over 40 years, spanning from its independence in 1962 to the departing of the LRA in 2007. The northern region of Uganda has experienced relative peace since the LRA have left, but the damages left by the insurgencies are still being felt (Doom and Vlassenroot, 1999).

Many attribute the root of the northern Ugandan conflict to the ethnolinguistic divisions of Uganda as well as the country’s colonial past (Bird, 2011).

After becoming a British protectorate in 1894, the country was ruled in a ‘divide and rule’ manner - the British favored different ethnic groups for different reasons. Southern Ugandans were favored for agricultural and civil service positions. In this way, southern Ugandans developed strong connections to Uganda’s economic system. Whereas, in the north, which was dominated by the Acholi ethnic group, they were favored for militaristic use. This distinction led to a strong division and economic marginalization of northern Ugandans, particularly the Acholi people.

The differences between northerners and southerners were exacerbated with regards to ethnicity, economic specialization and region, which lead to the creation of political parties. These opposing political parties were then faced with a power vacuum following Uganda’s independence in 1962. This led to fragmentation of Ugandan politics with political actors holding substantial influence using the fragmentation and differences to their own advantage such as Obote (1962-71), Amin (1971-9), Obote II (1980-6), Obello (1986) and Museveni (1986 onwards), all using ethnic, regional, economic and even religious divisions to maintain their power as political leaders (Allen, 2006; Doom and Vlassenroot, 1999; Dolan, 2005).

It was against the backdrop of these fragmented political identities that Museveni’s National Resistance Movement (NRM) took over the Ugandan government in 1986. Along with Museveni’s rise to power came the further marginalization of the Acholi people in the North. For example, the Ugandan military, which was previously made up of 30-40 percent Acholi, were completely replaced by rebel forces made up of mostly southerners. Efforts began by remaining political factions who opposed Museveni’s authority to regroup and garner support, forming the Uganda People’s Democratic Army (UPDA). These groups primarily consisted of the remaining Ugandan National Liberation Front (UNLF), former LRA Amin troops, Acholi politicians and others who were opposed to Museveni. The UPDA did gain some support in the north as it was viewed as a potential means of regaining power from Museveni.

In another response to Museveni’s rise to power was the mobilization of Alice Akenes’ Holy Spirit Movement (HSM). Alice Akenes, a warrior priestess well-known throughout northern Uganda, led an insurgency in the north in an attempt to overthrow Museveni’s rule in August 1986. Museveni’s forces ultimately defeated the HSM forces and later, the peace agreement between Museveni’s government and the UPDA in 1988 resulted in a power vacuum by which Joseph Kony was able to exert his power with the Lord’s Resistance Army. The LRA adopted a similar anti-NRM stance against Museveni’s government but it was different in its violent and terrorizing tactics such as killing, maiming, rape, looting, theft, burning of homes and the abduction of civilians. The group is most widely known for its abduction of children and its practice of forcing them to become soldiers. The LRA conducted many attacks in northern Uganda, including vicious attacks on the Acholi people as a means of control, manipulation and forced compliance (Doom and Vlassenroot, 1999).

There have been numerous military and non-military attempts to end the violence in northern Uganda, most of which have failed up until recently. Following the peace negotiations between the LRA and Ugandan government led by Museveni, the Cessation of Hostilities Agreement was signed by both parties in August 2006 and by the end of 2007, the LRA was out of Uganda. Nevertheless, the LRA has remained active in their violent techniques but are now positioned in eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC). It still poses a serious threat to civilians.

Conclusion

The research supports first hypothesis, that primary education is not a priority of the Ugandan government in terms of funding and allocation of resources. Much of the data collected suggests that primary school teachers are underpaid or, in some cases, not paid consistently.

There is a lack of oversight by government officials that may result also from the same problem of lack of resources and fewer governmental incentives in terms of salaries for District officials. They, too, end up performing poorly like the teachers.

The government has been relatively unresponsive to UNATO requests for further benefits, namely, the raising of salaries. Similarly, the government seems not to value and prioritize education, and consequently, to show respect, toward the teaching profession.

As a result of overall underfunding of the education system, teachers as well as pupils often must spend a day of work hungry. I also observed a lack of structural assistance mechanisms to meet the needs of both teachers and special pupils who have been involved in LRA activities or were previously displaced.

The research also found evidence to suggest that many of the issues with the quality of primary schools are also due to primary school administrators and staff. Several schools experience teacher absenteeism in which teachers do not come to school. Teachers reportedly teach when they choose to, which can be as many as 2-3 classes a day in comparison to a full day of 8 classes.

Several schools have also advocated for an increase in time spent on teaching music, dance, drama and sports instead of traditional academic curricula such as math, reading and science. This, in turn, partially reflects low overall exam scores at the end of the academic school year when students are tested on traditional academic skills.

The job application process at several public schools does not accurately reflect the skill level needed to teach the respective curriculum. As a result, many students are not being taught the correct materials required for them to attain high marks on final examinations. In some cases, teachers who are unqualified for a position may receive a position anyway.

School administrators have reportedly lied about the number of pupils enrolled at their
institution in order to receive larger disbursements from the government. Since there is a lack of rules and procedures overseeing the spending of these disbursements, this form of corruption has intensified the negative relationship between the government and school administrators. In some instances, administrators fail to produce the correct receipts for expenditures, thereby creating a lack of transparency and overall trust in the administrative bodies presiding over primary schools in northern Uganda.

In relation to the second hypothesis that there is a growing dependency of the Ugandan government on non-governmental organizations and foreign donors to provide primary education in northern Uganda, the research did not support it. Several schools experienced a decrease or complete end to funding from NGOs following the end of the insurgencies in northern Uganda. This provides evidence to support arguments that national governments benefit from conflict within their states as sources of external funding decrease and governments are expected to provide funding instead.

Several schools experienced a decrease or complete end to allocation of resources such as books, materials, uniforms, and sporting goods following the end of the insurgencies in northern Uganda. Similarly, reports revealed a decrease in foreign monetary donations following the alleged mismanagement and embezzlement of large amounts of funds involving the Office of the Prime Minister of Uganda.

References
Loyola University Chicago, a private university founded in 1870 as St. Ignatius College, is one of the nation’s largest Jesuit, Catholic Universities and the only one located in Chicago.

Loyola University Chicago is comprised of four campuses: Lake Shore (LSC), Water Tower (WTC), Health Sciences (HSC), and the John Felice Rome Center in Italy, and is home to ten schools and colleges: Quinlan School of Business, Marcella Niehoff School of Nursing, Stritch School of Medicine, College of Arts and Sciences, School of Communication, School of Continuing and Professional Studies, School of Education, School of Law, School of Social Work, and Graduate School. Loyola also features course locations in Beijing, China; Saigon-Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam; Vernon Hills, Illinois (Cuneo Mansion and Gardens); and a Retreat and Ecology Campus in Woodstock, Illinois.

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