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Sonoma State University NoGAP/McNair Scholars Research Journal

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The articles contained in this journal are unique projects created by participants in NoGAP (National Graduate-School Achievement Program), SSU's TRiO grant funded McNair Scholars program. The main purpose of NoGAP is to assist historically underrepresented students in preparing for and gaining acceptance to graduate schools. This goal is achieved both by improving the quality of all aspects of the student's applications and through providing students with research opportunities under the guidance of faculty mentors, the results of which are found in this journal.

Eligible SSU students must be low-income/first-generation students of any ethnicity, or students belonging to one of four ethnic minority groups underrepresented in American graduate school: African-American, Hispanic, American Indian/Alaskan Native, or Pacific Islander. In addition, McNair Scholars must be motivated and high achieving students. The students who participate in NoGAP come from the School of Science and Technology, the School of Social Science, and the School of Arts and Humanities, representing many of the majors offered at Sonoma State University.

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To the Reader:

The goal of every federal McNair Scholars program is to place historically underrepresented students in graduate schools. SSU's McNair Scholars program, which we call NoGAP (for National Graduate School Achievement Program), shares this goal. Through workshops, individual advising, faculty mentoring, and research experiences, we strive to assist students in getting accepted into graduate school programs and to prepare them in ways that will make them more successful once they get there.

Our goal is to help students not just get accepted to in a graduate program, but get accepted into the right program based on their interests as scholars. This begins prior to the application process, as the scholars are developing their interests and gaining the kinds of experiences that graduate programs like applicants to have, including research internships and conference presentations. This process continues as we investigate graduate school programs, helping the scholars select multiple programs where they are likely to fit and working with them on their Statement of Purpose and other application materials. Over the past several years, about 70% of our scholars have gained acceptance to graduate school programs (about 20% of all bachelor's degree recipients who enter graduate programs nationally), with over 40% gaining acceptance to doctoral programs (about 2% of all bachelor's degree recipients who enter doctoral programs nationally). This past year, all thirteen SSU McNair Scholars who applied to graduate programs got accepted, and most received some form of funding, even at the master's degree level. We are confident that we will continue to see positive results in the future.

In order to gain valuable research experience and refine their scholarly interests, all McNair Scholars conduct a research project during each year of participation in the program under the guidance of an SSU faculty mentor. We are very proud of the research work that comprises the content of this journal. When you flip to the Table of Contents, you will see that this work covers a wide spectrum of majors offered at SSU. Our McNair Scholars have produced high quality research in biology, political science, English, and psychology, and sociology, among other disciplines. We would like to extend our gratitude to faculty who have generously provided their time, knowledge, and enthusiasm to developing the projects found in this journal.

All of the work in this journal has been presented at our annual symposium, some has been presented at professional academic conferences, and some will be presented in the near future. As you look through the research articles, you will see that this work has great potential to contribute to knowledge in the scholars' academic disciplines. As they have worked on these projects, the scholars have become increasingly aware of what it takes to become a member of the scholarly community. And, as we are sure you will agree, they are ready to go on to graduate school. We are also sure you would like to join us in wishing them good luck and in congratulating them on a job well done!

-Daniel Smith, NoGAP Program Director

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Violence and Marianismo in Evolving Chicano Film

Beatriz Alcazar, Sociology

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I was in middle school when the *Selena* movie came out in 1997, and I will never forget the impact it had on my life. The film is based on the true story of Selena Quintanilla, a Texas born Mexican singer who rose from being in a small family band to having chart-topping albums on the Latin music charts. Latina girls and young women of different nationalities living all over the U.S. identified with Selena (Baez 2007). I knew of her prior to the release of the film and appreciated her music, but it wasn't until after I saw the movie that I became a Selena fan. My sisters and I wanted to be just like her when we grew up. We were mesmerized by how successful and independent Selena was. She was an amazing dancer with a great voice and dressed in a way that we had never seen before. Her performance transcended the normative gender boundaries of Mexican-origin genres in the United States (Vargas 2007). It was like nothing we had seen before. She was able to break away from what we thought females were supposed to act and look like. She resisted the colonial beauty standards of both Mexico and the Anglo industry and was proud to have dark hair, big hips and full lips (Aparicio 2003).

In the film, Selena struggled in forming her identity and sense of self. Everyone around her defined being Mexican as having the ability to speak Spanish, and Selena didn't feel that her sense of identity should be defined by her ability to speak a language. My sisters and I related to her, as we were engaged in our own cultural battle with our immigrant parents and our Anglo peers. Our family frowned upon us speaking English at home and speaking Spanish at school was discouraged. We didn't know what to make of the confusion or when it was appropriate to act a certain way. Selena made it okay for us to maintain and even embrace our cultural roots while still being American. The moves and style Selena found in freestyle would empower her enough to wittingly ask her visibly

shocked Spanish-speaking Matamoros audience, “Am I bothering you?” (Vargas 2007). She was our role model.

This was reflected in our day-to-day lives and in the way that we presented ourselves to others. Our rooms were covered in Selena posters and we quickly learned the words to all her songs. We would watch the movie at least twice a day while singing along to one of her hits, “Bidi Bidi Boom Boom,” and shaking our hips. My sisters and I all started taking pride in our cultural roots and we no longer felt shame or embarrassment in being Mexican.

As I entered high school I started noticing that all the other Mexican American students were watching different films. “Mi Vida Loca” soon replaced Selena and became very popular among my adolescent peers. This film told the story of two former best friends who had children by the same male and were engaged in a violent battle with each other. The film emphasized violence, female submissiveness and gang involvement. Around this time the clothing trend among my peers shifted and shirts that displayed pictures of nude girls sitting on the hoods of low rider cars was common attire for females in my suburban neighborhood. Having a boyfriend who was a gang member or in jail was normal, even desirable.

We took in the role that we were shown and believed that we were supposed to act the way that females in Chicano film acted. Fights among females became a normal activity and a few even got “Mi Vida Loca” tattooed on them. Others married men who were gang affiliated, abusive and controlling. They have stayed with their partner as they felt that they needed to be a “down” partner who is loyal, regardless of the obstacles placed before them.

Mi Vida Loca had such a powerful effect on Chicanas around me, yet this fictional narrative has little to do with the life and culture of Chicanas (Fregoso 1995). Rosa Linda Fregoso suggests that the film is an inaccurate portrayal of Chicana culture, as female gang members themselves have critiqued the film. The biggest critique was that home girls (female gang members) don’t get pregnant from the same guy and have more respect than that. If this film, consisting of inaccurate portrayals of Chicana lifestyle, had such a strong impact on those around me, then other Chicano film may have a similar affect. For this reason I have chosen to proceed with a sociological study in order to answer the following question: “Does the

portrayal of violence and Marianismo in evolving Chicano Film help contribute to the normalization of violence in popular culture among Mexican American females?"

Before discussing violence and Marianismo, a female gender role, in Chicano film, it is necessary to understand the historical significance of Chicano film's evolutionary process. The emergence of the phenomenon loosely referred to as 'Chicano cinema' came about as a result of the Chicano Civil Rights Movement and the desire to right the wrongs of negative, stereotypical images of Chicanas/os that had until then proliferated in Hollywood (Pittman 2010). Chicano film has been constantly evolving since the genre began and has been categorized into three waves (Charles 2002). The three waves represent the evolution of Chicano film and reflect struggles over issues like authority, authenticity and representation (Nueva 1996). The first wave consists of radical documentaries that were filmed between 1969 and 1976. This initial wave of film served as an alternative film practice that developed within the overall project of the Chicano Civil Rights Movement (Noriega 1991). Filmmakers were able to capture the struggles and social protests in documentaries. The documentaries attempted to mediate Mexican-American demands for assimilation and the rights of citizenship, and resituate them around other issues related to national politics, juvenile delinquency, and changes in class-based gender roles (Noriega 1991). The second wave of film began around 1977. New Latin American Cinema had entered into a crisis, brought on by military coups and repression, crippling international debt, and the limits of social transformation in the face of the mass media (Noriega 1995). The financial side of this crisis resulted in the exposure to outside funding sources and brought softening ideologies lacking the radical element that it once possessed. The final wave of film first appeared in 1980 and includes modern day Chicano feature film. The key criteria for defining a Chicano feature film no longer revolves around the film's nature as an independent film rather than one produced with the involvement of the studios or mainstream production companies (Keller 1993). The mainstream involvement resulted in a strong Hollywood influence and presence in the films.

The Hollywood influenced films that evolved during the third wave of Chicano cinema were seen as part of a new phenomenon

called “Hispanic Hollywood.” The Hispanic directors, producers and writers who made these films had escaped the “cinema barrio” of their alternative production companies and entered the mainstream, bringing positive, yet popular images with them (Noriega, *Chicano Cinema*). “Hollywood Hispanic” films were combining Hispanic expertise and often control with Hollywood production values and distribution (Keller 1993). These films are important because they are the products of an increasingly large and active Latino presence in Hollywood and reflect an expansion on films focused on Latinos, produced by Latinos, and available to Latinos and other general audiences (Delgado 1995). The aforementioned films tended to involve non-professional actors/members of the Chicano community, and consultation with said community, as a way of overcoming the ‘non-Chicano’ ‘by’ in terms of direction and filmmaking teams as a whole (Pitman 2010).

The images were opposite of what these mainstream periodicals claimed. Latinas were, and continue to be, under represented in Hollywood films, and when they are represented they are portraying stereotypical Latina roles (Long 2002). Stereotypical behavioral characteristics assigned to Latinas include “addictively romantic, sensual, sexual, and even exotically dangerous”(Mastro & Behm-Morawitz, 2005, p. 125), self-sacrificing, dependent, powerless, sexually naive, childlike, pampered, and irresponsible (Arredondo, 1991). Others stereotypes include: “they all make good domestics,” mispronounce words, speak Spanish, are Catholic, are impulsive dancers, and are known for “cooking up a spicy storm” (Cofer, 2005, p. 247)—not only in a culinary sense (Merskin 2007).

Many argued that showing Latino/as in Hollywood feature films, even if their appearance is rare, would help eliminate these negative stereotypes among the population. This, however, is not the case, as Latinos are generally being homogenized to inaccurately represent negative stereotypes. An important consequence is the stigmatization of people of colour at all levels from the institutional and governmental levels to micro worlds such as that of cinematic storytelling (Beeman 2007). According to Charles Ramirez, there are four main stereotypes that are depicted in films, which are titled Racial, National, Narrative and Behavioral. The stereotypes conceive and represent the Latino male as the other in terms of their culture

and ‘moral, mental, and physical inheritance’ (Roediger 2006). The racial stereotype usually shows a darker skinned individual that is outside of the white Anglo norm. The National stereotype identifies Latinos as others. They are shown as members of other groups to be portrayed as having an accent, as less articulate, and as less professionally and appropriately dressed (Mastro & Behm-Morawitz, 2005; Mastro & Greenberg, 2000). The Narrative stereotype says that this “other” needs to be eliminated because they are a threat. Finally, he discussed the Behavioral stereotype. This role depicts Latinos as despicable, sneaky, violent, unstable and alcoholic individuals that understand the difference between right and wrong but still choose to act in an immoral way. They are more often represented in stories related to crime and participate in a disproportionate amount of conversations about crime and violence on primetime programming (Mastro & Behm-Morawitz, 2005; Mastro & Greenberg, 2000). These stereotypes were found specifically in Hollywood feature films, which tend to have audiences larger than other films. Stereotypes can have an affect on how other ethnic groups identify and label the Latino community.

Latino students are generally able to identify stereotypes in mainstream media and are able to categorize them as incorrect and negative (Rivadeneira 2006). Students, however, reported that they felt Spanish-speaking actors in Spanish and Chicano film played roles that were realistic and accurate. This can be an issue because “as Spanish language and Latino oriented media increasingly target Latinos, they become central to the development and conceptualization of Latinidad, a common Latino/a Identity. In addressing them as a group, the media initiatives certainly help shape and refurbish this common identity” (Davila 2000). Chicano films that show representation of Latinas in popular film can make a lasting impression on adolescents and thus are extremely powerful.

This is potentially dangerous, as Hollywood films and advertisement in mainstream media have been objectifying females for decades. A content analysis of 1988 magazines revealed that about one of two advertisements featured women as sex objects (Roselli 2008). They also portray women as victims in just under 10% of the ads. Media messages consistently affirm traditional gender roles and reflect confrontations between multiple demands and interests of

social actors. It is argued that these messages and issues are socially constructed and, therefore, can be changed by movements for female equality (Hernan 1997).

Female equality is yet to be present in Chicano film and the depiction of machismo and male dominance continues to be an issue. Machismo is often equated with being a masculine cultural trait of hyper masculinity. This male gender role can refer to a set of beliefs about how males should act (Perilla 1994). It can be categorized either by positive or negative traits. Machismo, on a positive note, emphasizes self-respect and responsibility for protecting and providing for the family. Aside from offering protection to his wife and family, he stands up to give a woman his seat on the subway, carries heavy packages and always opens the door for a lady. Machismo can be centered on positive traits such as respect, honor, bravery, and a deep sense of family commitment (Kulis et al., 2010).

This value can become negative when it leads to possessive demands and expectations that the man has absolute authority (Hanser 2001). This dark side of machismo is visible in certain behaviors and mind-sets that impact our intimate relationships most negatively. Stereotypically, it commonly is associated with negative characteristics such as perpetration of and tolerance for domestic violence, abandonment of children, infidelity, alcoholism, and aggressive risk-taking behavior (Goldwert 1983). There are negative traits within Machismo that contribute to this tolerance of domestic violence and they include aggressiveness, alcohol consumption and sexual dominance (Perilla 1994).

Marianismo is the cultural counterpart of Machismo and has traditionally been seen as a source of strength (Marsiglia & Holleran, 1999). The underlying concept is that women are spiritually superior to men and therefore can endure all suffering inflicted by men (Hollernan 1999). The term is derived from the Virgin Mary whose attributes of self-sacrifice, abnegation, passivity, and sexual purity have been traditionally equated with the characteristics of being 'a good women' (Aldarondo et al 2002). Marianismo, like Machismo, can also be seen in both a positive and negative light, characterized by self-sacrifice, collectivism, family devotion, and the nurturing of others. This is often times interpreted to represent a female's role within the home, resulting in the expectation that a female's role

Violence and Marianismo

is taking care of her family. The negative side of Marianismo can be seen when Marianismo encourages dependency, passiveness, and submissiveness (Kulis et al., 2003; Stevens, 1973).

Because the concept of Marianismo considers women morally and spiritually superior to men, they are supposed to be capable of overcoming any pain and abuse. This common aspect could serve to explain the domestic violence against women that occurs within Latin American cultures (Hanser 2001). For some people domestic violence directed toward women has almost become an acceptable cultural norm (Perilla 1999). For this reason, many Latina women may minimize domestic violence and may not consider it a problem that requires them to seek help (Saltijeral et al., 1999). This is reflected in a study showing that 21.2% of Latina women are physically assaulted by their partner or spouse (Patricia 2002). This number does not reflect those that experience other forms of domestic violence or those that do not report the incident.

Even though Latinas may minimize domestic violence and the causes of this treatment, Marianismo and Machismo play a significant role in the construction of violence. Machismo emphasizes male dominance and control while Marianismo creates a sense of dependency and inferiority among Latinas. Perceived dependence is expected to influence marital and domestic violence (Show). Domestic violence and Intimate Partner Violence are not limited to physical abuse but also includes any threatening behavior that seeks to control and exercise power over another and can include, psychological abuse, sexual abuse, verbal abuse, physical abuse, financial abuse or threats of abuse or violence to children and/or pets (Young Women's Christian Association [YWCA], 2010).

Psychological and emotional abuse is often overlooked when discussing violence and oppression that take place within a relationship. Emotional abuse cuts to the very core of a person, creating scars that may be far deeper and more lasting than physical ones (Engel 1992). It can include anything from verbal abuse and constant criticism to more subtle tactics, such as intimidation, manipulation, and refusal to ever be pleased. Psychological abuse can include denying the victim access to money or economic support, harassment at work or school, threatening to injure, and damaging the victim's property.

Violence between Latinos, in general, is on the rise, as the

second leading cause of death among adolescents is homicide (Center of Disease Control and Prevention [CDC], 2010). Chicanas who have experienced this violence and have seen their brothers shot, their sisters raped, or been raped themselves, are internalizing the violence around them and it can often times lead to them engaging in violence themselves (Harris 1994). Young adolescents who engage in violent behavior and are categorized as juvenile offenders tend to have been witnesses of violence or have been targeted themselves (Van Dalen 2001). Violence, at this point, has affected them in a different way. This violent affiliation can also lead Latinas to being further controlled by males, as they exhibited an attitude of territoriality toward the girls (Harris 1994).

Popular culture is a crucial force that helps to mold individuals and their perspectives of the world (Godwyll 2007). If Marianismo and violence is depicted in Chicano film, then how does it affect popular culture? Popular culture is determined by the daily interactions, needs and desires, and cultural moments that make up the everyday lives of the mainstream. (Collins 2007) With respect to popular media culture, the central message offered by advocates of a cultural studies approach to education is that popular culture does not simply provide passive entertainment or value neutral information, but contributes significantly to how people read and understand the world (Collins 2007). The entertainment industry, mainstream journalism, and Hollywood have homogenized all Latinas into one undifferentiated group, thus erasing our historical, national, racial, class, and gender subjectivities (Aparicio 2003). Currently, popular culture is too often socially detrimental in that images of racism, sexism, classicism, violence and hyper-individualism are rampant (Hyttten, 1999). These images and videos help shape our popular culture and can result in hegemony of male dominance over females (Ebenezer 2007).

Methods

This study will consist of an integration of multiple methods. The independent variable will be the portrayal of Marianismo and violence in evolving Chicano film and the dependent variable will be violence in popular culture among and between Mexican American

females. Marianismo's portrayal in "Evolving Chicano film" will be measured through a content analysis, while violence in popular Latina Culture will be measured through a focus group.

To begin, a content analysis on 113 Chicano films will be conducted. The content analysis will include looking at films on each of the three waves of Chicano film as described by Noriega. A look at the portrayal of Marianismo and Violence over time will be done and compared to modern day popular culture. The films selected were taken from UCLA's list of 149 top Chicano Films. UCLA composed this list of films in response to a list of the Top 100 films put out by the American Film Institute. The original list did not include films directed by females and minority members; thus UCLA wanted to come up with a list of films that would include the top Chicano Films of all times. Following the American Film Institute model, they developed a pool from which to make final selections, sending these titles to a blue ribbon panel of some 1,500 leaders from the film community. Nominated films were placed into four categories: documentary, experimental, short or television narrative, and feature film. The panel wanted an inclusive list and emphasized diversity by making sure to include male and female, straight and queer, Chicano and a few non-Chicano media artists. The Chicano community was invited to participate and give their vote on what films they believed should be incorporated. The compilers were overwhelmed, receiving over 2,500 submissions; as a result the list grew to include 149 films rather than 100. This list, however, did not include any more recent Hollywood feature films. Because the analysis will be looking at the three waves of Chicano Film it is necessary to include these films. For this reason films listed under UC Berkeley's list of Chicano film will also be included.

The combined lists evolved to over 300 film titles. Any documentaries that were made after 1976 were deleted from the list because Ramirez's description of evolving Chicano film lists documentaries under the first wave of Chicano Film ending in 1976. In addition to this only three films per year were included. If a given year produced more than three films then only the first three films produced that year were included in the list of films that will be analyzed.

During the content analysis, an attempt will be made to determine the level of violence portrayed in Chicano film and the level of Marianismo that is presented in each. The indicators of Violence will be any physical attack, sexual violence, threat or emotional abuse as defined by the Center of Disease Control and Prevention. A physical attack will include anytime a female is hit, kicked, or physically hurt by her partner. Sexual violence will be marked when any male forces a female to take part in a sex act when she does not consent. A threat will be measured when any word, gesture, weapon or other object is used to communicate the intent to harm. Emotional abuse will be defined as when a female is stalked, name called, intimidated or restricted from seeing family and friends. In addition to these markers of male instigated violence, another indicator of violence will be the number of fights that take place between females and the number of females affiliated with gangs. This is to understand if the violent nature of a woman's life makes her more prone to engage in violent acts (Harris 1994).

All indicators will be measured quantitatively and each incident of violence (physical, sexual, emotional or violence between females) will be counted in the category of violence that it falls into. At the end of the film the number of incidents of each form of violence will be added and compared to the levels of all other films over the three waves of Chicano Film. This will show which form of violence is more prominent in each film and over historical epochs.

As previous literature shows, Marianismo in the Latino culture contributes to a submissive female character that is more prone to physical violence by males. Marianismo describes being spiritually superior to males and therefore able to handle any ill treatment. Looking further into this theme will reflect the amount of abuse that a female is supposed to tolerate according to popular Chicano film. The analysis on Marianismo will look at the role that a female plays within the family and how she responds to abuse caused by males around her. When looking at her role, I will look to see if she is a stay-at-home mother, is employed or plays both roles. Finally, her response to violence will be documented. This includes how she responds when being victim to or witnessing violence in her home or community. These will be documented in hopes of finding common themes in the actress' behavior. Existing research and data regarding

Chicano film has not looked at Marianismo in film, making it hard to establish indicators for Marianismo in film. This will allow for recognition of any existing indicators that have yet to be identified.

After completing the content analysis, the dependent variable will be measured by conducting a focus group. The participants will be Mexican American females, because the rate of wife assault is higher among Mexican Americans than among Mexicans and Anglo Americans (Aldarondo, Et Al. 2002). Literature shows that Mexican Americans are also more likely to be affiliated with a gang or to engage in violence against others. Focusing in on this group will show how this group is more prone to violence. Participants will be recruited utilizing purposive and snowballing sampling techniques. Organizations that support and provide services to Latinas will be contacted in order to identify potential participants. This will include on-campus organizations such as Mecha, a Latino student leader club.

In order to understand the impact of these films on Mexican Americans of all backgrounds, participants from various socioeconomic and educational backgrounds will be recruited to participate in this study. Even though the total population will be heterogeneous, each actual focus group will be homogeneous. Individuals will be strategically placed in groups of similar ages and education level in order to promote equality and higher comfort levels.

Participants will be shown various clips selected upon completion of the content analysis, this will be followed by a semi-structured focus group about thoughts regarding the films. Open ended, non-leading questions about the indicators that were measured in the content analysis will be asked. All discussions will be recorded and coded in order to identify recurring themes. Each focus group will consist of approximately five participants, with *at least 5* focus groups, but we will continue to conduct them until no new themes emerge. Conducting a focus group after a content analysis will help address some of the limitations in the study. A content analysis only depicts a person's behavior at a given time in their life and does not translate into how the public interprets these films and the messages that they relay. A focus group will help fill in the gaps and find out how violence and Marianismo in Chicano film affects the normalization of violence in popular culture for Mexican American females.

Statement of Ethics

Because Human Subjects are involved in the study, it is important to maintain the highest ethical standards possible. There is not a huge risk to participants of this study, and the only foreseeable risk is the possible experience of small emotional discomfort. In order to make this study as ethical as possible, all respondents will be given an informed consent form. This informed consent form will include information regarding voluntary participation. The clause will include the fact that they have the right to terminate participation at any time and that they do not have to answer any questions that they do not feel comfortable answering. The informed consent form will also include sections guaranteeing the anonymity, privacy and confidentiality from any third party. By addressing these issues in the informed consent, as well as getting IRB approval, respondents will be aware that they do not have to participate and can choose to revoke their participation at any time. This will allow the respondents well being to be put first.

Limitations

A possible dilemma is being able to identify students that are Mexican American. A good way to address and minimize error is to stick to the methods plan and contact organizations that specifically serve Mexican Americans. This will result in more minority members being aware of the study and possibly participating. Another issue is that there may be other variables that cause the acceptance of violence in the community. Having a larger sample size and conducting focus groups in addition to the content analysis will help me address this issue.

Summary Statement

Scholars have been able to document the strong effect that Chicano film has on society and social movements. They have tended to focus on male hegemony and the response and message that males are given. This includes the glorification of the Pachuco life-

style among Chicano males and the negative portrayal of this image in Chicano film. Others have focused on stereotypical Latino roles or the physical appearance of Latinas in Hollywood film.

What they have failed to look more specifically at is how the four stereotypical Latino male depictions, as previously described by Ramirez, have impacted women. Ramirez discusses males being shown as immoral and generalized as the 'other'. The roles played by husbands, boyfriends, brothers and sons in these films would most likely impact the females that live and associate with them. This includes not only spouses and partners, but mothers and daughters as well. If a male is said to act in an unfavorable manner, then a female has to respond in some way in order to have a relationship with that given individual.

Erving Goffman uses his book "The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life" to discuss individual performance in work settings. Individuals who take on the role of Marianismo are said to be dependent on males, filling roles as stay at home wives and thus relying on males financially (Arredondo, 1991). Because of this a female's home, when she plays the role of a housewife, is her work place. She may act a certain way when performing in the front stage of her home. This includes being selfless and putting her husband and her children before herself. The emotions, preparation and work that come along with the acceptance of her role as submissive and dependent need to be limited and restricted to the backstage region, of perhaps, a kitchen where her husband is not able to see her preparation, or she must wait until he is at home for her to act as she normally does. It is just assumed that she is always "spiritually superior" and able to overcome domestic violence. This is partly due to her usage of impression management during ill treatment, in which she performs according to how she defines that situation and how she believes her audience, more specifically her husband and society, want her to act. It is hoped that this study will help find more information on what has lead females to accept this front stage performance as normal. More specifically, if depictions of violence and Marianismo in Chicano film have contributed to Mexican American females socially accepting violence as normal occurrence in daily front stage performances.

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Seven Headed Hydra: The Occupy Movement's Emerging Collective Identity

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Today, American society, along with the global community, is facing a financial crisis the likes of which has not been seen since the Great Depression. With the housing market collapse, foreclosures becoming the norm, unemployment at excruciatingly high rates, and the socio-economic gap widening, people are getting fed up with the current system. The Occupy movement is perhaps one of the most relevant reflectors of our time. This collective movement's progression tells an important story about those involved and about the spirit of the times. Thus far only popular journals and newspapers have tracked and discussed the origins and progression of the Occupy movement (Binelli, 2012). However, there is research on the history of collective social movements and how identity is created through metonymic strategies (Polletta, 2006). Through exploratory research, this study will examine the emerging collective identities of activists in the Occupy movement.

This study is a combination of two methods; semi-structured interviews and participant observation were utilized. Seven interviews were conducted, accompanied by thirteen hours of participant observation. These methods were aimed at uncovering what is going on in the underbelly of American society that would make people take to the streets in droves. After discussing, with various individuals, their feelings towards the direction our society is taking, I began to grow curious about the different actions people are taking to rectify some of the issues they observed.

This research seeks to develop a dialogue concerning what role social movements play in American society. It also attempts to illustrate the importance of historical narratives and how they are utilized to construct and maintain collective identity. Through the process of identity construction, movements not only must find ways

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to represent and solidify their ideological values, but also find ways to negotiate conflicts within the movement. The findings reveal emerging movements, in particular, must use various strategies to negotiate divergent identities and create a congruent identity. Often identities can be crafted through story-telling and selecting events to emphasize a particular identity. In terms of a social movement, collective memory plays an important role in structuring this identity and establishing a sense of solidarity. And in many cases, identity is negotiated through the use of metonymic strategies, which reveal inner conflicts within the group. By examining social movements, such as Occupy, from a social historical perspective, I provide a better understanding of how collective identity is constructed in social movements.

Popular Interpretations of the Occupy Movement

In the most recent popular literature on the Occupy movement there have been broad assessments of the movement's progress since its beginnings six months ago (Schmidt, 2012). Most notably, when Occupy became a part of media discourse in September 2011, as the first tents were set up on the 17th of that month at Zuccotti Park in New York (Moynihan, 2012). Noted by various popular sources, the time between November and the end of December seems to be a time in which Occupy seemed to garner large media coverage (Sledge, 2011). Also, many sources note the culmination of messages put forth by *Adbusters* magazine, Anon, an anonymous hacker group, and college professors, that spurred the first wave of protests in November, (Weigel & Hepler, 2011). *Adbusters* in particular played an important role in the creation of the movement, as journalist Mattathias Schwartz reports in the *New Yorker*. Schwartz discusses, in his article on *Adbusters*, various slogans and calls to the public put into the magazine and primarily overseen by the founder and editor, Kalle Lasn (Schwartz, 2011). As Schwartz describes, "In early June, Adbusters sent an e-mail to subscribers stating, "America needs its own Tahrir" (Schwartz, 2011, p.2). This statement essentially reflects the sentiment that America was in need of its own revolution. The covering of the Occupy movement origins by the popular media provides essential information for understanding the stories

that have shaped this emerging movement's identity. The popular depictions of Occupy reveal its customs, which are now essential to Occupy's collective identity. For example, customs like "the human microphone, a practice of collectively repeating the words of each speaker" (Scherer, 2011, p.2). These customs as well as the depictions of Occupy in popular sources will be helpful in understanding the movement.

Journalist Michael Schmidt covers popular perceptions and a historical track that has led up to Occupy's fall from media attention, as the movement transitions into a long-term movement. In the article, Schmidt surveys both supporters' and critics' sentiments that Occupy must find a way to regain political attention or it risks falling into the background of the minds of the American people. However, Schmidt notes not only Occupy's appeal in the international community, but also how the breakup of "the encampments by local law enforcement has led to less visibility for the movement" (Schmidt, 2012, p.1).

Schmidt comments that Occupy has lost its national platform due to a lack of media coverage and its dwindling numbers. He reflects on some of the sentiments of Occupy activists that he interviewed, suggesting Occupy did not have a hierarchical leadership structure and was to remain relevant after clashes over rights to protest in public areas. And while Schmidt notes that all of this has been a bit daunting, Occupy groups and protestors are finding ways to change their tactics to remain relevant, in some cases, through flash mobs (Schmidt, 2012, p.3). Shepherd Bliss, a professor at Dominican University and author of various articles on Occupy, noted in a recent speech that "Occupy's method is to be leaderful, rather than having one leader" (Bliss, 2012). He stated that Occupy has a horizontal structure, not a vertical one, and that things like working groups were "meant to cultivate many leaders of the movement rather than one at the top" (Bliss, 2012). This description reveals some of the emerging characteristics of the movement, as they strive to practice their own ideal democracy. While the desired outcome of Occupy's efforts remains unrealized, as Schmidt asserts, he does note a change in perspective that has perhaps been influenced by the movement, as many American citizens in national polls are now beginning to address the idea of social inequalities in society.

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Journalist Binelli's *Rolling Stone* article covers the death of ex-marine Scott Olsen, who was involved in some of the early Occupy protests that took place in Oakland, CA. The account Binelli gathers draws attention to the militant reactions to the movement as well as the concentration of violence surrounding Occupy or Decolonize Oakland, which has one of the most racially diverse Occupy groups in the U.S. Binelli notes that due to the upsurge in violence surrounding the movement, this aggregate group of Occupy has become perhaps the most disruptive, but also one with the most potential for media coverage and radical action.

Along with Oakland's distinct character, a sociologically relevant shift seems to be taking place in the movement as the popular literature discusses a rising awareness of the role of race in the Occupy movement. This shift seems to be spearheaded by the Decolonize movement taking place in Oakland. This sentiment argues that ethnic minorities should have a greater presence in the movement. This idea is discussed in Fox Piven's (2011) assessment. Fox Piven asserts that the movement is so essentially concerned and built upon the basis of dismantling economic inequality that it should reach out to those most affected by such inequalities. This popular literature reveals the identity negotiation in the movement and Occupy's growing awareness of racial disparities. Interestingly, Noam Chomsky discusses, in the *Occupied Media Pamphlet Series*, his thoughts on diverging interests and goals of the movement. Chomsky notes that "they should have ideas but there doesn't have to be agreement on them, there's good reason to let a hundred flowers bloom" (Chomsky, 2012, p.45). Chomsky's insight reveals the fragmented and emerging ideologies within the group. Yet, there is also a sense that part of the movement's identity is in being a container for a variety of social issues. From the popular literature it is clear that Occupy is building its identity in several important ways, in solidifying a shared history, and internalizing democratic values. Occupy is trying to create a collective identity through trying to make sense of its past, in order to create a new future.

Social movement biography

Stories in social movements act as a foundation upon which

identity can be constructed. In *Collective Memory and the Social Shape of the Past*, Zerubavel (2003) links historical continuity and a discussion of metonymic applications to shape temporal understanding, particularly in metonymic devices and their relation to creating a sense of social history. Zerubavel (2003) asserts that memory is essential to our sense of historical continuity. By identifying events and emphasizing the importance of these events in their timeline, activists in the group create a sense of collective identity. This temporal organization of memory works to create strength and meaning in such groups, and is a way, as Zerubavel mentions, to emphasize a particular group in history, typically to their advantage, by creating a form of symbolic power. This is clearly seen in Zerubavel's example of how specific eras in history are given more "time" or emphasis by being allocated more pages in history textbooks. For the Occupy movement the use of creating historical narratives may play a large role in identity construction.

One of the essential points Zerubavel makes is that, "origins help articulate identities, and where communities locate their beginnings tells us quite a lot about how they perceive themselves." (Zerubavel, 2003, p.101). The main objective of forming a continuous biography is to highlight events that demonstrate a past self that is congruent with the future self. Social movements also create a biography that is continuous or congruent with their identity; creating a biography is a key part of creating identity and a component of historical continuity. For instance, the Occupy movement is in the process of creating a sense of historical continuity and selecting essential unstructured events into seemingly coherent historical narratives. Ideas from Zerubavel's work are echoed in Francesca Polletta's work, which looks more specifically at a social movement's use of metonymic strategies.

Movements and Activism

In Francesca Polletta's (2006) book, *It Was like a Fever: Story-telling in Protest and Politics*, narratives are looked at for their role in the success of political movements. By observing the 1960's civil rights activist group called the Student Nonviolent Coordination Committee, or SNCC, Polletta highlights the use of metonymy to de-

fine group identity (Polletta, 2006). Metonymy is a figure of speech in which attributes of something are used to stand for the thing itself. Polletta notes in her chapter on metonymic strategy that “associations on which metonymy are based are long-standing, deeply rooted in the group’s culture” (Polletta, 2006, p.78). So metonymy is not only a key part of story-telling devices that reveal common cultural beliefs, but also a cultural signifier, revealing cultural beliefs of the movement. Metonymy has the ability to expose less overt symbolic connections, and as Polletta notes, created meanings that SNNC members were able to negotiate and identify with through their narratives, particularly as the organization went through a period of crisis. Polletta’s analysis of SNNC revealed that the decentralized consensus based group practice was being challenged by appeals for a centralized authority. The decentralized participatory group practice stood in metonymically for the original white SNCC members. As Polletta describes, “for SNCC workers, [centralized] participatory democracy came to be seen as principled rather than pragmatic, aimed at personal self-liberation rather than political change, and as white rather than black”(Polletta, 2006, p.58). Metonymy has the ability to expose less overt symbolic connections, and as Polletta notes, created meanings that SNNC members were able to negotiate and identify with through metonymic devices in their narratives. In Polletta’s analysis of the SNNC group, the divide in the group over having a decentralized consensus based group was being challenged by the appeal for a centralized authority, and an organization that was not white highlighted how the relationship between the two had become metonymic, where whiteness stood for a centralized process and blackness for a decentralized one (Polletta, 2006). With these findings it is clear that culture is a huge component of stories and the art of narrative. Along with this, one of the main aspects of story-telling and metonymy is assigning cultural and symbolic meaning to narratives.

In other research on collective identity Polletta and Jasper assert, “Once movements have emerged, complete with organizations, organizers, and recruitment campaigns, strategic efforts to craft mobilizing identities become important” (Polletta and Jasper, 2001, p.289). Activists gain a sense of community and solidarity through their commitment to group events, activities and actions. Polletta

and Jasper discuss how involvements in a group strengthen personal and collective identity of a movement. As Polletta and Jasper note, “beyond recruitment, identity work is crucial to sustaining solidarity and commitment” (Polletta and Jasper, 2001, p.295). In this way, it seems that solidarity is concurrent with processes of collective identity, strengthening bonds and a sense of community amongst other group members.

Akin to Polletta and Jasper’s look at collective identity and how it effects social movements, bell hooks (1989) discusses how a large part of social activist identity is tied to actively dismantling forms of oppression by altering dominant cultural constructions. One of the main qualities present in the dominant view of social activists is their need to alter the status quo and society in hopes of creating a more just world. This quality can be better understood through bell hooks’ concept of “talking back.” Furthermore, hook’s discusses the construction of oppression in her book, *Talking Back*, and it takes both the cooperation of “those doing the oppressing and those being oppressed” to sustain it (hooks, 1989, p.6). Hooks asserts social actors can either join the construction of oppression or withdraw their support. In this way individuals learn to challenge realities that do not serve them and find ways to “talk back.” This form of changing or altering cultural production is an essential component of activism, and this concept provides greater understanding of how it may operate and contribute to the activists’ sense of identity.

Methods

Interviews

The research was conducted in an open, quiet environment: one of the rentable rooms in the Schultz Library or via Skype. Altogether, seven interviews were conducted between the months of February and April of 2012. The seven interviews were transcribed verbatim and coded for specific themes and concepts. The interviews ranged from thirty minutes to an hour. Most interviews were around forty-five minutes. Two interviews were conducted near a rally, which was particularly distracting and may have affected the accuracy of some of the participants’ responses, as large roars from

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the crowd would drown out parts of the interview. The other four interviews were conducted in person while three were conducted through Skype. Utilizing a semi-structured format, I interviewed seven social activists who are or have been involved in the Occupy movement. Through snowball sampling, participants were collected for the study. In addition, the demographics of the activists involved with Occupy were predominantly Caucasian and male. The participants ranged from ages twenty-one to thirty-six. Many of the participants were very willing to share their stories about the Occupy movement. A good rapport was also established by attending previous Occupy events to conduct participant observations, so many of the interviewees already knew of me.

The twenty-eight interview questions included two main themes: time's influence on the social activists' role within the Occupy movement and perception of individual and collective roles in the movement. These two themes were constructed with the hopes of better understanding the emerging identity of the Occupy movement by exploring participants' perceptions. The questions were also crafted to get at the role of historical narratives in social movement identity construction. The study was concerned with personal stories. It was important to consider the content of the interview questions. Each individual social activist came from a different social background, and what may not offend one may offend another. Obviously, the mental, physical, and emotional health of the participants was a main concern and any questions that may have been psychologically damaging to a participant were omitted. All of the participants were informed before the interview that their personal identity would remain confidential, and were asked for voluntary consent via an informed consent form. Along with these considerations, other potential drawbacks to conducting this study were biases inherent to my own class position as well as that of the interviewees. The interviewer effect may also affect validity, because some of the participants had known me prior to being interviewed and therefore may have edited their answers due to their relations to me. While many of the participants were primarily acquaintances, two of my participants were friends I had known previously. Clearly in the case of these two participants there may have been issues they failed to elaborate on, as they may have assumed my previous understanding of a topic or

concept. Also while the interview questions are the same for each participant, each interviewee can interpret the question differently, which may have affected reliability. Due to the nature of my study it was also important to remain empathetic to the personal stories of the participants. Many of the participants shared stories from the Occupy movement that were inspiring, as well as devastating, for them to experience. Through my research, although I had not previously been involved, my participation in many of their events has led me to become much more involved with the Occupy movement.

Research Site

In addition to the interviews, participation observation was conducted to provide a richer context of the Occupy movement. I conducted fieldwork at various areas in downtown Santa Rosa in which Occupy protests and events were held. The sites varied from the lawn in front of Santa Rosa City Hall, to Santa Rosa's Old Courthouse Square. Santa Rosa is a working to middle-class urban area that is predominantly inhabited by Caucasians, but also houses a notable Latino minority population. Santa Rosa's location as part of Sonoma County makes it a mildly popular tourist attraction, along with surrounding Sonoma County towns and cities such as Sonoma, Healdsburg, Sebastopol, and Petaluma. It is a politically moderate to liberal community with a history of environmentalism. Santa Rosa's median age is thirty-six and the majority of the population ranges in ages thirty to forty-four (according to the 2000 census). Along with the sites in Santa Rosa, I also conducted participant observation in San Francisco at the Occupy Anti-Oppression Working Group. The group met regularly at an elementary school, Meadows Livingstone School, in the Mission District. While San Francisco bears a much more diverse demographic than Santa Rosa, most of the members in the Anti-Oppression Working Groups were Caucasian, although there were more minorities present there than in Santa Rosa. The Mission District bears an array of graffiti and colorful wall art illustrating a rich artistic history. The area has recently experienced gentrification and the number of Latino families that previously made up a majority of the population has dwindled by 20% according to a recent article in the *L.A. times* (Romney, 2011). Regardless, San

Francisco on the whole has been a hotspot for Occupy activities, as the movement sprung up in San Francisco only a few weeks after the initial protest on Wall Street, New York.

Participant Observation

I spent thirteen hours conducting observations at Santa Rosa City Hall and the Old Courthouse Square as well as at an Anti-Oppression Working Group for Occupy San Francisco, which met in the evenings at the Meadows Livingstone School in San Francisco. Many of the activists at the Occupy events, particularly in Santa Rosa, were very interested in telling me their take on the movement and also explaining what the movement meant to them. Observational data provided insight into the interactional process practiced by Occupy activists. If I had only conducted interviews, I may not have witnessed the internalized values of democracy, which are essential to the movement's goals and discourse. Ten of the participant observation hours were done on the Occupy movement assemblies based in Santa Rosa and the other three hours were done at the San Francisco Occupy Anti-Oppression Working Group. The field notes gathered from the participant observation sessions were recorded the same day as they were observed in order to maintain consistent and accurate observations. Obviously, there are certain issues of validity and reliability inherent in conducting participant observation. While the field notes were recorded the same day, often protests and rallies were quite noisy, which may have interfered with the accuracy of my notes and quotes from various individuals. By not recording conversations or situations, the level of reliability may have been affected, as observational notes do not always convey a completely reliable portrayal of the situation or event.

Results

My interviews with social activists coupled with participant observation, yielded three prominent themes that reveal the ways in which the Occupy movement is constructing and negotiating a collective cultural identity. First, the biographical timeline of the move-

ment is analyzed for its significance as an active method of identity creation. Following this analysis, the themes of customs surrounding internalized democratic values within the movement are discussed as key to creating Occupy's unique identity. Finally, the Occupy movement's more recent shifts to including a metonymic dialogue surrounding issues of race within the movement and how those issues are being negotiated will be explored. The research reveals a metonymic connection of the name "Occupy" to a perceived predominantly white middle class movement, while the name "Decolonize" refers to a movement with a racial-ethnic minority collective identity, which is attuned to issues of colonization.

Occupy's Story-telling and the Formation of Their Collective Identity

During the time of Occupy's formation, the economic disparities of the recession caused tension to rise as government spending on the war in Iraq reached an all-time high. Further, the period from February to July of 2011 marked the beginning of the movement, as groups like *Adbusters* magazine and Anon, an anonymous hacking group, engaged the public to begin the movement (Weigel & Hepler, 2011, p.2). This action was also accompanied by college and university professors creating a rhetoric surrounding the now popular slogans of the Occupy movement, such as the "99% versus the 1%." These events, along with a frustrated general public, led to what Occupiers now refer to as their golden age or "tent time." The historical events leading up to the Occupy movement set the stage for the emergent movement that is now beginning to form a collective identity through a shared biographical narrative.

A key part of creating a cultural identity is the production of a movement biography, which Zerubavel refers to as a "social organization of collective memory" (Zerubavel, 2003, p.8). To elaborate on this idea, the Occupy movement seems to demonstrate a shared understanding of the reasons most got involved and a biographical timeline of the movement's activity. Through participant observation, as well as in-depth interviews, those involved with the Occupy movement confirmed that the movement was a reaction to the economic disparities and inequalities in wealth in the US today. This

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emphasis on the concern over unfathomable inequalities, to many, seems unclear, but some activists root the very identity or origins of Occupy in the fact that they don't have a message. The reasoning behind it is that the movement is a reaction to the prolific societal issues that are too difficult to fathom. James, a judicious 23-year-old Caucasian male, when asked about what stereotypes surround the movement, noted:

Occupiers don't have a set...message. When the message, when the issues are so massive and systemic you can't, how do I put this, you might as well just try to articulate where the torso of the hydra is, there's so many heads. The issues are so massive and systemic that you're not even sure how you could articulate it to a person. You would have to hand them five books.

In this passage, James illustrates a part of the Occupy movement's collective identity. The movement seems to be marked by a collective perspective, and that the problems are so large that it is impossible to have a set message about all that Occupy is concerned with. In this sense, the Occupy movement's collective identity is characterized by "openness," or being a container for a plethora of issues. I explore this characteristic of "openness" in my discussion on internalized values of democracy. Acknowledging the collective perspective or general conception of the Occupy movement provides context for how events and stories are framed to create a sense of historical continuity, with past events as well.

Most recently, as some participants and popular sources have noted, the summer of 2011 served as a period of origins for the Occupy movement, drawing inspiration from protests that summer in Spain as well as from the Arab Spring (Rathke, 2011). September and October marked the beginning of the movement as Occupy groups sprung up across the East to West coasts. Initially beginning at Zucotti Park in New York City near Wall Street, the encampments soon moved to areas in San Francisco and Oakland, California. Travis, an edgy 22-year-old Caucasian male, when asked about his past experiences in Occupy noted, "Yeah well October/ November was a huge two months for Occupy." Field notes from Occupy in Santa

Rosa, CA revealed this same conception of the “golden age” of Occupy as the time period when the encampments were up and active. In my field notes I wrote about the activist Knotty:

Knotty talked about there being a systemic problem. Carlos and Knotty also told me about “Tent Time” referring to it as their golden age. Before January and the police breaking up “Tent City” there was an information center where people would dialogue about important changes they felt need to be made. Knotty described an information center outside a tent that she manned, describing the movement and its importance (02/11/12).

This framing of a historical event has given the movement the beginnings of a timeline, an important marking event from which their present and future stem. Similar to the way in which specific events are selected to create a narrative or historical continuity, the Occupy activists have created their own oral collective biography that establishes a sense of community (Zerubavel, 2003). James, an energetic 20-year-old African American male, when asked about what he enjoyed about the movement said, “Just seeing our community of Sonoma County get together and us marching in our street, not the government’s street, our street, you know? And just that and this, this whole thing is a story.” In James’ response it is clear that a sense of solidarity and community are built through engagement in social activities, such as rallies, general assemblies, and the encampments. They are all contributing to the creation of Occupy’s story or biography.

In applying Zerubavel’s concept of historical continuity from *Time Maps* to the research, there does seem to be an interesting parallel and illustration (Zerubavel, 2003). Occupy protestors mention historical points in the movement and are able to create meaning by crafting the end of “tent time” to fit with the structure of a legato narrative, narratives that exhibit congruency. Many protestors refer to “tent time” as their golden age, highlighting a successful time in their history as an organization. By identifying this time and emphasizing its importance in their timeline of the movement, activists in

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the group create a sense of collective identity. In grappling with the end of the encampments, some Occupy activists perceived this as a negative event, while others began to negotiate the story very differently. As Chad, a soft-spoken, 36-year-old Caucasian male explains, the end of the camps or “tent time” signified an important turning point in the biography of the Occupy movement:

I will say that one turning point that I think was really fragile but it turned out great was when the encampment ended. Some people were like, “oh that’s it, Occupy’s over. Whatever.” But when I remember I heard someone say, Occupy isn’t about the encampment. And now we go out in the world and do the grunt work and a certain amount of people fell off. But most people we’re like: okay, well, now we have more work to do. So that was kind of a cool point, where I think it grew into something better.

This description illustrates the end of tent time as a catalyst for the progression of the movement. In this way it illustrates a course of events that is congruent with its current identity as a movement that is sustainable. Activists in Occupy are crafting their narratives to create a sense of historical continuity. Chad seems to capture some of the changing ideas about the movement now that the encampments have ended, even remarking that it helped the “movement grow into something better.” As an emergent movement, Occupy is constantly forming a sense of identity.

Another point in the timeline that reveals an interesting new development is the appearance of the homeless at the encampments. This development was essential to Occupy’s development, as it now had to decide what relationship the movement would have to the homeless. Autumn, a Latina-American female in her late thirties, seems to capture the idea that rose out of some of the difficulties and successes from the arrival of the homeless people, as she comments on how the group welcomed homeless people in the march, “I’ve been in so many marches, and there’s often a sort of mentality that comes about unintentionally, ... [an] us vs. them attitude that makes the marchers a bit smug and unwelcoming. Occupy really was for

the people. Everyone's welcome." This seems to echo a new theme or characteristic of the movement that grew from some of the conflicts that came up because of the issues of safety and mental health care at the encampments. In finding ways to create and adapt their collective identity, the Occupy movement has also dealt with some issues surrounding its structure.

After the encampment period, we move into the current time period in which the Occupy movement seems to be building a base, working out structural concerns and branching off into working groups. Working groups deal primarily with community action and are separate from the general assemblies, which are broader meetings to discuss the overall Occupy movement's goals and actions. For example, groups such as the Anti-Oppression Working Group concentrate on issues of oppression surrounding race, gender, sexual orientation, and disability. While other working groups such as the Dorothy Day Group, based in Santa Rosa, are focused primarily on homelessness advocacy. This current shift in Occupy's structure is discussed by James, who, when asked about his work, compared his local Occupy movement to a human body:

Let's see as, within the group I function as, under the General Assembly there's usually work groups that handle specialized tasks they might be better thought of as organs in the overall group, like you got your liver and your kidneys and what they do, but their all part of the same system and they all answer to the brain at the end of the day.

The structure that James describes alludes to a model similar to that of a body in which there are various functions for each organ or group, but they all converge or are connected by the brain or General Assembly. In this way, many have noted, the movement is also becoming much more horizontal in its structure. When asked about some criticisms and stereotypes that surround the Occupy movement, Chad, a 36-year-old Caucasian male responded with, "We have no leaders, which they say it like it's a bad thing." While there is some form of leadership, as most groups as well as the General Assembly are facilitated, the facilitator frequently switches. Chad's

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observation reveals the movement's attempts to subvert dominant hierarchical structure. Occupy's timeline reveals some of the customs and characteristics that have developed over time, one of which is pursuing the ideals of a democracy, which I turn to next.

Internalized Values of Democracy

One of the main characteristics of this movement that provides a sense of collective identity is the internalizing of democratic values. Autumn, a bright Latina-American graduate student on the East Coast in her late thirties, describes an Occupy march in January of 2011, "It's amazing that feeling. It's like, yeah, this crazy high. It's the only time when you really feel like, you know we were chanting, this is what democracy looks like and that's the only time it felt real, democracy." To create feelings of solidarity, activists involved in the Occupy movement pursue activities that are essentially exploring ways of manifesting a democracy, for example, signals or signs as a way of mediating the discussions during the General Assemblies, to ensure that everyone can voice their concerns without verbally interrupting the current speaker. This practice is described in field notes on a General Assembly outside city hall in Santa Rosa:

The meeting began with Nigel, the facilitator, demonstrating the various signs that could be used at the meeting, so as to communicate your feelings or thoughts without interrupting one another. Nigel explained that waving your fingers stood for agreement, support or mutual feelings. Making a C shape with one's hand represented a question or specific clarification about what was just said and crossing your arms over your chest, called block signifies a feeling of complete disagreement or disapproval (2/12/12).

This system of signals that the group uses is a set of tactics to ensure that open and clear discussion can be engaged in while still providing a way of voicing various opinions, feelings or thoughts during the discussion. By establishing this system, the Occupy movement is pursuing their own system of democracy by restructur-

ing forms of communication and providing a new signal-based language. The signal-based language has established customs that serve as a symbolic manifestation of their democratic values.

Another way in which the Occupy activists practice democracy is by aiming to inform and educate the public. Field notes taken at a General Assembly demonstrate how Occupy activists try to inform the public. Regarding this Knotty says, "I am here to educate people about why there is all the trouble, why the system is so fouled up." As Knotty continued, noting, "I am here to inculcate, to educate, to give children of the future a chance." To inform is one of their goals or part of the social activities that define the movement. The goal seems to be to provide access to information about lots of different issues, opinions, news stories, and current events, as well as federal bills and legislation. Obviously a large amount of the information discussed or supplied is put forth with the intention of getting the general public to think about the socio-economic inequalities affecting society, but it is also done with the intention of creating dialogue, an essential component of democracy.

The field notes from a rally at Occupy Santa Rosa reveal components of the ways in which democracy is internalized and practiced within the group. This event, similar to the rally for education, while it serves as a forum for dialogue and spreading information, also serves the purpose of creating a sense of community. Within the movement, rallies, as well as working groups, act as identity markers or solidifiers of the group. Asha, a zany 22-year-old Bengali-American student, noted how her work in Occupy and as an activist manifested in her life, even in her living situation. "So most of the work I do is burning Babylon and building Benin, like building the world I would like to see and my co-op is a little microcosm of that." This statement seemed to reveal that not only are these values internalized but alludes to the fact that they are practiced outside the movement, too. Through creating new norms and values and essentially adopting different customs, activists involved in the Occupy movement are attempting to manifest their ideal society through the activities they participate in through their everyday life outside of movement activity.

In particular, it seems that the democratic values of consensus are also a crucial part of the collective identity of the movement.

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Kline, a pensive twenty-three year old Asian-American male, when asked to describe the Occupy movement noted, “Well, I think it’s the fact that there’s the consensus process, it is deeply embedded within Occupy, which makes it fiercely democratic, almost to the point that it’s like creating fractures or heated arguments or very unpleasant meetings.” Kline voices a concern about the movement’s strong attachment to democratic values, so much so that it can be a source of conflict. Many of the General Assemblies begin very late and end very late, because of the group’s commitment to have a thorough discussion and to hear from everyone in the group. Also conflict tends to arise when one group member within the General Assembly deviates from some of the group rules set up in the General Assembly meetings by interrupting someone while they are speaking. It also becomes an issue, as there are not set rules to deal with those who deviate from the structure set up in the General Assembly meetings. Also because the facilitator and many activists that attend the General Assemblies are so committed to the consensus-based process, it can be difficult to diffuse conflict created by deviating members. The internalization of democratic values proves to be not only more time consuming but also more process-oriented.

By internalizing democracy, Occupy activists participate in a model that is more geared toward process rather than product. Chad illustrates this theme by describing his perception of the movement, “This culture is totally focused on product, so they want Occupy as an objectified product and that you must know everything, there’s no room for process, like Occupy is a process and we’re changing and evolving like any human being is...if you’re looking for a packaged deal, that’s just not what Occupy is.” This is an interesting aspect of the movement and is also a reason why the Occupy movement has received media criticism for not having a goal or product (Schmidt, 2012). This emphasis on a process model supports solidarity and a sense of collective identity by deviating from dominant conceptions of what a social movement should do or look like. Kline voices his frustration with the media portal of the movement:

So like definitely public health risks, also asking for demands like what are your demands, what are your demands? And I think there’s a quote from MLK say-

ing like you know this whole pressure from the media and the ruling class to ask for demands is like a sneak, it's like a poison apple, and it's something along those lines, and he was saying like its actually bad advice, because if you ask for demands before building a base then your movement is going to collapse.

As Kline notes the movement has not yet completely formed its identity and is very much still in the process of building a structural base. The movement is quite new and still grappling with growing pains that most social movements experience in their beginnings. This is a crucial period for the Occupy movement, as other emerging conflicts cause activists to confront issues that are present within the movement itself.

Metonymic Devices and the Issue of Race in Occupy

The movement seems to use metonymic strategies in two significant ways. Occupy's rhetoric surrounding the 99% and the 1% reveals how a metonymic strategy is used to create an understanding that is an essential part of Occupy's collective identity. Often at events participants would say the phrase, "it's the 99% against the 1%." The 99% seems to stand in metonymically for the majority of American citizens, and the 1% metonymically representing the owners of large corporations and banks. By utilizing this metonymic strategy Occupy activists are able to create a sense of solidarity and collective identity in acknowledging themselves as the 99%, or majority, being taken advantage of by the 1% minority.

A more recent emergent dialogue within the movement is the discussion surrounding issues of race. Some activists involved with Occupy have noted its demographic racial make-up being predominantly white. Asha, a 22-year-old Bengali-American female, voices concerns about a movement focused on socio-economic inequalities essentially being a white privileged movement by saying, "I think it was caused by white people finally experiencing what, like, people of color have been through for a long time." Like Asha, some other activists, typically those from racial minority backgrounds, are very

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conscious of this and say there is some truth to this point. The movement is grappling with this issue and trying to better understand how Occupy should serve the 99%. Kline also noted similar feelings when asked about how the movement got started:

“It definitely started with a lot of energy and it was, and still is, a very white middle or upper class movement...It’s almost like it’s the first time they fell from the sky. I think people of color realize our communities have been in a continual stage of crisis.”

Many are now discussing the notion that the movement is predominantly white, and in many cases most of the facilitators tend to be white males. And while the movement may have started out as a white middle class movement, many voice concerns that it should not remain so. The movement is trying to find ways to engage minority communities and provide spaces that do not deny them the same attention and privileges that white heterosexual able-bodied males often receive in larger society. Interestingly, four out of the seven activists I interviewed were white males, which in itself may be an indicator of the general make-up of the movement. However, many Occupy activists have begun to engage issues of race, gender, and sexual orientation in a variety of ways.

Firstly, it seems many working groups as well as workshops have been emerging as a response to educate those involved in the movement about multiple forms of oppression and how to subvert them within the Occupy movement in particular. While there are a variety of ways those involved in such working groups are engaging their community to engage in discussions about dominant forms of oppression, one of the strategies gathered through field notes in particular relates to metonymic strategies and issues raised in Polletta’s (2006) study. Recently, the segment of Occupy Oakland has branched off into a separate group that is now referred to as Decolonize Oakland. During a meeting at Occupy San Francisco’s anti-oppression workshop, they noted one of their main goals was to change the name of Occupy movement to Decolonize:

Martha then mentioned a radical side of the Occupy movement that had an anti-oppression group, an emerging group of Occupy, pushing for changing the name of Occupy to Decolonize. Martha said this was good, and that it acknowledged we were living on stolen land and highlighting the minorities such as women, queers, disabled, and people of color are the ones with the least power and that the Occupy movement should work to not recreate our capitalist patriarchal society so that minorities are acknowledged. Knobles agreed with this and added that Occupy sounds almost colonial, coming in “to occupy a country or occupy your privilege.” He said rhetorically it doesn’t fit the goals he thinks the movement should pursue (3/26/12).

We then discussed the name change from Occupy Oakland to Decolonize Oakland and the group’s recent activities. This metonymic change seems to denote a shift in the dialogue surrounding the movement as a way of acknowledging not only socio-economic inequalities, but also that they are built upon a history of colonization and oppressive practices towards minority groups. Metonymically, the names Occupy and Decolonize seem to represent two different identities of the movement. The name Occupy may now refer to the white middle class movement, while the Decolonize title metonymically represents racial ethnic minorities. This seems to be one of the most recent emergent themes within the Occupy movement and has the potential to become yet another central component of the identity of the Occupy or Decolonize movement.

Conclusion

Because the movement has been a platform for an array of issues, many find it difficult to locate the primary goals of the movement. As already stated by one of the interviewees, James, when asked what he thinks of the movement, personally noted, “When the message, when the issues are so massive and systemic you can’t, how do I put this, you might as well just try to articulate where the

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torso of the hydra is, there's so many heads. The issues are so massive and systemic that you're not even sure how you could articulate it to a person." This quote illustrates an essential ideal of the movement, that the social issues of society are so extensive that no singular message could convey the magnitude of the situation. This contextual framework is the basis upon which the Occupy movement is building its identity. This interpretation acts as a starting point upon which Occupy activists have highlighted specific events or turning points to construct a collective biography. The events selected demonstrate a sense of congruency and therefore historical continuity. The encampments, the end of the "tent time" and the emergence of working groups are all crucial components of the historical narrative Occupy is crafting. Internalizing values of democracy further solidifies the emerging identity of the Occupy movement. Through a symbolic language that ensures everyone participating is able to communicate their thoughts, Occupy activists negotiate their own version of democracy. This is also done through group activities that directly manifest their perceptions of democratic values, by providing information to the public. In some cases even the personal lives and choices of individuals involved in the movement demonstrate the internalization of these democratic values.

And finally as an emerging movement Occupy is still grappling with its sense of identity as new ideals develop. The appearance of Decolonize/Occupy illuminates the metonymic strategies being used to negotiate the identity of the movement. The metonymic shift signifies a progression from a white middle class movement, Occupy, to a movement concerned with racial minorities, Decolonize. The collective identity of the Occupy movement is still changing, as the movement is quite young, having started only seven months ago. Through the process of identity construction, movements not only must find ways to represent and solidify their ideological values, but also find ways to negotiate conflicts within themselves. Emerging movements in particular must use various strategies to negotiate divergent identities, and create a congruent identity. Social movements play a crucial role in directly dialoguing with the future. The Occupy movement's presence represents a shift in consciousness on a variety of social and economic issues troubling our society, and this trouble is a part of the Occupy movement itself as well.

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The Geek Shall Inherit the Earth: An Analysis of the Contemporary Zombie

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As scholars have noted, monsters are meant to unsettle us¹. They creep in the shadows of our imaginations, and haunt the houses constructed of our deepest fears. We loathe them, and we fear them, and we continue to create them, because monsters are revealing. They tell us who we are in the face of our fears, who we can become, or what we already have become. One of the most pervasive monsters in modern media is the zombie. They are non-living, non-dead, once humans who feast on the people they once were. They are upsetting, but not only in the ways that are obvious. They are upsetting because they embody the complete breakdown of every aspect of human society. These undead geeks, so called after the carnival term for people who bit the heads off of chickens and ate things like nails and light bulbs, are not only hard to define, but corrode every category to which we routinely attempt to place them. Despite this rotting tendency, they are still deeply entwined in normative culture valuations. They are undead, but by creating a confused category of life and death they, in fact, reinforce those same normative categories as they apply to humanity. In the same way, although zombies cross several forms of media and genres within those forms, they ultimately reinforce genre archetypes. By exploring zombies from several types of media² and their relationship to the genres of horror, dystopia, and absurdism we can come closer to understanding their

1 For example *Monster Theory Reading Culture* edited by Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, which anthologizes several works on the significance of monstrosity in culture and literature.

2 George Romero's three original *Dead* films spanning from 1968 to 1985, Simon Pegg and Edgar Wright's *Shaun of the Dead* (2004), Ruben Fleischer's *Zombieland* (2009), Danny Boyle's *28 Days Later* (2002), Capcom's *Resident Evil* video game series, and Frank Darabont's *The Walking Dead* (2010) television series. These are representative of zombie fiction as either capstones of the genre a la Romero, or exceptionally popular works of zombie fiction.

relevance to contemporary fiction.

Biting at Genre

The attempt of classifying literature by genre can often seem insurmountable. It can be difficult to distinguish the demarcations that delineate science fiction from fantasy, or even high fantasy from low fantasy, but if every classification doesn't currently have its champion and its competitor contending her, it will at some point. Part of the issue stems from shifting interpretations of given works, and as yesteryear's hard science fiction-horror becomes today's campy comedy, the value of the work's ideas and what it portrays to a new generation becomes demonstrably different. Despite this, there are theorists of literature, such as, "M.M Bahktin, Tzvetan Todorov, Thomas Beebe and David Fishelov" (Devitt, p. 2), who boldly draw our attention to the demarcations that lie, sometimes subtly, between the foundations that many genres share. I argue here that zombies are not content to shuffle along any one of these lines. Like the horrible house-guests that they are, they have come to consume not only the father, but the mother and the children of the household too. While it would seem that zombies amble amply into the class of horror, they break out of this mold to enter the genres of dystopia and absurdism, but we'll start with horror.

In "The Philosophy of Horror or Paradoxes of the Heart," Noel Carroll offers a clear description of what he terms "art horror," or "'horror' as it serves to name a cross-art, cross-media genre whose existence is already recognized in ordinary language" (p. 12). He makes this distinction to differentiate it from the horror that reality brings us, such as genocides, hate crimes, or mass death due to disease and starvation. Art horror, or just horror for its use in examining zombies, is the type of horror that we fabricate for the sake of entertainment. This form of horror contains certain markers that give it a character that is easily identifiable among its peers, namely: the existence of a protagonist whom the audience is supposed to not only relate to, but react in conjunction with, and a monster that is the result of a fusion of two distinct states, which horrifies the protagonist by being both threatening, and impure.

Unlike other genres of film, the protagonists of zombie

films are always horrified by the situation in which they find themselves. They physically recoil from the presence of a zombie. We as the audience are not only supposed to root for the protagonist, as we would in the vast majority of films, but to feel the fear and revulsion that the protagonist feels in response to the world he or she now inhabits. When the first zombie attacks and kills Johnny (Russell Streiner) in the opening graveyard scene of George Romero's *Night of the Living Dead*, we are meant to scream along with his sister Barbara (Judith O'Dea). She is so overcome by the terror of that preliminary encounter that she can do nothing but watch her brother die, scream, and run. That feeling is not only meant for Barbara (Carroll). The initial visitation is intended to make our heart race as much as hers. We as the audience are meant to scream with her and allow ourselves to follow her as she flees the creature. This revulsion is not isolated to this film but is reproduced in Romero's later *Dead* films, as characters can be consistently seen recoiling in terror from the proximity of the zombies and the carnage that they create.

But the mere presence of monsters does not a horror create; those monsters must upset the lives of the protagonists and the world they populate. In *28 Days Later*, Jim (Cillian Murphy) isn't just a man waking up from a coma in modern England; he has to deal with the zombies that have completely altered the world he knew. The zombies are not natural inhabitants of the world, like dragons in Arthurian legends, but abnormal creatures that invert the reality they enter into (Carroll, p.105). Zombies do not belong in England. They are upsetting because they are antithetical to the diegetic reality that they enter, a reality that is supposed to mirror our own. The England portrayed in *Shaun of the Dead* and *28 Days Later* is close enough to the England of the 21st century that it increases our anxiety, because we can relate to the setting. The goal of the film is to match our fear as spectators to the fear experienced by the main characters. This parallel between protagonist and audience reaction is not the only way that a zombie would seem to embody horror: its existence as a fusion creature also ties it to that genre.

Carroll further argues that "Horrific" monsters are distinguishable by their simultaneous embodiment of mutually exclusive states (p. 121). Zombies are not living and they are not dead, but some sort of liminal state between the two of them. As corpses they

display decomposing flesh, but they continue to not only move, but attack in acts of ultra-violence, both of which add to the repulsion the protagonist feels toward them. They retain their human shape because they were once human but are unable to function within and work in direct opposition to normative human society. They are killed by destroying their brains, but they don't seem to really be using their brains to begin with. This conglomeration of paradoxical states is what makes them the fusion that we recognize as monstrous. They are simultaneously a paradigm and its antithesis.

The final way in which the zombie affirms its role as a horrific monster is the way in which it presents a polluted form of the human body and spirit. Zombies don't just attack their victims; they eat the flesh of the people whom they kill. This threat of cannibalization is not only a cause of physical anxiety for the life of the protagonist, but also for his or her soul. One of the main themes of zombie films is the communicability of the zombie state. If a zombie bites a human, that human will become a zombie. His or her body rots. He or she becomes irrational and obsessed with violence and cannibalization. It is a pollution that pollinates as it destroys. The zombie itself is not concerned with its actions; its only desire is to feed off of the living. With this monomaniacism it pursues everything that stimulates its rotting senses, whether loud noises or bright lights, with the single goal of obtaining more.

For all of these reasons zombies seem to fit perfectly into the realm of horror, but because they are ravenous, they journey into other genres. Their disconcerting disposition disallows for a single distinction. The second genre to which zombie narratives belong is dystopia. Dystopian stories are also usually marked by the progression of a single, or only a few protagonists. But what separates dystopian fiction from other fiction is that it conveys an embodiment of an ideal as it is explored in its negative aspects to its nth degree. This extended and inglorious meditation is exemplified in George Orwell's vision of a totalitarian regime in *1984* (1949) Aldous Huxley's Capitalist nightmare in *Brave New World* (1932), Robert A. Heinlein's explorations of religion in *Stranger in a Strange Land* (1961), Anthony Burgess' fatalistic investigation of free-will versus conformity in *A Clockwork Orange* (1962), or Gary Shteyngart's frightening expansion of consumerism in *Super Sad True Love Story*

(2010). All of these present perfect representations of dystopian societies create a society like ours, but in a future that is completely controlled by an abstract ideal. Zombie narratives fall into this category for three distinct reasons: they are embodiments of extended metaphors; they all involve a protagonist that is directly opposed to a society that oppresses them, and there is usually some sort of love story which is often but not always tragic.

George Romero's works are particularly useful in this sense. His films *Night of the Living Dead* and *Dawn of the Dead* are both invested with metaphors that are explored to their extremes. The former project is invested in representing racism and the latter in depicting consumerism. In *Night of the Living Dead*, which was released in 1968, we have a White woman named Barbara who finds herself dependent on the protection of a Black man named Ben (Duane Jones) as they both seek shelter from the zombie menace in what they think is an abandoned farmhouse. As the film progresses we find that the house is not abandoned, but that there is a White family who has been hiding in the basement the entire time because the husband didn't want to help the duo upstairs. Harry (Karl Hardman) or the father of the family, and Ben are then forced to make decisions that stand in direct opposition of one another, as Harry wants everyone to continue hiding in the basement, and Ben thinks that staying there is tantamount to suicide. When Ben makes a plan to fuel the truck, Harry locks him out, and Ben breaks back in. This continuation of the theme of Harry attempting to control Ben and Ben asserting himself against Harry's wishes ultimately ends when Ben kills Harry. This is Romero's only zombie film in which the zombies are exclusively White. The fact that Ben is the only non-White character in the entire film forces the viewer to evaluate Ben in contrast to the other characters, and in so doing, esteem him, as time and time again he is the only character who is consistently working in a way that is beneficial to the entire group. The emphasis on race forces the viewer to evaluate and ultimately criticize the racist attitudes that Ben is faced with, and that ultimately kill him. Every dystopian work does this same thing: forces us to evaluate the ramifications of certain normative beliefs and behaviors as they continue to their ultimate conclusions.

In *Dawn of the Dead*, which was released a decade later and shares the diegetic world of its predecessor, the emphasis shifts from racism to consumerism, while keeping at least a smaller stress on the former. This change is shown in the first few scenes of the film, which immediately introduce a cast that is more diverse. The opening scenes show both zombies and protagonists of different ethnicities. While this film does diverge in general theme from its predecessor, it makes constant references to the theme of *Night*. The character Wooley (James A. Baffico) is a member of the SWAT team that introduces the multi-ethnic protagonist dyad Stephen (David Emge) and Peter (Ken Foree) who are joined by a man and a woman later in the film. Wooley goes on a rampage, killing innocent non-White tenants of an apartment complex the SWAT team has been sent to clear of zombies. Later in the film we also see a Latino character that is a member of a biker gang but dresses in stereotypical Latino farmer clothing, including a large sombrero and a serape, even though every other member of the gang is dressed in leather and denim. Including this caricature in the middle of the most climactic scene of the film shows that Romero is not necessarily done exploring race, but that is not what this film is primarily preoccupied with.

Dawn of the Dead is predominantly enthralled in depicting consumerism. The bulk of the film is set within a stereotypical mall, which includes a new car raffle in the main section and hundreds of zombies standing around doing nothing. This horde is meant as an analog of the thousands, if not millions, of people who spend their time wandering aimlessly through malls worldwide every day. As the humans are introduced to the setting and garner the interest of the zombies, they gather en masse to attack and eat them. Several shots show zombies crowding against the windows and doors of the mall, as we can see in any mall when a new pair of Nikes is debuting. The protagonists themselves go on several sprees wherein they simply go about collecting an abundance of goods from the store, many of which they don't actually use later. They try on clothing, and eat things at random off of the shelves of empty stores. All the while emphasis is put on the prices of various things, as close-ups of price tags on guns and other items continue throughout the film. This emphasis on depicting aspects of consumer culture assists in building an elaborate conceit exemplifying everyday excesses that

can be experienced in most malls throughout the planet. Other dystopian narratives also use consumerism as a theme, such as *Super Sad True Love Story*, in which people are judged instantly by their credit scores, where they shop, and what brands they buy. Both narratives show us the horrifying possibilities that a culture consumed with consuming can become.

Another motif linking dystopian and zombie narratives is that of a protagonist who has to live in an oppressive society. In *Super Sad True Love Story* we have an aging and uncool bibliophile, Lenny Abramov, who lives in a world that is obsessed with youth and money. In *Stranger in a Strange Land* we have Valentine Michael Smith, a Martian who finds himself both fascinated and rejected by the religions of Earth. In *Walking Dead* we have Rick Grimes (Andrew Lincoln), a police officer and family man who is alone in the midst of the zombie apocalypse and in search of his family. In *Night of the Living Dead* we have Ben, a Black protagonist who cannot live with the flesh crazed zombies, or with the bigoted humans he is forced to take shelter with. Ben is ultimately killed by the society that he has been working for the entire time. In *Shaun of the Dead* we have Shaun (Simon Pegg), an absent-minded slacker who finds himself responsible for the lives of his friends and family. Within all of these zombie narratives, there is always the story of the protagonists and how they have to survive in a new world where laxity results in being cannibalized and ultimately turned into another rotting-fleshed eater of the living. They have to change the way that they live, from the way that they clothe themselves to the way that they eat, and adapt to the new environment. If they don't conform to the regulations set by their new authorities and circumstances they will either die or be forced to conform to the standards of zombie life as they succumb to the transformation.

The final way which zombie narratives are categorically dystopian is the inclusion of a love story, and often one that is tragic in nature. We can see this in *1984*, as Julia's involvement with Winston Smith is ultimately what gets her caught by The Party. In *Brave New World*, John's love for Lenina but rejection of everything she stands for, ultimately leads to his committing suicide. *A Clockwork Orange* upsets this a little by not having a direct love interest, but still ends with Alex contemplating settling down and raising a fam-

ily. Tragic love is common, but love seems ever-present, even in the apocalypse. And so it is in zombie narratives. In *Dawn of the Dead* there is the reporter, who ends up dead, and his pregnant girlfriend who is one of the two survivors left by the end of the film. In *28 Days Later*, Jim and Selena (Naomie Harris) end up together, even after a scene where she ridicules his naiveté in the face of their new zombie-filled reality by saying, “Have you got any plans, Jim? Do you want us to find a cure and save the world or just fall in love and fuck? Plans are pointless. Staying alive’s as good as it gets” (Harris). While there isn’t any evidence of the second half of her mocking proposal, they do fall in love by the end of the film, and it seems like they outlive the apocalypse. In *Shaun of the Dead*, the titular Shaun not only ends up with Liz (Kate Ashfield), his hetero-orthodox love interest, but with his best buddy Ed (Nick Frost), well, sort of, as Ed becomes a zombie but is hidden in Shaun’s shed where they continue to play video games together. *Zombieland* also ends with the main male protagonist Columbus (Jesse Eisenberg) and the main female protagonist Wichita (Emma Stone) driving into the distance with the other two characters in the back seat. The love stories that mark dystopian narrative are thus shared by zombie narratives. But dystopias are not enough; zombies are too rambunctious to even be contained by two categories. The third category to which zombies belong is absurdism.

Absurdism is a multi-faceted genre, which in and of itself is constantly being re-interpreted by those who work within it. Similar to dystopias, absurdist works, such as the Plays of Eugene Ionesco and Samuel Becket, and the writing of Albert Camus, often contain elaborate and elongated metaphors that make the entire work allegorical in nature. While dystopian allegories are varied, they often have to deal with societal and political themes. Absurdist works, on the other hand, are often satirical in nature, tied to existentialist thought, and commonly have themes challenging our ability to convey meaning. It is also common for Absurd works to examine and challenge societal norms. Absurd plays recurrently contain elements of humor, both intentional and unintentional, as the audience is given planned emotional reprieve from the often ghastly imagery invoked, as well as knee-jerk reactions to the depth of the subject matter. We often laugh in the face of discomfort and this genre more than any

other explores that phenomenon with its philosophical insight, and often fatalistic undertones.

A famous work to draw from in understanding an absurd hero is Albert Camus' *The Myth of Sisyphus* in which he describes the Ancient Greek character who had to push a rock up a mountain for eternity. His entire life becomes that single action, except in the moments when he achieves his goal, and the rock goes tumbling down the mountain. In that brief time when he is walking down the side of the mountain he is able to reach an awareness of the toil that consumes his life, and that awareness brings him to an exalted state, which is ended as he gets back to his rock, and resumes his toil. Though we sometimes are able to step outside the grind and view the work we do as the never-ending exertion that it is, it does not stop us from continuing to exert. We all have our Kierkegaardian "dark nights of the soul" in which we are bitterly overcome by the burdens of our lives and mortality, yet we pick up our rocks and push, becoming the solid objects that we attempt to propel. The absurdity of the situation lies in the fact that it is only in those moments when we are descending the mountain, those instants of potential wherein we contemplate what we are about to undertake, that we are filled with dread by the hollowness of our little victories. Our awareness shifts from exaltation to dread as we realize that we will continue, and that dread turns into apathy as we finally pick up our rock, and push once more.

The zombie is not only a fitting monster for the absurdist, but is the epitome of this absurd ideal. Zombies become a hero of the situation by their monomaniac pursuit of a single goal and apathy concerning anything outside of that goal. If he were undead, Sisyphus would not stop pushing when the rock peaked the mountain, but would continue shoving until it was once again at the bottom, and shove still until it was at the top again. The zombie doesn't have a Sisyphean moment of self-awareness. It is committed only to the toil that it represents. This emphasis on the repetition of action is reflected in Samuel Becket's *Waiting for Godot* in which the characters Vladimir and Estragon repeat themselves ad nauseam and never actually leave the stage like they say they want to. They seem to be unable to perform any decisive action outside of echoing what they've already done. Just so, the zombie will never reach the exalted state

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wherein it understands its actions, nor will it despair that those actions lack meaning. Its lack of scope makes it heroic, but absurdly heroic as it also lacks apprehension. In this way it upsets the genre that it champions. It will push eternally, and that is all it will do; it will never understand itself, or its situation, and never attempt to.

This is not all that lands the zombie in the genre of absurdity: we also have the absurdist preoccupation with the breakdown of conveyance. Zombies have no means of communication. They tend to form groups, but that seems to be nothing more than individuals who gather around a given area of interest. They group together irrationally. They individually hear a noise, or see a light or person, and move toward it until there is a mass of them around that object. Within all of this turmoil created by the assemblage of monomaniacal individuals there is no communication present. There is no general leading the zombie troops toward their goal, nor is there any facilitator to reconcile the person they are about to eat with his or her impending death. They run, they eat, and this can create groups. In *The Walking Dead* we see groups of zombies seemingly migrating together. An intense scene from the second season shows the survivors hiding under cars abandoned on the freeway, as a horde of walkers ambles by en masse. But once again this group seems to be nothing more than a collection of individuals following one another.

This hyper-individualized conglomerate is a fantastic example of the absurdist fear of the inability of meaning to be translated between individuals. Zombies don't care about their fellow zombies. There is no zombie culture, but every zombie is consumed with the same actions and motivations, as well as similar aesthetic features. They are simultaneously unwitting examples of perfect conformity and hyper-individualists obsessed with singular motivations. They shuffle on consumed by their individual desires. The fact that there is a group of shared particularity does not lead them to work together in any way. As zombies storm the bar in *Shaun of the Dead*, they don't discuss flanking maneuvers, nor do they try to build a human pyramid in an attempt to scale the roof. It is not a collective effort to pull David (Dylan Moran) out of the shattered window, they are all just grabbing him and ripping out his intestines for themselves. Nothing is communicated within the hive, they are all seeking personal gratification. When there is no immediate point of interest they

just stand around and moan.

Moaning, in and of itself, exemplifies the breakdown of human communication. Physically, they are somehow capable of vibrating their vocal chords, however rotten, but mentally they are incapable of any type of cogent speech. They are extreme versions of the Smiths and the Martins from Eugene Ionesco's *The Bald Soprano*, who are obsessed with themselves to the point where all communication breaks down. They ostentatiously spout non-sequiturs, but never stop actually paying any attention to one another. While they are completely incongruous, they are also completely interchangeable, as the play ends as the Smiths replace the Martins, and the Martins replace the Smiths and perform the exact same actions and dialogue from the beginning of the play. For zombies, moaning becomes a performative aspect of zombie-hood, while remaining completely self-indulgent. If speech is a form of communication that can convey emotion and intent, or build and destroy relationships and ideas, moaning is the antithesis of speech; it is not indicative of any emotion or inquisitiveness. The performance is not to attract other zombies, nor is it to scare off potential food. They moan as an aspect of zombie nature, but this is not something that has been created by zombies for zombies to do as an act of zombie solidarity. They do it instinctually, without any thought to their association with their new society. They become a satire of human communication, because all of their noise is just noise for the sake of noise. So it takes at least three genres to even categorize zombies; they are intrinsically invested in constantly disrupting the barriers we build. To further understand the disruptive nature of zombies; we look to zombies themselves.

Munching as Metaphor

As monsters from the genre of horror, zombies have already been established as creatures that exist as incarnations of fusion wherein they simultaneously embody two mutually exclusive states. As dystopian figures they epitomize a cultural trait so horrifically that they become analogues of the worst forms of fascism and intolerant control. As absurd heroes zombies show that they lack any form of ethic outside of their goal of finding people to attack and eat.

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Stepping into the world created by a zombie apocalypse as it is situated into these three genres we can integrate these concepts by applying them to the zombie itself. By taking these ideas and applying them directly to zombies we can further understand how they upset whatever presupposed notions of humanity that we ascribe to them. Zombies themselves can be seen as a force that simultaneously enforces and upsets societal notions of individual intellect, emotion, and identity as they exemplify or decay hegemonic, hetero-normative views of sex and gender.

Zombies are completely obsessed creatures. If Ahab wanted to kill the white whale, zombie Ahab sees every whale as white and wants to eat it. This singular focus on the individual goal does not, however, bring any form of satisfaction. Zombies attack and eat but in accomplishing this goal feel no sense of triumph. Directly following the climax of *Day of the Dead*, in which all of the human antagonists are killed by zombies, there is an orgy of feasting on flesh. Scene after scene depicts zombies ripping apart the humans they just killed and shoveling bloody pieces into their open mouths. There is no smiling, or grunts of satisfaction, there is simply the compulsion to continue eating. These zombies aren't seen as deriving pleasure from the fulfillment of their hunger. There is no elation.

The only zombie that shows any form of emotion in the original *Dead* trilogy is Bub from *Day of the Dead*, who takes up the gun that he was conditioned to use by the human Frankenstein, in an act of revenge. Frankenstein was a scientist who hypothesized that a zombie will start to act peacefully if conditioned to do so by positive reinforcement. Bub is his zombie test subject. Frankenstein teaches Bub to do things like press play on a cassette player to listen to classical music, and look at a book, as well as how to hold and fire a gun. For his good actions Bub is rewarded with a piece of human flesh cut off the corpse of a soldier who had died in the bunker in which the film is set. Soldiers who see that Frankenstein is using their dead comrades for his macabre experiment shoot him to death. When Bub later stumbles upon the dead scientist he moans in zombie dissatisfaction, and finds a loaded gun which he then carries with him to seek revenge. In this setting Bub's reactions and abilities can be seen as nothing more than the conditioning imposed on him by controlling the basis of Bub's monomaniacism. Bub's obsession is

fed only when he reacts in terms favorable to the person in control. Bub complies, because in his limited intellectual capacity this is the only way he can feed his obsession at all, even if it means reproducing something that he is not particularly interested in. To Bub they took his source of food away from him by killing Frankenstein. His reaction can thus be read as one of resentment, as opposed to sorrow over a dead friend. In scenes prior to this Bub only seems to react to Frankenstein in disinterest. He allows Frankenstein to come near, but only because he has been conditioned to recognize him as the font of flesh.

It is interesting that this film was made in 1985, when this relationship of obsession and performance to obtain it can be seen in a new light with the popularization of social networking websites. These sites have forced us to analyze our enjoyment of things, and how much of our daily actions become performances for us to gain the approval of our peers by posting about them online. Bub sought approval as it was the method of obtaining meat, we see approval as a goal in and of itself, and we both perform in ways that we think will garner that approval. Am I really, “So stoked to eat this reuben” as I posted, or do I just want people to think I am so that they give me that oh so elusive thumbs up? Is Bub really concerned with the death of Frankenstein, or does he just think that he won’t get to eat the thumbs that Frankenstein gave him? Why do I think eating a reuben will gain popular approval? Optimistically the answer would be that I really do love that reuben, and that Bub really does feel sorrow at the death of Frankenstein, but a land of horror, dystopia and absurdity is generally not a land of optimism. The ambiguity of Bub’s emotional state, concurrent with the lack of emotions every other zombie portrays on film, further exemplifies the zombie tendency to shatter such easy distinctions.

Zombies also malign the concept of human intellect. In *Shaun of the Dead*, we are shown zombies that are capable of a limited learning curve, but that learning is only applicable to repetitive actions: like replacing carts in a super-store or playing a video game. This serves as another example of both the indifference that zombies have toward their own lives which is indicative of a dearth of emotional ability and nominal cognitive aptitude. In their indifference, they don’t care if you hack away a limb, just as they don’t care if

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they go home after five pm. They can do the job eternally because they already live within a context of perpetual repetition. They can be trained to do some action, like play a video game or shoot a gun, but without that training they would not have done those actions for their own sake. They lack the imagination to construct something for the sake of entertainment, or to use anything but rudimentary tools on their own. Bub upsets the simplified supposition that zombies lack all cerebral capability by shooting a man with a gun, reinforces that supposition by his simplistic choice of attack.

Bub further exemplifies the loss of mental faculty when he initially sets himself free from the chains that keep him tethered to the wall of the laboratory. He pulls the pin keeping the chain connected to the wall out, and it seems like he doesn't really know why or how. After the chain falls to the ground, he tries to put it back in place, but lacks an understanding of the simple pin structure of the chain, and eventually starts wandering aimlessly off. He initially attempts to put the pin back because he lacks the imaginative faculty to understand the ramifications of his freedom. In the simple action/reward system that his life had become, which had only been in place for a few days, he had immediately forgotten that life doesn't have to be arranged in that way. While the initial freedom meant an escape from the system that he was used to, he could not concoct a new scheme that would provide him with his need for carnage. To him, if he were not chained to the wall he could not be rewarded. His font of sweet flesh meats was gone, and he was not able to imagine any other source.

What would seem ironic if not for the established contradictory nature of zombies, is that even though they seem to lose all cognitive function, the only way to kill them is to destroy their brains. They are dependent on their intact brains for survival, despite the fact that they don't use them in any human sense. They can be said to use their brains only animalistically, but they remain in the form of humans. This view of the brain reinforces the material view of human action and thought, as characterized by the fact that they die completely when their brains are destroyed. Concurrently, zombies upset this view by depicting the working and seemingly human brain within a zombie and its failure to recreate humanity. Although zombies have all of the features of a human being, including the brain

essential to human intellectual thought and emotional intelligence, they are not capable of replicating human values. It is a decaying human form, but a human form nonetheless, which brings us to the next disruption caused by zombies: despite the fact that they look human, zombies lose all societal identity markers.

If a male nurse has a female banker for a patient and the two of them are suddenly accosted and bitten by a zombie in the hospital, they are no longer capable of being any aspect of who they were. In the wake of becoming a zombie you no longer have a job. Contrary to Karl Marx, there are still a great many people who derive aspects of their identity from their vocation, even in a capitalist consumer society such as ours. Zombies lose that aspect of their human identity. If a person was a used car salesperson before he or she was bitten, afterward, they are only a zombie. If a father was anxious about his daughter's soccer game, as a zombie, he's lost that anxiety. If a teenaged drag queen liked to watch movies on Saturday afternoons with her friends, she would only attempt to find and eat people now. In the opening credits of *Zombieland*, zombies are depicted chasing people around the specific habitats of their past lives and vocations: what can be assumed to be a mother is being chased by a gaggle of little girls who are dressed like they were attending a princess themed birthday party; a mechanic in protective gear working on a car is shown tackled, a guard is seen jumping out of a prison tower to get away from a prisoner turned zombie, a wedding is overcome by the chaos of the zombie presence, and a man is shown throwing a briefcase full of money into the air, which two zombies are ignoring to chase him. Familial, hierarchal, and vocational relationships are nullified and replaced with the single hierarchal relationship between the zombie's desire to eat and use of its body to attain that goal.

This loss of all societal identifiers is disrupted by Ed, the best friend of Shaun in *Shaun of the Dead*, as he seems to retain his ability to play video games at the end of the film. In contemporary society the choices we make in the entertainment we consume is another common method of forming identity both individually and collectively. Gamers are not only people who play video games, as this would be applicable to anybody who plays games on their phone or his or her computer at work, but those individuals who use video games as a means of identifying with a larger community.

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The same can be said of any other form of entertainment, where the occasional enjoyment of that entertainment does not necessarily identify the enjoyer with the community established by it. As Ed sits and plays video games in the beginning and end of the film his actions would seem to express retention of that cultural indicator. As a zombie Ed seems to have reserved this piece of his identity, but that same identity at the start of the film depicts Ed's video game playing as analogous to zombies to begin with. He sits placidly on his couch; passively listening as Shaun calls out the locations of targets in the video game. His only responses are grunts. While Ed does seem to obey, it is autonomously depicted, as the same actions would have been taken regardless of Shaun's presence. In this way zombie Ed is no different from human Ed. He has not fully carried a piece of human identity into his zombie world but exhibited zombie-like activity in his human life.

Vocational and entertainment based identity are not the only societal markers stripped from zombies: sexual and gender identity is as well. The biological aspect of masculinity and femininity is degraded by the rotting human form. The genitalia are no longer functional aspects of the human body. In the popular *Resident Evil* video game franchise male zombies lose their genitalia altogether. There is also no drive to have sex of any form, for either pleasure or reproduction. Sexual attraction, as well as any other form of attraction, is overridden by the attraction to violence and the need to consume. This shift of normative human desires to zombie desires can once again be seen as a loss of psychological attachment to human concerns, as well as a degradation of human biological sexual identifiers. Physically: a zombie is only a zombie. Also, in the opening credits of *Zombieland*, a zombie that used to be an exotic dancer is seen chasing a man down the street. As she runs, tassels can be seen bouncing in conjunction with her breasts, parts of the human anatomy normally associated with femininity, but the effect is horrific or comical, as opposed to sexual (depending on your bent), because the zombie is an inherently desexualized being; the near-nakedness of the woman is overshadowed by the blood covering her body, and spewing out of her mouth. As a now ex-stripper, the objectification of her female body by monetizing its worth as an object of purely aesthetic pleasure is upset by that same female body then being used

to kill and eat people. In this sense she is simultaneously freed from her body being scrutinized as an object of sexual pleasure and entrapped by her new identity as a zombie. She doesn't have to concern herself with making money, so any job, including this one, is rendered moot, but the essentiality of money for survival is replaced by the unending desire and compulsion to find and eat living flesh.

Beside the physical aspects of sexuality, the performance of gender as delegated to individuals by the standards of their society is also destroyed in the process of becoming a zombie. Similar to their antipathy regarding their lives in general, zombies are unconcerned with their appearance or actions in relation to their gender. Zombies don't spend time in the morning fixing their hair or bathing for that matter. Zombies aren't troubled with who picks up the check after the meal. If a Russian woman and a Vietnamese man both get bitten, the aspects of femininity and masculinity that are particular to their culture are going to be subsumed by their new desire to wander around and eat people. Early in *Zombieland*, the character Columbus allows a girl who was bitten by a zombie to stay at his house after she knocks on his door and screams to let her in. Initially this woman is established to be so sexually potent that Columbus is too intimidated to even ask her name. Columbus wakes up in the morning to find that she has turned into a zombie. She is puking blood and yellow liquid all over as she chases him around his apartment, which immediately destroys any thought of sexual activity in Columbus, and in us as we mirror his reaction of horror. He only wants to get away from her. The male gaze is diverted from the woman as an object of beauty and converted into a feeling of dread as the woman is transformed into the genderless zombie.

In this sense, zombies simultaneously exemplify what can be seen as a liberating force that dissolves hetero-normative masculine hegemony, and a subjugating modifier of positive forms of human identity. Zombies truly do not care about their role in their society, or their prior human societies' constructed valuations of gender categories, or as Judith Butler terms it in *Gender Trouble*, the "disciplinary production of gender [as it] effects a false stabilization of gender in the interests of the heterosexual construction and regulation of sexuality within the reproductive domain" (p. 172). Zombies overcome these constructions and regulations of sexuality as they are mentally

and physically altered into another being. Their actions no longer validate societal expectations, nor do their physical forms fully conform to human sexual demarcation. As zombies eschew human performative and biological signifiers, they both become representations of the abject and force humans into that role. Butler defines the abject by saying that it,

...designates that which has been expelled from the body, discharged as excrement, literally rendered 'Other'. This appears as an expulsion of alien elements, but the alien is effectively established through this expulsion. The construction of the 'not-me' as the abject establishes the boundaries of the body which are also the first contours of the subject (p. 169).

In this sense zombies represent both societal and physical expulsion from humanity. They signify societal expulsion as humans literally recoil and are revolted by their presence. They signify physical abjection in their denigration of the human form as it is disrupted by the act of rotting but continuing to move, which becomes a casting off of normative biological signifiers. This can be seen as liberating as the individual no longer suffers under hegemonic distinctions of societal signifiers of body or performance. In the case of zombies, abjection as a means of empowerment as individuals transgress gender distinctions, is only gained in complete subordination to their new categorical and performative role as zombies.

Zombies can also be interpreted as positively embodying unification by their lack of violent action toward other zombies but the cost is complete compliance to the even stricter set of zombie regulation. A woman who becomes a zombie is no longer categorically a woman, who can be seen as gaining a sense of autonomy and agency by absconding hegemonic signifiers, but she is now a zombie that is completely servile to the will to eat flesh and destroy all non-zombies. In the most egregiously Puritanical sense the people within the zombie fold need fear no zombie harm but must adhere to a strict zombie lifestyle. That new lifestyle is defined by violent action toward any creature that is different from zombies, or the human being as "Other." In obtaining a form of gender sovereignty the

new zombie violently forces compliance on anyone different. This can be seen in *The Walking Dead* as the human characters spread themselves with zombie remains and emulate zombie movement in an attempt to sneak past a horde of zombies. They must resemble the zombie in every way if they hope to escape from violent contact with the zombies that surround them. Protagonists attempting to pass as zombies for safety parallels homosexual individuals in American high schools who emulate heterosexual partnerships in the hope of escaping torment inflicted by hetero-normative classmates. In both cases those not seen as normal by the society they are surrounded by must act contrarily to their desires to escape punishment. So zombies both serve as a heroic emblem of gender transcendence and upset that sense of transcendence by recapitulating a fear of the "Other" in a different and incredibly violent way.

Zombies also upset normative human reproductive ideals. Every zombie has the ability to create more zombies, but no zombie has the genetic material to reproduce genetic facsimiles of it. Taken in this light, the zombie becomes directly combative of hetero-normative sexual and gender identities. They are an asexual version of Freud's polyamorous pervert. They share the same desire, or lack thereof, for every part of the human species, and can reproduce zombies, even if not genetic replications of themselves, with any and all human beings. In the *Resident Evil Series* of video games, the communicability of the virus reaches beyond the human species into the animal kingdom, where there are birds, dogs, and alligators that contract the disease. In *The Walking Dead* television series we see zombies eating animals, but there is no indication whether zombie-ism is something that transfers between species. In several films from Romero's *Dead* series we see zombies eating bugs, but once again there is no indication that bugs can carry the disease. In any form of the zombie there is an interest in the consumption and destruction of all non-zombie fauna, and in several instances the reproduction of the zombie within the various creatures it incites violence upon. This is a particularly terrible way to create progeny, and stands in direct opposition to normative human means of procreation, which is consensual by all parties involved, and non-destructive.

These erosions to personal and social identity as they are subsumed by a controlling force are par for the course in dystopian

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fiction. Human fears of being misunderstood and alone, doomed to live a life of endless, meaningless repetition as all other concerns are washed away by our complete transformation are firmly entrenched in absurdist discourse. The strong establishment of “Other” as a tool for understanding ourselves is a move that horror knows well. As we draw all of these parallels, possibly posting pictures along the walls and connecting strings to pins, the connection between zombies and these three genres shows us not only the connections that these genres share, but that zombies have firmly embedded themselves in the modern consciousness through these genres. If we were to draw a Venn Diagram of these three genres, invariably zombies would be strongly centered as the locus of the intersections between them all.

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Living-Learning Communities: Social Benefits for First Time Freshmen

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The research I have conducted on living-learning communities focuses on the social and academic benefits for first year freshmen. Being that I have plans to continue my education into graduate school for Student Affairs with a concentration in residential life, I have found an interest in the variety of opportunities that are offered through programmatic living areas in the residential communities on university campuses. Living-learning communities are a fairly new idea that has been brought to higher education within the last three decades and includes themed living areas (buildings, floors, villages), educational cohorts (sharing classes, forming study groups, peer teaching), and programmatic events and trips that highlight the emphasis of the community. Living-learning communities give promises of a socially and academically flourishing freshmen year. This idea of offering students a more rounded and fulfilled freshmen year is appealing to parents and students who want the biggest advantage when entering their educational journey.

Living-Learning Community

Living-learning communities (LLC) can be found in residential living areas on university campuses. An LLC is a group of students who have chosen to expand their educational experience through shared learning experiences that go beyond the classroom. This involves living in a designated living area or building along with those residents taking classes together based on the emphasis of the living learning community.

Jean Lave and Etienne Wenger introduced the concept of incorporating theme based 'living' to freshmen success programs in the late 1980s and early 1990s. Living together in areas that are de-

fined by a shared educational or social interest allowed the residents to learn from each other. They learned strategies to gain knowledge from peers by belonging to various communities and social cohorts. Before the term “living learning communities” was coined, these original shared living areas for educational and social advancement were also known as Communities of Practice.

Scholars Wolff-Michael Roth and Lee Yew Jin, as a form of praxis, introduced the ‘learning’, or rather, the in-class component of living-learning communities. According to this model, incoming freshman could apply to participate in areas of academic interest. A team of advisors, professors, and peer mentors would create tightly knit educational spaces for students, offering resources for educational advancement. Professors implemented learning and teaching designs in the classroom that were influenced by these ideas and this team of experts. Together, students would take classes and use the tools given to them to teach each other. They were encouraged to share their ways of doing mathematics, history, science, etc. with each other. The ways they took notes, or chose to study were not only based on a single and individual mind, but rather were multiplied and supported by the cohort of peers, professional staff, and mentors. These groups of educational cohorts became popular at U.S. colleges and universities during the late 1980s.

MOSAIC

With the opportunity to conduct my research at Sonoma State University, I have chosen to focus on a specific living-learning community. The LLC I have chosen is MOSAIC, Making Our Space An Inclusive Community. MOSAIC is one of three Living Learning Communities at Sonoma State University. It is the newest LLC; with the 2011-2012 school year being its third year in existence. I have found a passion for the program through involvement as a student during my first year and then returning in my second year as a student leader. MOSAIC is the only LLC at Sonoma State University that is a student driven environment, where community, human awareness & diversity, leadership, and service are the focus areas for first time freshmen. The MOSAIC mission statement includes the MOSAIC S.E.A.L.S. The five MOSAIC Seals are the guiding prin-

ciples on which MOSAIC was founded. The Seals acronym stands for: Service & civic engagement, Embracing diversity, Academic excellence, Leadership & personal development and Social responsibility & social justice.

The creation of the MOSAIC program was in response to the possibility of Sonoma State University not meeting the WASC Accreditation requirements in 2008-2009. One of the requirements that Sonoma State had to meet in order to gain the WASC Accreditation was to actively create programs and activities to improve their diversity. So during the discussion and efforts to meet the accreditation, the Residential Life department responded by creating a new housing community that would ideally boost diversity in the residential community.

Residents in MOSAIC take two classes together in the fall (Sociology 201 and University 102) and three classes together in the spring (University 199, one of two women's and gender studies classes, and Leadership 238). The classes that they take together are chosen for the students to explore the numerous aspects of diversity and social justice. These topics include: race and ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, religion, and abilities. Students are required to sign contracts stating that they will complete the classes in order to remain in the program. The academic courses are discussed and incorporated into the lesson plans of the University classes. The University classes are freshmen readiness classes, where students learn about tips and resources to create a successful college career.

To further engage academic conversations and lessons from inside the classroom, and to encourage lessons of diversity and social justice outside of the classroom, students also engage in service-learning activities and field trips. These activities and trips are discussed in the University classes, through lessons and reflections, and programs within their residential building. The MOSAIC living-learning community is housed in the Chardonnay building in Zinfandel Village. The CSA (Community Services Advisor) for Chardonnay works with the students, peer mentors, and professional staff of MOSAIC to create social and educational programs, events, and trips twice a month throughout the school year to keep the students/residents active in their community. Building space is limited to 50 residents. Ideally the program will eventually gain enough publicity

and applicants to move into a larger building in order to house more students for the program.

In the beginning, living-learning communities did not involve both living and learning aspects. As the interest in helping freshmen in college to succeed grew, experimental advancement programs began to form. Social learning theorist, Etienne Wenger, and social anthropologist and social learning theorist, Jean Lave, worked together in creating the concept of Communities of Practice. In his book, *Communities of Practice: Learning, meaning, and identity*, Etienne Wenger explains theories and practices of student community formation for the sole purpose of teaching one another how to learn and how to take full advantage of everyone's skills in the community. One of the four main premises of Wenger's theory is the fact that we are social beings that flourish when interacting with others (Wenger, p. 4). The basis of interacting and using mutual student benefit is to promote social and academic growth. These groups were formed in residential areas, so only technically involved sharing living spaces at first. Although only sharing living space, the communities encouraged study groups and academic based event programming.

Jean Lave and Etienne Wenger later worked together to take the idea of living communities one step forward. In 1991 the pair worked together on their book, *Situated Learning: Legitimate Peripheral Participation*. In this book, the authors introduce the concept of Situated Learning. Although Wenger's work with communities up until this point only involved students living together, academic problems became more apparent when compared to the social benefits that were happening. Together the authors claimed that,

...it may appear obvious that human minds develop in social situations, and that they see the tools and representational media that culture provides to support, extend, and reorganize mental functioning. But cognitive theories of knowledge representation and educational practice, in school and in the workplace, have not been sufficiently responsive to questions about these relationships (Lave & Wenger, p. 11).

This is the point in their research when they reached an understanding that academic support inside the classroom was needed to fully surround students with support and encouragement.

Living-learning communities are beneficial when compared to living only programs. The majority of freshmen advancement programs began with live-in situations based on similar interests. The social interactions with peers were not carrying over to the classroom, simply because the peers students were interacting with were not necessarily in the same classes as each other. *Examining the Academic Performance and Retention of First-year Students in Living-learning Communities and First-year Experience Courses* by John R. Purdie II and Vicki J. Rosser focuses on both kinds of freshmen year communities; living communities, as well as living learning communities. The findings of John R. Purdie II and Vicki J. Rosser's study about the academic performance and retention rates of first year freshmen in living-learning communities and themed based living reveals that programs with both living and learning components raise average GPA. Living in only themed areas without a classroom component did not alter the average freshmen year GPA. This is important to my research because it illustrates the value of the combination of both living and learning for freshmen advancement.

Through studies of grades and retention rates we are seeing a pattern of academic success. But what is the use of academic success if the student as a person is not being fulfilled within their community? "Exploring Students' Perceptions of Academically Based Living-learning Communities" by Matthew R. Wawrzynski, Jody Elizabeth Jessup-Anger, Katherine Stoiz, Cynthia Helman, and Jacqueline Beaulieu focuses on both aspects of living and classroom that have the biggest impact on students. My study mirrors the research conducted through focus groups and seeks to obtain information straight from the experiences of students in first year programs.

Faculty and student affairs professionals must work together to create learning experiences within and beyond the classroom. Collaboration may not take place spontaneously, but rather requires that everyone is aware of the mission of the community and acts in ways that are congruent with it (Wawrzynski,

Jessup-Anger, Stolz, Helman & Beaulieu, 2009).

Once again the idea of inside and outside classroom support is solidified as beneficial to the students. Faculty and student affairs professionals work together to fully surround students and maintain a consistency of support and encouragement.

Methods

This research is a two year long research project. This first year is qualitative data collection through focus groups. I chose to start with the voices, opinions and honest ideas about the program from students that are currently in the program as well as student who have gone through the program in the two years prior to the current 2011-2012 school year. I began my focus group research with an experimental focus group containing a mixture of current MOSAIC students, as well as alumni of the program. This first focus group included five participants: one participant (MOSAIC years 2009-2012), two participants (MOSAIC years 2010-2011), and 2 participants (MOSAIC years 2011-2012).

Once the initial focus group with a mixture of students was completed. I realized that having a mixture of students created a problem in the way that questions were asked and the topics that were brought to light. Half of the group was discussing the struggles or excitement with the program as they were experiencing it now, currently half way through the program. Whereas, the second half of the first focus group was reflecting on the way in which MOSAIC benefited their college experience and how it had prepared them for other classes and internships. For the next focus groups, I decided to have separate focus groups, separating the current MOSAIC students from students who had already completed the program, so I could better frame questions and lead more fluid conversations.

The second focus group was a group of five participants, all of which are alumni of the MOSAIC program. Three participants were from MOSAIC years 2009-2010, which was the very first year the program was in place. One participant was a CSA (Community Services Advisor) from MOSAIC year 2009-2010. The fifth participant was from MOSAIC class of 2010-2011. The majority of the

conversation was based around the ways in which these students have been impacted by the social and educational lessons that they learned and took from their year involved with the MOSAIC program.

The third and last focus group was a group of five participants that are all current 2001-2012 MOSAIC students. The dominant topic of this conversation revolved around whether or not each student felt that the program was fulfilling, or not fulfilling, his or her expectations. Another large portion of the conversation was dominated by the ways they felt included and excluded from their MOSAIC peers and/or the rest of Sonoma State University's campus.

I chose the MOSAIC student participants by offering the opportunity to all of the current students. Once I had a few volunteers, I reached out to particular students who I knew could offer a different, and possibly even a negative point of view, to the focus groups. I made this decision based on the assumptions that the student who volunteered to help in research would be more involved, more passionate and positive about the program. The students who volunteered were often the students excelling in classes, as well as attending events and programs outside of the classroom and in the community. The students I directly reached out to were the students I knew had been struggling in their classes, and who were the first to be vocal about their disagreement with the lessons and topics that were presented in their University classes. I chose alumni of the program by reaching out to as many students that I still had contact information for, and offering the opportunity to as many of the alumni of the program that I know are still enrolled and attending Sonoma State University. I chose to research both current and past students to gain a wider perspective and opinion of the program. I understood that the emotions felt by the participants about the program while they were participating in it would likely be very different from the feelings then that of a hindsight view of alumni students.

Results

In order to find the benefits of the MOSAIC program, I have used the "Benefits of Active Involvement in MOSAIC" model that is promised to participants in the program. The program is intentional

in using the word “active” as the adjective for “involvement”. This allows the program to have an excuse if MOSAIC students are not experiencing a successful freshmen year. Being that the program is currently three years old, I have used the focus group data to illustrate the successes and opportunities for growth based on the five intended benefits of MOSAIC.

The five “Benefits of Active Involvement in MOSAIC”

1. Campus leadership opportunities
2. Continual engagement in dialogue about what it means to be socially responsible and a citizen of the world
3. Exploration of career and learning goals both in the classroom and outside as they relate to issues of human awareness and diversity
4. Opportunity to live in a unique community of learners that are dedicated to working towards social justice
5. A “safe space” where differences can be openly explored and where all are welcomed

1. Campus leadership opportunities:

Success: “If I wasn’t in MOSIAC, I probably wouldn’t have taken a leadership class, I wouldn’t have applied to be a CSA. I wouldn’t have seen the significance of being a positive image on campus. I wouldn’t have realized how important it is to stay in college and to set an example for everyone from where I came from.” –Kristal Raheem, 2009-2010

MOSAIC has successfully enticed and encouraged passion for leadership in its students.

Opportunity for growth: “And [the CSA position] was between me, another black CSA, and our only trans CSA because we were labeled the most diverse.” – Former CSA

MOSAIC staff can begin to grow the image of diversity beyond physical and visible identities.

2. Continual engagement in dialogues about what it means to be socially responsible and a citizen of the world:

Success: “Even with class discussions and things that would happen outside of our dorm, we would come back and still have discussion about what went on throughout the day and throughout classes. MOSAIC enabled us, as freshmen, to have dialogue about a lot of issues that were going on at Sonoma State”
–Kristal Raheem, 2009-2010

This is an illustration of students in MOSAIC allowing the information that is being presented to them in the classroom into their social and personal lives.

Opportunity for growth: “It makes us a separate unit from the rest of the school, I feel that programs like this need to be more universal to the university” –
Current student, 2011-2012

The program needs to become more of a presence to the rest of Sonoma State students. With more campus visibility by the rest of the student body, MOSAIC can fully develop into the diversity supportive program that it was intended to be.

3. Exploration of career and learning goals both in the classroom and outside as they relate to issues of human awareness and diversity:

Success: “I joined C.O.T.S. (Committee Of The Shelter-less) this year and it has been really helpful just in my discussion groups and seminars. I can easily bring up things that I learned from being in MOSAIC.” –Jesse Adams, 2009-2010

MOSAIC students have been inspired to reach into human awareness career paths and internships.

Opportunity for growth: “It also really promotes leadership among its students, Especially those who want to go into fields of social justice or social responsibility or different categories or areas of oppression or injustice or privilege” –Danielle Smith, CSA 2009-2010

Focusing on imposing a desire for leadership on a selected type of student excludes students with introverted personalities, or students who are interested in sciences or humanities from gaining the optimal amount of encouragement.

4. Opportunity to live in a unique community of learners that are dedicated to working towards social justice:

Success: “I wanted to surround myself around a diverse group of people, and people who were interested in social justice issues.” –Raquel Mayer, 2009-2010

The response was given to a question about the application process and choosing MOSAIC out of an array of living areas that are offered at Sonoma State University. MOSAIC has done a well enough job through its mission statement and application to actively entice students who want a unique community.

Opportunity for growth: “Yes, the programs and activities that we were doing had to do with social justice and diversity, but for me it was predictable, it was cliché, its kind of far fetched. I was looking for activities that I hadn’t seen or done before.” –John Michael Vincent Coralde, 2010-2011

The response was given when asked about the program's application of lessons. As the student population of MOSAIC changes every year, there should be a way to use the demographics and interests of current students to base the program around. There needs to be an understanding that many of the students taking the initiative to apply for MOSAIC are likely to have been previously involved with social justice and human awareness activities. Being that students may have a base line of information coming into the program, some of the beginner-type lessons and activities can be brushed over, and a deeper intellectual dialogue surrounding diversity can be achieved.

5. A "safe space" where differences can be openly explored and where all are welcomed:

Success: "That was my safe zone, I would go out to classes and I would be the only person of color in those classes, and would be able to come home, and I knew that my house mates were having the same experiences in their classes." –Kristal Raheem, 2009-2010

MOSAIC has successfully created a safe place for residents in their suites and apartments with fellow MOSAIC students.

Opportunity for growth: "I honestly have mixed feelings about the program. First semester it really bothered me to have the professor out White people... It was inclusive for people excluded, but that doesn't fix anything to exclude that one culture" –Current MOSAIC Student, MOSAIC 2011-2012

MOSAIC will need to be more inclusive of privileged allies. Diversity should not remain in the hands of minorities. The issues need to be shared and handled by

minorities as well as the majority. Without the safe place and comfort for allies of privilege, the program is still excluding a group of people.

Future Research

This first year of research, during the 2011-2012 academic school year, involved qualitative data via focus groups. The information that I acquired from first hand accounts of current and past MOSAIC students allowed me to qualitatively see the ways in which MOSAIC has fulfilled the intended benefits of involvement, as well as their opportunities for growth within those intended benefits. Next year, during the 2012-2013 academic school year, I will conduct a second year of research. This research will be based on quantitative data gathered through surveys and statistical research. The areas of educational and social successes and opportunities for growth that I will focus on will include retention rates, leadership roles, club involvement, and documented residential policy violations. I will also be collecting this data from another residential freshmen living community called Co-op. Co-op is an interest theme-based living community without a classroom component. The data that has been collected this year from MOSAIC students resulted in an overwhelming majority of students who claimed living together was more beneficial than taking classes together. I have chosen to focus on Co-op to compare with MOSAIC to see if, in fact, living together is enough support to have a socially and educationally beneficial freshmen year in college.

Appendices

Focus Group Questions

1. What do you remember about your reasons for applying to this program? What were your reasons for applying to this program?
2. How would you define the program?
3. Did the program meet your expectations?
4. How did the program benefit you as a student? Resi-

- dent? Person?
5. Describe an impactful memory you have of your year in the program. Describe a strong memory you have of your year in the program... Describe a memory about how the program impacted you.
 6. What is one lesson you have kept with you?
 7. What was your overall view of the program?
 8. Why do you think this program includes both sharing classes and living together? Is one more important than the other? Could the program have worked the same without living together?
 9. What are some of the weaknesses of the program?
 10. Are there any other comments that you would like to add? Any questions or topics that you thought you would be answering or discussing?

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Giant Salamander Genetics

Octavio Cervantes, Biology

The primary objective of this project is to conduct a focused molecular genetic survey of Pacific Giant salamanders using DNA sequence data from the control region of mitochondrial DNA. We have chosen to use this marker for its combination of utility in assessing within-species population structure and its cost effectiveness.

The California Giant Salamander (*Dicamptodon ensatus*) is an endemic salamander in northern California, living in streams and dense woodlands. *D. ensatus* is a model species for studying the effects of vicariance and dispersal in the northern California area. Speciation of *D. ensatus* is estimated to have occurred between 6.5 and 9.5 MY ago (Good 1989), making them one of the oldest lineages of salamanders in California. However, their range is interrupted by a significant geographic barrier, the San Francisco Bay, which may act as a complete barrier to migration such that populations south of the Bay may be genetically divergent from the populations north of the Bay. The formation of the San Francisco Bay, which began approximately 2-3 million years ago (Stoffer & Gordon 2001), was a vicariance event that split the once contiguous range of *D. ensatus*. Previous studies of *D. ensatus* morphology has suggested that southern populations of *D. ensatus* have longer limbs, larger more robust heads, more mottling on the throat and chin area, and a greater number of maxillary, premaxillary and vomerine teeth than northern populations (Nussbaum, 1976).

D. ensatus occupies a total range of less than 20,000 square kilometers and is listed as having near-threatened status according to the International Conservation Union. This makes regional management of lands used by this species a key component for long-term survival of this and similar species. Amphibians are generally considered to be limited in their dispersal ability and often appear to have strong site fidelity (Smith & Green 2005). For most salamanders, 94% of the maximum dispersal distances are typically less than 1km (Smith & Green 2005). This information combined with

reported observations of Petranka (1998) and Good (1989), it appears that *D. ensatus* is likely to have a relatively low dispersal ability which could limit its potential for gene flow among populations. Moreover, in areas where habitat may be fragmented, an enhanced lack of gene flow among subpopulations can result in local loss of genetic diversity and increased potential for extirpation (Frankham et. al. 2009). Fig. 2 provides a map of the sampling localities used in the genetic analysis of *D. ensatus* and Table 1 provides the latitude and longitude of the specific sites chosen for the salamanders in my study.

In this report, we provided information designed to enhance the understanding of the status of *D. ensatus* at the Midpeninsula Regional Open Space District (MROSD) sites as well as how giant salamander populations at these sites relate to other localities within the species' modest range. First, we chose El Corte Madera as our Southern site and Mt. Tamalpais as our Northern site. Second, we conducted a molecular genetic survey of California Giant salamanders associated with the MROSD using DNA sequence data from the control region of mitochondrial DNA. In this part of the analysis, we focused on one primary objective:

- 1) Determine if California Giant Salamanders sampled in the Northern site (Mt. Tamalpais) were genetically different from the samples chosen from the Southern site (El Corte Madera).

Through the examination of the Pacific Giant salamander samples from sites South and North of the San Francisco Bay, the research focused on one primary objective: Determine if Pacific Giant Salamanders sampled in the South Bay form a distinct population segment (DPS) from individuals sampled North of the San Francisco Bay. The site chosen for the Northern region will be Mt. Tamalpais and the site chosen for the Southern site will be El Corte Madera.

Methods

Sampling will be conducted under approved California Scientific Collecting Permits issued to Derek Girman and Briana Callahan.

Genetic sampling consists of capturing each individual by hand, clipping a 3mm piece of the end of the tail (which regrows), and releasing the salamander exactly where it was found. Throughout the process we will follow an approved IACUC protocol for humane handling and care of vertebrates.

DNA will be extracted using a standard phenol/chloroform protocol. An example of this process is shown in Fig. 4. Following extraction, we will isolate and amplify a 750 base pair portion of the mitochondrial genome using polymerase chain reaction (PCR). An example of this process is shown in Fig. 5. Samples will be sequenced in the forward and reverse directions using dye terminator cycle sequencing following the protocol specified by the ABI Big Dye ® Terminator v1.1 Cycle Sequencing Kit on ABI genetic analyzer (Applied Biosystems, Foster City, Ca) at the Core DNA Analysis Facility located at Sonoma State University. DNA sequences will be assembled and examined using the program Sequencher 4.7 (Gene Codes Corporation Inc.). All sequences will be confirmed and adjusted by visual inspection of chromatograms using Sequencher V. 4.7.

Relationships among *D. ensatus* mtDNA control region sequences were analyzed using three approaches. The relationships of the haplotypes were first estimated by unweighted maximum parsimony analysis using PAUP* version 4.0 (Swofford 1999). The strength of each node was assessed using 1000 bootstrap replicates. Two published haplotypes from *Dicamptodon tenebrosus* were used as an outgroup to root the phylogeny. *D. tenebrosus* was selected as the most appropriate outgroup, because, among the other *Dicamptodon* species, *D. copei*, *D. tenebrosus*, *D. atterimus*, it has been shown that *D. tenebrosus* is the sister species to *D. ensatus*. Multiple *D. tenebrosus* haplotypes were used to provide better consistency in polarizing character states in the analysis. Secondly, the genetic distances among control region nucleotide sequences were estimated using the Tamura-Nei model which estimates the differential rates of transitional substitution between purines and between pyrimidines and the proportion of transversional differences (Tamura & Nei 1993). Genetic distances were used to construct neighbor-joining trees in PAUP* 4.0 (Swofford 1999).

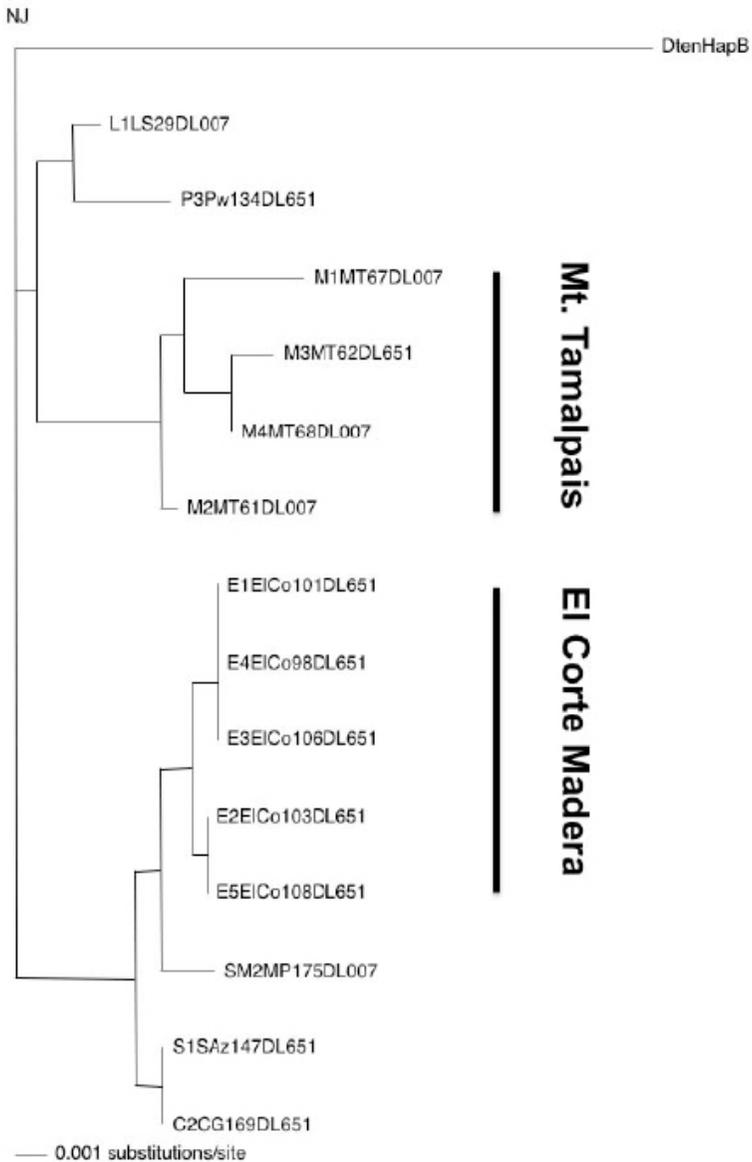


Fig.1 Neighbor Joining Tree based on Tamura-Nei distances depicting relationship between Mt. Tamalpais and El Corte Madera salamanders

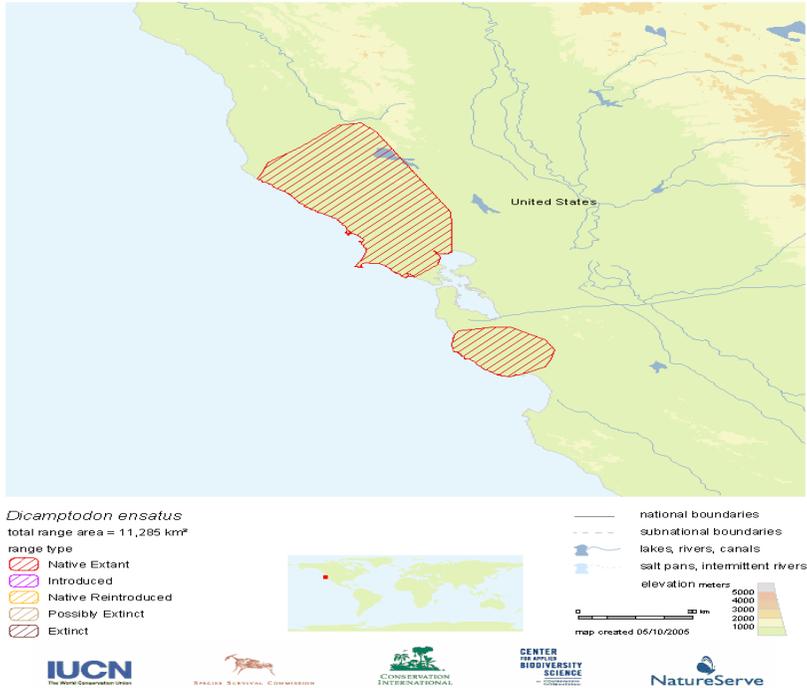


Fig. 2 Map depicting the sampling localities used in the genetic analysis of *Dicamptodon ensatus*. Dots represent approximate sampling localities.

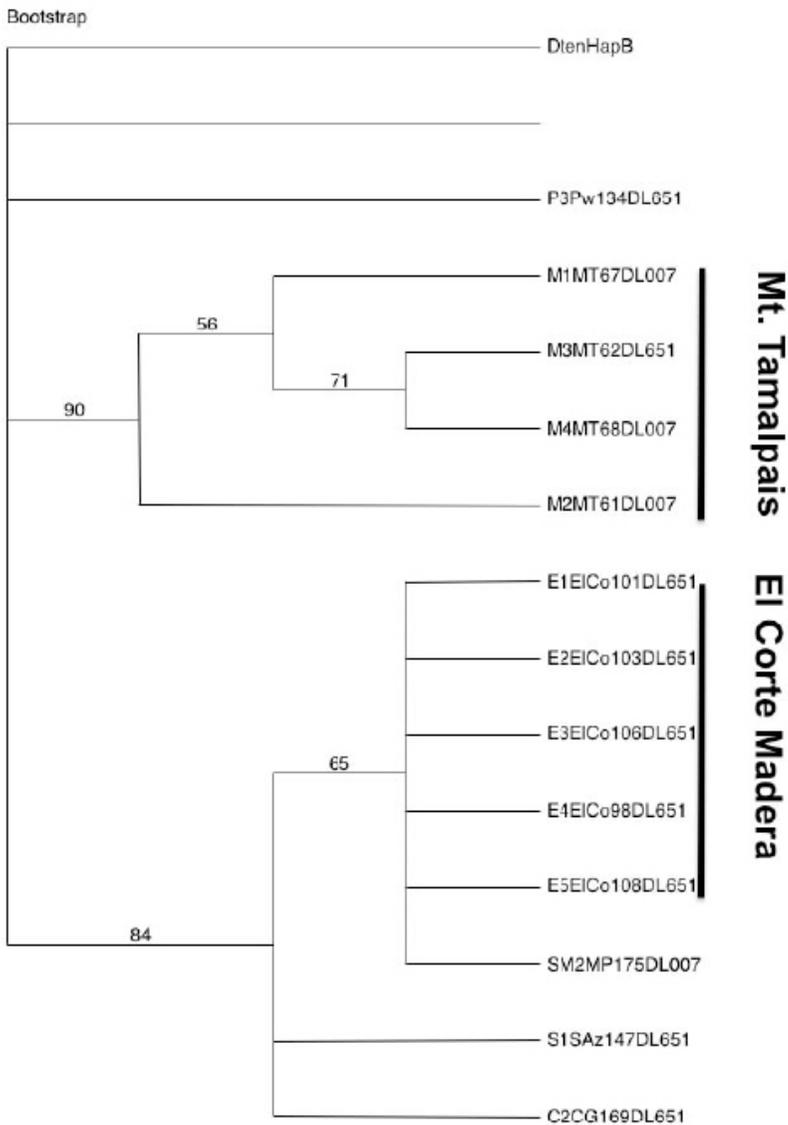


Fig. 3 Bootstrap Tree depicting relationship between Mt. Tamalpais and El Corte Madera salamanders. Bootstrap values based on 1000 replicates are indicated.

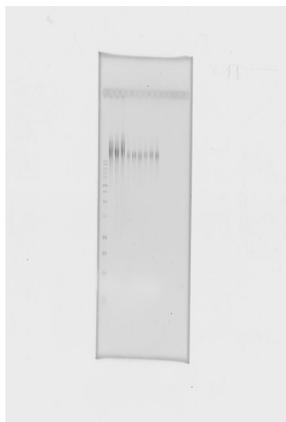


Fig. 4 DNA Extraction

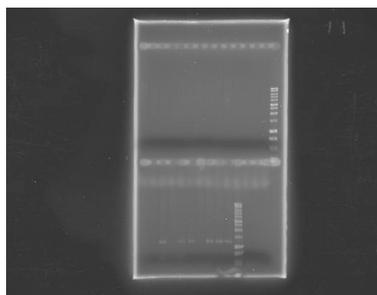


Fig. 5 PCR Product at 750 bp

Date	Site	Latitude	Longitude
April	El Corte Madera	37.3845	-122.1533
November	Mt. Tamalpais	37.5549	-122.3506

Table 1. Latitude and longitude of sites chosen for senior research study of salamanders

Results

The control region displayed considerable variation within *D. ensatus*, with 32 (4.20%) variable sites of the 751 examined (GenBank accession numbers pending). Fig. 1 and 3 shows that the salamanders sampled in Mt. Tamalpais are genetically different from the salamanders sampled in the El Corte Madera site. Also, Fig. 3 shows that Mt. Tamalpais is distinct from the other lineages sampled.

Discussion

The analysis of variable mitochondrial DNA sequences from the control region revealed patterns of genetic structuring that were informative on several levels. First, historic patterns of distinction were identified through phylogeographic analyses of the mitochon-

drial haplotypes. Second, genetic structuring on a finer scale was discovered through the analyses of haplotype composition of populations that were sampled from sites within the MROSD and throughout the species' range. Although measures of genetic diversity varied by population, some results regarding the potential isolation and loss of genetic diversity in California Giant Salamanders in part of the MROSD managed sites may be cause for concern. Finally, these results generated additional questions that prompt further investigation of California Giant Salamanders at MROSD sites in the south Bay and other sites in the northern portion of the species' range.

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Myth & Novel: Humanity's Search for Meaning and Scientific Absolutism

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Meaning is an elusive object. It is something intrinsic to our human experience on several levels related to language, thought, and the work that we do with both. Meaning exists in at least two different economies, referential and constructive. Its scope ranges from a seemingly banal realm of structures of signification of objects and ideas to a more nebulous realm of structuring our perceptions of, and interactions with the world, as well as our positioning within it. Inherently, meaning itself is a construct, a supposition, based on a notion of order in the world and this idea of order, of structure, provides us with some problematic issues surrounding the ideas of constructs. These are synthetic fabrications created by a mind trapped in a realm of rationality based on previous constructs.

We live in a world of constructs that we are born into, that have been structured, retrofitted, and rebuilt over time by minds in search of an order to the world in which we exist. It would seem that a need for order is an intrinsic aspect of the human mind that can be traced back to the way that we interact and understand the world by means of constructs. These fabrications are rational, reasoned structures that have been tested by time, changed by shifting notions of rationality and the creation of new structures to support these shifts, and espoused across large spans of time. We are immersed in them from the moment of birth, further immersed as we learn language, and forced to sink-or-swim as we attempt to draw significance from these constructs.

No wonder that at face value meaning seems to be a simple relationship of reference, and yet as we delve further and understand the constructed, synthetic nature of meaning, it becomes an expansive realm rife with complications because of its very nature. This alone would be enough confusion. However, we complicate it even more when we consider rival sources of meaning and their relationship to subjectivity and objectivity. Subjectivity and objectivity are

two particularly troublesome constructs that form a division in the search for meaning.

Meaning, particularly constructive meaning, leans heavily on an idea of objectivity. It has to correspond to observations and understandings that are widely held and thus considered to be objective. The “wrench” in the machinery here is that even the idea of objectivity is a construct based in subjectivity, i.e. in individual observations that have been repeated and accepted as “fact.” These individual observations are thereby subjective in nature; they are based on “individual” observations. In other words, they are based on the perceptions of individuals whom perceive the world through their own means, their eyes and their brain. That these observations are repeatable and consistent lends an air of finality to them. I use the word “lend” particularly here because it cannot be accepted as “owned;” just as words have multiple and changing definitions, Science, arguably a central pillar of the modern quest for meaning, is apt to revision and clarification. We seem to have entered an age wherein we are accepting, at least at the academic level, the limitations of our perceptions and, within Science, we see this in new technologies and theories that attempt to explain that which is beyond our perception.

Yet, the specter of Science still overshadows our attempts to make meaning and evaluate the quality and practicality of it. Science provides what many perceive to be the objective backbone of our world that meaning must be structured upon. However, if we are to accept and understand our realizations of the pervasiveness of subjectivity, we must understand the constructed nature of Science and the perils that follow the accepted notions of objectivity that surround Science. Science is merely another construct that we utilize to attempt to understand the world and our place within it, but it should not be the only tool that we utilize, nor should it be an ultimate measuring stick for acceptability of an idea, or meaning.

As history (yet another construct we must negotiate with) has shown us, even what has been accepted as fact in Science can be proven to be suspect. At one point it was accepted that the Earth was the center of the solar system and those that disagreed were considered heretics, condemned by the church and threatened with severe punishments, including death. This idea was proven over

time to be false, at least to our current ability to perceive the world, and this provides a perfect example of the nature of any attempt to understand the world: it is limited by our perceptions and our ability to understand them. Our understanding of the world will always be evolving with our ability to perceive and understand our perceptions: we are trapped in subjectivity.

The purpose of this piece is not to privilege one mode of constructing meaning over another. This would amount restraining ourselves as we currently are. Instead, I bring attention to the dangers of assuming that objectivity provides answers. We must understand the constructed nature of our existence, and thus, the constructed nature of objectivity. Science has certainly been the privileged source of meaning and explication of the world in the 20th and 21st centuries, yet we need to learn from the past that we cannot prop up our view of the world on one pillar. A quote comes to mind that is particularly salient in this light, attributed to Hassan-I Sabbah, “Nothing is true, everything is permitted.”

In the light of our current understanding of objectivity/subjectivity, we must understand that truth, and much of meaning, is elusive and must be seen in a speculative light. One of the most overlooked cornerstones of scientific explanation even points toward the speculative nature of Science, the qualification of “for all practical purposes” or FAPP for short. Even accepted scientific findings that have been replicated and verified time and again are not immune to the impeachment of objectivity. Even Science recognizes the limitations of objectivity and thereby must qualify its findings.

We need to understand the relationship between the forms of literature, myth and novel, in relation to Scientific Absolutism, a worldview that places Science on a pedestal in terms of explanation of the world and its phenomena. Science is a privileged area of study that is overshadowing other forms of constructed meaning, and as our understanding of subjectivity informs us, Science is limited by our abilities of perception. Simply, we need Science to be given as much weight as any other form of constructed meaning, given that they are all constructs based on our own subjective interactions with the world.

Discussion

So where do we start? For simplicity's sake let us begin with the question: Why compare myth and the novel and include Scientific Absolutism in a discussion of humanity's search for meaning? At once a question simple in part, and yet complicated. Hopefully the introduction has provided enough context to frame my overall argument. The search for meaning is perhaps one of the most enduring quests of humanity. We wonder how we fit into this world, what is the meaning of the world, and what is the significance of our existence within it. Myth is our earliest evidence of this search for meaning. Whether it was transmitted orally or written down, our earliest texts are an indication of our desire to find our place and significance in the world. From *The Epic of Gilgamesh*, to the Judeo-Christian Bible, Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, and countless others, we see universal themes of humanity being presented and moralized upon. *Gilgamesh* is a meditation upon the human quest for immortality and the understanding of the finite nature of our existence. The Judeo-Christian Bible attempts to explain the reason for our existence as the work of an all-powerful deity. *Metamorphoses* attempts to explain the origins of a diverse amount of natural phenomena. All of these works attempt to put forth some kind of history as well, which is part of the importance of the Scientific Absolutist view of the world in relation to myth and the novel.

Jean Baudrillard elucidates the connections between history, myth and objectivity: "History is a strong myth, perhaps, along with the unconscious, the last great myth. It is a myth that at once subtended the possibility of an 'objective' enchainment of events and causes and the possibility of a narrative enchainment of discourse" (Baudrillard 47). This exposes a root of the pervasiveness of objectivity in human thought, that of the notion of history as an objective discourse that provides a forward-moving idea of progress rooted in a notion of history as a linear progression. The assumption is that history provides some objectivity, a fallacy that conceals the one-sided nature of the production of history.

We know, or we should all know, that the writing of history is a retrospective act carried out by an individual or individuals that

wish to explain and contextualize events that have, presumptively, occurred. The problem lies in the fact that it is done retrospectively, after the fact, and by an individual. Individuals make their observations based on individual perceptions. We come into contact with the problems of objectivity because of the fact that history, a subjective production, is accepted as an objective production. However, objectivity itself is merely a construct that is based in subjectivity, which causes us to run into the issue of the roots of objectivity.

As Baudrillard says, history is the myth that created an illusion of an “objective enchainment of events,” the illusion that there is one way of seeing things, that history is what happened. The understanding of subjectivity and its omnipresent nature immediately breaks this down, revealing that history is merely another production of a subjective human being putting forth their own understanding and observation of events. Unfortunately, humanity has been so inculcated with the view of history as an objective construct and the assumption that history is unimpeachable fact that we have built an entire discourse surrounding these assumptions; within history we find the beginnings of a Scientific Absolutist point of view that purports to build objectivity on top of subjectivity. As anyone with a rudimentary understanding of engineering can tell you, you cannot build something solid on an unstable foundation. Myth reflects the perils of this as a subjectively produced form that purports objectivity.

The linear construct of history mirrors that of Scientific Absolutism. Scientific Absolutism is the assumption that Science can explain everything. There is also a notion of linear progression in Science: it is always moving forward. The problem therein is that Scientific Absolutism places too much weight on objectivity, which as presented above is an elusive, and illusionary, notion that is rooted in perceptions based on our troublesome observations of the world. There is much more than what we can quantify and observe, and Scientific Absolutism ignores that which we cannot quantify and observe. It is a worldview that is seemingly blind to the inescapable subjectivity of our existence.

The novel, contrary to both myth and Scientific Absolutism, is conscious of the subjectivity of its existence. Where myth, according to M.M. Bakhtin, is set in “a national epic past... the ‘absolute

past’,” an objective report of past events, one that keeps the writer of the myth separated by “an absolute epic distance... from contemporary reality,” the novel “opened... [a] zone of maximal contact with the present (with contemporary reality) in all its open-endedness,” or, more simply, the novel can be seen to reveal and acknowledge the subjectivity of “contemporary reality” (Bakhtin 13, 11). This kind of subjectivity is reflected in the novel *VALIS*, by Philip K. Dick, a novel where the protagonist, Horselover Fat, and the “I” narrator are treated as two different characters, yet revealed on the third page to be the same person. Within this device, and the reasoning for it, there is a fitting metaphor for the perils of the fallacious objective of myth and Scientific Absolutism.

The given reason for the protagonist to separate himself into the characters of narrator and Horselover Fat is, “to gain much needed objectivity,” which is deliciously ironic given the fact that to gain objectivity the narrator is utilizing an entirely subjective form, the novel (Dick 3). This situation mimics precisely the faulty foundation of myth and Scientific Absolutism, revealing the irony of objectivity built upon subjectivity. We find further example of the novel’s “maximal contact with the present... in all its open-endedness” and a refutation of a linear history, via an experience of Horselover Fat’s, wherein “all of a sudden the landscape of California, USA, 1974 ebbed out and the landscape of Rome of the first century C.E. ebbed in” (Dick 39). This is a fitting refutation of history’s linear time-line wherein everything that has ever happened is happening and time is revealed as a construct that is merely an illusion. In the main plot of the novel, however, we find a most fitting symbolic representation of the perils of objectivity, especially related to Science and Scientific Absolutism.

Throughout the novel, Fat is trying to find meaning for the strange experiences he has been having, coming to the conclusion that he is one of the people chosen to find the messiah. He eventually, through a former glam-rock musician, Mother Goose, who has had similar experiences that he explains in terms of a communication sent, via a pink beam of radiation, by a satellite older than anyone knows, finds a kindred spirit. Goose believes that his young daughter, Sophia, is the reincarnated messiah (a physical manifestation of the ancient satellite, named VALIS by Goose), and with the

help of a science-minded man named Brent Mini, believes that they can use a laser to transfer information from Sophia. Tragedy results when Mini's laser ends up killing the young girl, thereby sending Fat on a quest to find the true messiah after deciding that Goose and his people are just "nutjobs."

Within this plot we can see Goose and Mini as representations of those with a Scientific Absolutist point of view. They worship a satellite that they believe is God, thereby holding up Science as the objective solution to their quest for God. They believe a laser will provide the information they seek; they believe that it will give them the meaning they seek in life. But Science leads them to killing an innocent girl. They are lead astray and meaning remains elusive. Fat represents the everyman who searches for meaning in his life. He is initially led to Science as an absolute solution to his quest, but by the end of the novel, Horselover Fat is traveling the world, searching for the messiah, guided by the mysterious voice in his head and not Science. His approach is much more organic, though still delusional. He is searching the less-expected regions of the world for the messiah. In this way, symbolically, we see Fat turning away from a scientific explanation and instead looking for answers in less-considered arenas. Horselover Fat figured out that he could not find an absolute answer in his quest for meaning by being objective; instead he had to recognize his own subjectivity, the voice in his head (that which only he can perceive), in order to move forward in his search. He needs to do so in order to create his own meaning without being held-back by the rigors of a narrow-minded approach to meaning. At first he feels that Science has the answers, but via Goose and Mini, Fat is forced to realize the value of his own subjectivity by harshly rejecting the detailed, objective scientific-mythic explanations of Goose and Mini. The relationship between objectivity and subjectivity is also explored to a very different but very effective end within Mark Z. Danielewski's novel *House of Leaves*.

House of Leaves is a study in truth, objectivity, and subjectivity, a narrative that is as comparatively twisted as the constructs with which we have surrounded and filled our lives. It is a novel whose layers reveal the constructed nature of reality and directly plays with our belief in facts and authorities. The novel is constructed in an incredibly complex way, making a simple numbered description of

the layers is the most effective method of sifting through: 1. The outer layer is the story of a troubled young man, Johnny Truant, who transcribes: 2. a disheveled manuscript (written on anything you can imagine from napkins to stamps) dictated by a blind man, Zampano, describing: 3. a documentary he supposedly saw (which is impossible because he is blind) about a family whose house has a room that appears where there was none before. Interspersed throughout the manuscript are all kinds of references, some real, many manufactured, to actual people, publications, magazine articles, and events, lending the manuscript a feeling of authenticity. There is even an analysis of the film, in pieces, purporting to be written by one of the individuals in the documentary. Within this complex web of references we find the perfect depiction of the ways in which objectivity is constructed upon subjectivity, and at once we see the two economies of meaning thrust into the spotlight: the referential and the constructive.

The novel is built upon a foundation of references to “reality” in order to create the illusion that these events took place and that this great mystery exists. Out of these references the author constructs a pseudo-reality within the novel, populated by elements pulled from reality, re-ordered and manipulated, to the author’s own ends of giving this whole construct a feel of legitimacy, of truthfulness. It is a wonderful example of Baudrillard’s simulacrum, “the truth that hides the fact that there is none,” or as I have heard it described, “the copy without an original” (Baudrillard 1). This simulacrum is a fitting model for the issues surrounding modern, mediated life. How do we know what is true or what is fabricated? We only know what we are told, what is transmitted through media and word of mouth; it is all subjectively constructed. Much like *House of Leaves* is cobbled together from aspects of “reality,” a subjectively produced phenomena that masquerades as objectivity, meaning is constructed in a subjective fashion by individuals who are utilizing “objective” elements in a subjective way. This points clearly to the constructed nature of objectivity, the simulacrum of objectivity, “the truth that hides the fact that there is none.” The “truth” is that there is no “truth,” that all is based in illusion and that illusion is reality. Ideologically, myth and the novel are in opposition with each other: one is absolute and fixed, whereas the other is open-ended. Myth

acknowledges the illusion as “truth” and the novel sees the “truth” in illusion.

Conclusion

In the progression from myth to novel, there is an ideological shift that moves from a belief in the objective truth of myth, to an acceptance of the subjectivity of existence with the novel. This ideological shift shows the progress that humanity has made in its quest to understand the world, moving from a limited understanding of our ability to interact with and comprehend our surroundings to a complex understanding that leads us to understand the limits of interaction with and comprehension of the material world. There are still scores of individuals who believe in objectivity and do not understand the illusion of it. I am not arguing that “nothing is true” per se, but I am trying to point to the dangers of one-sided thinking that are reflected in a viewpoint such as Scientific Absolutism. There is a need to understand that Science cannot explain everything, and we need to lift that kind of narrow-minded focus from our appreciation of the world around us.

The search for meaning can take on many forms, and meaning in itself can come in many ways, none being superior to others. The perceived value of items: books, ideas, beliefs, constructs, et cetera, are exactly that, perceived, meaning they are perceptions, which means they are subjectively produced. Meaning is a uniquely human desire and since it is understood that meaning itself is subjective, we must accept that the appraised value of sources of meaning is also subjective. The Judeo-Christian Bible is just as valid a source for meaning as the *Twilight* novels, as is the *Bhagavad Gita* or Blake’s *Marriage of Heaven and Hell*. Given that meaning is subjectively constructed we should not disqualify any meaning, whether or not it resonates with your own experience of existence. Rigid objectivity should be kept separate from the construction and evaluation of meaning; otherwise we are depriving ourselves of the use of a full spectrum of understanding. To employ rigid objectivity in evaluating subjective meaning would be a form of ideological hegemony privileging one mode of constructing meaning when all are equally valid. Remember: “Nothing is true, everything is permitted.”

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Unmasking the Canary Inquisition: English Merchants, Politics, and the Popular Imagination

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In September of 1592 the Spanish Inquisition in the Canary Islands began hearing witnesses regarding the case of Hugh Wingfield. As a standard part of the questioning for Inquisition prisoners he was asked to give a personal history. The story he related to the scribe contained nothing unusual; Wingfield was a rather ordinary English sailor, born in Rotherham England. At the age of seventeen, Wingfield began working for a merchant in London as a page. After about four years in London, he took a trip to the Isle of Wight. While on the Isle, he was impressed into service aboard one of the Queen's ships to help monitor the channel. This impressment was only the first of Wingfield's experiences with the Queen's navy. After being released from service guarding the channel he journeyed home to Rotherham. A year later, on another trip away from his home town, he was impressed again, this time on a ship bound to deliver an English ambassador to Barbary. It is unclear from the records whether the ship's stop in the Canary Islands was planned or not, but either way the ambassador was delivered to the city of Santa Cruz on the Isle of Teneriffe. What is known is that after dropping the ambassador at Santa Cruz, Wingfield and several other sailors continued to travel around the islands engaging in acts of piracy.¹ When the sailors ran out of food they eventually surrendered to authorities and were charged with the crimes of piracy and heresy, the heresy charges leading to Wingfield spending eight years in the secret cells of the Inquisition prison.² Cases such as Wingfield's were uncommon in the Canaries prior to the year 1586. Only a handful of Englishmen ever had encounters with the Canary Inquisition, and then during the period from 1586-1596, the Canary authorities began arresting

¹ L. de Alberti and A.B. Wallis Chapman, edit., *English Merchants and the Spanish Inquisition in the Canaries* (London: Offices of the Society, 1912) 41-43. Hereafter referred to as de Alberti and Chapman, *English Merchants*

² de Alberti and Chapman, *English Merchants*, 35.

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Englishmen who traveled to the island in great numbers. The secular authorities would make the arrests charging the men with piracy, and only later would they be sent to the Inquisition after heresy charges would be brought forth by a witness.

Hugh Wingfield's situation was one shared by many Englishmen in the Canary Islands during the period from 1586-1596. The sudden rise in arrests of Englishmen was rather surprising. England and Spain were at war during this time, but they had been at war several times previously. What made this period exceptional? The answer can be found by examining the political situation between Spain and England, and also by understanding the importance of the Canary Islands to both countries. Since arresting English merchants hurt the Canaries economically, it is necessary to seek reasons beyond just the need to prevent the spread of Protestantism and to enforce trade bans. Through examining Inquisition records, proclamations, and propaganda pamphlets, this paper argues that the arrests of Englishmen were both a religious and civil necessity leading to the creation of religious propaganda that was politically beneficial to both England and Spain.

Although a crossroads of the Atlantic World, my interest in the Canaries is focused primarily on Spain and England. In the course of the sixteenth century, Spain developed into a formidable empire and England was emerging as an increasingly important part of international politics: the champion of European Protestantism. Spain was increasingly engaged by the development of its New World interests, developing its trading interests and building an economy based around the gold and silver shipments arriving from their new lands.³ The very fact that Spain built its governance of its emerging empire around these shipments made them particularly vulnerable to attacks by English pirates. If a shipment of silver failed to arrive then the delicate balance of borrowing and repaying the Italian bankers would be disrupted causing a money shortage in the royal treasury. This shortage could lead to a suspension of trade with Italian merchants and possible mutinies amongst unpaid troops.⁴ Spain was also facing religious difficulties amongst their Morisco and Converso populations, which had led to the creation of the Spanish Inquisition.

³ Henry Kamen, *Empire: How Spain Became a World Power 1492-1763* (New York: Penguin Books Ltd.: 2002) 89-90. Hereafter referred to as Kamen, *Empire*

⁴ Kamen, *Empire*, 90.

tion. These difficulties were compounded by the Protestant threat in the Netherlands. Also England's conversion to Protestantism lent the growing religious movement an added legitimacy, one that Spain viewed as a threat to its own society. All of these factors combined to create within Spain a need to assert its control over its own people and battle heretics abroad.

England was also not immune to internal difficulties. The new Protestant religion was still in its infancy. Debates over doctrine and how the church of England should be structured were rampant. Should the church remove the more popish trappings of the mass such as the saints' images? Should the common prayer book be published in English? All of these questions led to increased debate amongst religious scholars, and from these debates sprang various other religious sects, such as the Puritans who believed in a simpler way of life with less worldly distractions. England was also beginning to develop as a naval power, backing many merchant adventurers and privateers. The further out England reached, the greater the opportunity for reward and risk. Elizabeth was holding the English throne, but facing the threat of invasion from Spain and Scotland. Relations with Spain had been complicated by the marriage of Mary and Phillip. Mary's brief reign encouraged the Spanish crown to believe it had the right to interfere within the governance of England. Much of the 1580's were spent planning the enterprise of England, culminating in the Spanish Armada in 1588. It is no coincidence that the rising number of arrests of English merchants within the Canary Islands occurred in the two years leading up to this event and the eight years following it.

Influence in English affairs created tensions between Spain and England. Spain was a firm supporter of the papacy and saw England's conversion to Protestantism as a threat. As the primary power behind the pope, Spain was the self appointed guardian of the church. The *Reconquista* and the development of the Inquisition all contributed to their self-image. However, religion was also a convenient support for Phillip's desire to rule the country. He already insisted he had a claim to the throne through his marriage to Mary and because Elizabeth was a female, but the need to reform the Protestant nation and bring them back into the true church was an added reason for

planning an invasion. The possibility of Protestantism spreading to Spain and creating additional dissidence within a country already housing two populations of converted groups: Jews and Muslims, was reason enough to be wary of the English and their influence.

Trade and piracy were the third aspect behind the tensions of Spanish/English relations. Spain was bringing huge shipments of gold, silver, and merchandise from the New World. England at this time was lacking actual claims to New World territories but was eager to take a share of the wealth. Elizabeth supported many privateers in ventures aimed at disrupting Spain's flow of precious metals. Loss of gold and silver shipments endangered the Spanish empire that borrowed money from Italian bankers in anticipation of their regular shipments.⁵ England also supported various raids against Spain's fledgling New World settlements and illegal trading amongst the new colonies. Even when bans on trade between England and Spain were in place, Elizabeth was still willing to support illicit trading as long as it benefited England more than Spain. This illegal trade and piracy were eventually what forced Phillip to create a more powerful navy and regulate the procedures for crossing the Atlantic in an attempt to secure his shipments.⁶ England's desire to gain a piece of New World opportunities concerned Spain, as they felt this would contribute to spreading Protestantism overseas; a legitimate concern considering Spain was already fighting the spread of Protestantism within the Netherlands. All of these factors were important considerations behind the Inquisition's treatment of English merchants within the Canary Islands.

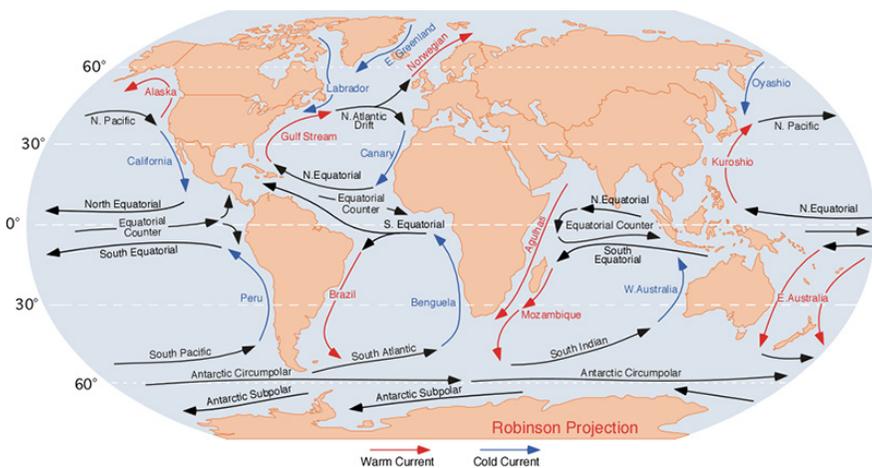


The Canary Islands were first seriously considered for conquest in 1402. They were technically a possession of Spain but at

5 Ibid., 89.

6 170.

various points were more heavily populated by the Portuguese. It was also the Portuguese who discovered the benefits of the islands location. Situated far enough away from mainland Europe to serve as a stopping point for ships bound to both the New World and Africa, the early days of the islands' conquest saw it develop a thriving trade in supplies to New World bound ships. A second key facet of the islands location was its placement near ocean currents. By catching the currents and with careful navigation a ship could reach the New World in only a few weeks. They were also located next to the currents that would take sailors down the western shore of Africa and directly to the coast of Guinea where the slave trade was at its peak. The islands proximity to these fast ocean currents made them an integral stopping point in the circular journey of New World trade. In fact the English tended to use the Canary Islands as a rendezvous spot when preparing to go after the Spanish plate ships returning from the new world.⁷ The islands rapidly became a cosmopolitan catchall of the various nations and ideas that traveled through their cities.



The process of conquest took several years, from around 1402 to about 1496, and was primarily facilitated by the Portuguese. The islands contained a native population that put up a strong re-
 7 Leonara De Alberti and A.B. Wallis Chapman, "English Traders and the Spanish Canary Inquisition in the Canaries during the Reign of Queen Elizabeth," *Royal Historical Society* 3 (1909): 250. Hereafter referred to as De Alberti and Chapman, "English Traders,"

sistance to the Spanish claims. Portuguese and Italian mercenary groups eventually subdued them. The complications of the discovery and conquest were commented upon by English author Thomas Nichols: “The Spaniards hold the opinion, they discovered it in their navigation toward America, but the Portugals say, that their nation first found the said islands, in their navigation toward Aethopia and the East India”.⁸ Nichols makes it clear that Spain discovered the islands, but he further complicates the situation by adding that they conquered the islands through the help of many Englishmen.⁹ The level of diversity involved in the conquest of the islands helped to contribute to the development of a cosmopolitan population within the islands.

The islands became the home of a variety of nationalities represented by merchants and trading houses hoping to gain a share in the New World goods aboard ships that stopped off at the Canaries on their way home to Europe. The Spanish inhabitants of the islands were very welcoming to all nationalities and were willing to provide helpful trade information, as Englishman Richard Hakluyt discovered on one of his voyages to the islands. The island’s colonists advised him about the benefits of involving himself in the African slave trade as the slaves fetched a very good price in Hispaniola and were easy to acquire off the coast of Guinea.¹⁰ Sailing south from the islands would allow a ship to catch currents that would either take them along the west coast of Africa or by sailing slightly southeast they could catch a current that would pull them toward the Caribbean. As a result of this openness to foreigners, the Spanish residents of the Canaries were also more vulnerable to encountering dissident religious views than many of their counterparts living in Spain. The Canary Inquisition was formed in order to curtail this threat.

The population of the islands varied greatly, besides resident Spanish and Portuguese populations there were also Italians, Englishmen, Dutch, Flemish, natives, Africans and a growing mestizo group. Many Spanish were attracted to the islands as a possibility for

⁸ Thomas Nichols, *A Pleasant Description of the Fortunate Islandes, called the Islands of Canaria: with their strange fruits and commodities* (London: Thomas East, 1583) 5-6. Hereafter referred to as Nichols, *A Pleasant Description*,

⁹ Nichols, *A Pleasant Description*, 6.

¹⁰ April Lee Hatfield, “A ‘very wary people in their bargaining’ or ‘very good merchandise’: English Traders’ Views of Free and Enslaved Africans, 1550-1650,” *Slavery and Abolition* 25 (2004): 8. Hereafter referred to as Hatfield, “A very wary people,”

social advancement; if they were helpful in colonizing the islands and subduing the natives the crown might reward them.¹¹ The economical opportunities available in the islands led to the establishment of trading houses represented by many of the nationalities. Many nations wanted to be involved in the prosperous wine and sugar trade, and since the islands had limited natural resources besides for what they could grow, they imported many staples such as wood, cloth, metals, and various foodstuffs. The mingling of cultures made possible by the islands central location in the Atlantic world made the islands a ripe ground for the exchange of various ideas. The religious views of the natives and Africans were influenced by the Catholic and Protestant ideas brought to the islands by the Europeans. Each group contributed to the ideas that circulated amongst the population and were of growing concern to the Spanish authorities.

During the development of the island economy it became obvious that parts of the islands were very fertile and the climate ideal for growing sugar and grapes. Gran Canaria was known for an abundance of natural sugar cane that was eventually domesticated into a regular growing cycle.¹² They also grew wheat twice a year and made wine from their grapes. The island of Tenerife was known for several kinds of wood that resisted rot and also had medicinal purposes.¹³ Tenerife was the best producing island having not been completely stripped of its natural wood and the climate being ideal for growing sugar and grapes on the lower slopes of the mountains and also because it is one of the islands that receives more natural rainfall.¹⁴ These two crops became the staple of the island's economy. Sugar processing mills and wineries sprang up all over the islands. Some of the best processing mills were Zauzes and Taffacort, which were located on the Ile of Palma.¹⁵ At first the native population provided the labor for these endeavors, but as the native population dwindled because of disease, overwork, and the colonists' rampant abuses of them, African slaves were imported to meet the labor needs. The

11 Carlos-Alberto Campos, "The Atlantic Islands and the Development of Southern Castile at the Turn of the Fifteenth Century," *The International History Review* 9 (1987): 180.

12 Nichols, *A Pleasant Description*, 6-7.

13 *Ibid.*, 12-13.

14 Felipe Fernandez-Armesto, *The Canary Islands After the Conquest: The Making of a Colonial Society in the Early Sixteenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982) 3. Hereafter referred to as *Armesto, After the Conquest*,

15 Nichols, *A Pleasant Description*, 17.

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colonists of the islands also participated in the work force, some serving as farmers, quarries, loggers, pitch makers, and also artisans within the towns.¹⁶

The islands became very famous for their Madeira wine and by the late sixteenth century the economic prosperity of the islands depended on successful wine trade.¹⁷ Many of the islands other exports, such as sugar, were being produced more cheaply and in greater quantity in the new world colonies.¹⁸ One of the biggest importers of Canary wine was England.¹⁹ The heavy reliance on the English market endangered the island economy whenever Spain and England were engaged in hostilities, as the hostilities were accompanied by a trade ban. The trade bans were also encouraged by the Castilian Spanish who were concerned about the amount of money that they felt was being taken out of Spain by foreign merchants.²⁰ These powerful men felt that by allowing foreign trade they would only be encouraging a further drain on already limited financial resources in the country. They failed to take into consideration that colonies like the Canaries were dependent on this foreign trade for their own economic survival. The main wine that the islands exported to England was malvasia, a sweet white wine.²¹ The rising price of this preferred wine, and the general prosperity of the islands, depended on peaceful relations between Spain and England, the predilection of Englishmen for expensive wine, and a decent chance for profits to encourage English merchants to the islands, all of which became harder and harder to rely on over time.²²

The rising popularity of this malvasia, or as it was more commonly referred to by Englishmen “malmsey,” can be observed by its inclusion in William Shakespeare’s plays.²³ In Shakespeare’s *Richard III*, George the Duke of Clarence dies by being drowned in a butt of malmsey wine.²⁴ However, despite the wines popularity war with

16 Armesto, *After the Conquest*, 16.

17 George F. Steckley, “The Wine Economy of Tenerife in the Seventeenth Century: Anglo-Spanish Partnership in a Luxury Trade,” *The Economic History Review* 33 (1980): 340. Hereafter referred to as Steckley, “Wine Economy,”

18 De Alberti and Chapman, “English Traders,” 251.

19 Steckley, “Wine Economy,” 340.

20 Kamen, *Empire*, 155.

21 Steckley, “Wine economy,” 337.

22 *Ibid.*, 343.

23 337.

24 William Shakespeare, *Richard III* (New York: Penguin Group, 1998) 37.

Spain made bringing the wine into England more difficult a process than it had already proved to be. When shipping the wine from the Canaries to England any number of things could go wrong. Since the malvasia was not meant to be a vintage wine, it was meant for consumption within the first year, speed was essential to insuring the wine would arrive in time for consumption.²⁵ Also the wine was pressed in early September making its voyage north a winter one. Rough winter seas made the wine more susceptible to being spoiled during transport whether due to poorly constructed leaky casks or simply because the casks got thrown around and damaged from storms. These difficulties in transporting the wine caused trading in wine to be an expensive endeavor. In fact it was so expensive an endeavor that during the reign of Charles I in 1665 it became necessary to regulate the trade.²⁶ If a harvest was poor or late in the season then the increased chance for rough seas would be weighed against the increased opportunity for profit from a shortage. As if the transport difficulties were not enough when Spain and England were at war the shipping bans placed on both sides could lead to the wine being confiscated before it left port in the Canaries and even after it arrived in England. Consequently illegal trade centering on the wine sprang up in both countries.

The high demand for Canary wine in London contributed to illegal trade which Elizabeth did little to discourage. When Hugh Wingfield and his shipmates were apprehended some of the goods they had been searching for, and had acquired during their raiding, were casks of wine.²⁷ Even during times that England and Spain were at war, trade still continued between the two countries, only now it was outright smuggling. With England's vital role in the Canary economy it is surprising that so many merchants were arrested and held by the Inquisition for extended periods of time. Clamping down on trade between the two countries would be damaging for both societies, so why then were the merchants still harassed?

A great deal of the information about other countries avail-

²⁵ Steckley, "Wine Economy," 338.

²⁶ Charles R., *A Proclamation for the observance of the charter and Privileges lately granted to the Governour and Company of Merchants trading to the Canaria-Islands* (1665) – A corporation was formed called the Governour and Company of Merchants Trading to the Canary Islands, they were given a monopoly on the wine trade and any person wishing to trade in canary island wine was forced to become a member.

²⁷ de Alberti and Chapman, *English Merchants*, 39-40.

able to both Englishmen and Spaniards was propaganda or hearsay, very little based on eyewitness accounts. Accounts were designed to portray the other side in a good or bad light. Firsthand experience about the other side was rare and when it was found it was frequently exaggerated in order to give the narrator of the information a perceived authority. In example, a pamphlet published in England under the title *Loyal Martyrs; or, the Bloody Inquisitor Being a Just Account of the Mercenary and Inhuman Barbarities Transacted in the Inquisition of Spain* is about an Englishman Arrow Smith and his beautiful unnamed new wife's experiences with the Inquisition.²⁸ The pamphlet is written in poetic story form and tells how the English couple traveled to Spain and while there a Jesuit cast lustful eyes upon the beautiful wife. When the Jesuit could not breach her chastity he denounced them to the Inquisition. They both were forced to endure different tortures with the husband having the soles of his feet scorched and the wife enduring a more traditional Inquisition torture. They then spent six months in prison separated from one another. They were tried together and both stood firm causing them to be sent to the stake to be burned alive. On the day of their execution the woman was granted a small reprieve - to be strangled first, but she refused this mercy and as a result the Inquisitor was angered and had them tortured for another hour before then issuing the command to burn them.

It is doubtful that the writer of the pamphlet had any firsthand knowledge of the Inquisition and their practices. The entire process for charging a person and then punishing a person was rather tedious. One of the most common complaints among prisoners in the Inquisition prisons was that the proceedings were taking a very long time to even begin, let alone move to sentencing.²⁹ Also several of the procedures mentioned in the pamphlet were flawed. The torture performed on the man was not a standard one used by the Inquisition and they would not have been tried together in the same courtroom. The greatest inaccuracy in the pamphlet, but also the most inflammatory was the hour of torture performed on the couple before they were burned. As will be shown later in the paper that type of treatment would never have occurred. It is very clear that the author

28 Early English Books Online, *Loyal Martyrs; or, the Bloody Inquisitor Being a Just Account of the Mercenary and Inhuman Barbarities Transacted in the Inquisition of Spain*

29 De Alberti and Chapman, "English Traders," 239.

was not trying to create an accurate image of the Inquisition he was simply trying to sway public opinion about Spain and Catholicism in general. Accusing a Jesuit of lustful thoughts and describing the Inquisition as “inhuman and barbaric” served to inflame people with anti-Spanish and anti-Catholic sentiment. The pamphlet while inaccurate served as a valuable tool for political manipulation.

Pamphlets were not the only place where propaganda was inserted and then read or handed out to the masses. Proclamations and government writings also frequently contained politically charged information. In order to better facilitate the cooperation of the populace, the government ensured that its message and propaganda was understandable to the masses. In fact it was around the middle of the fifteenth century that proclamations began being written in the vernacular rather than Latin since it was necessary to translate the Latin texts into English for the common people to understand. Writing the texts in the vernacular to begin with ensured that the ideas of the government were followed exactly and meaning was not distorted through translation.³⁰ Vernacular texts had a wide circulation and ensured that more people would understand the message.

As if the language of the documents was not enough, the frequency with which political opinion about various countries changed could confuse the local population. In 1666 a Proclamation was issued by King Charles “Prohibiting the importation of all wines of the growth of the Canary Islands, and all further commerce with the said islands”.³¹ The very next year in 1667, Charles issues another proclamation “Recalling former proclamations prohibiting trade into the Canary Islands”.³² With so many prohibitions and recalling of prohibitions it is not surprising that illegal trading continued. Keeping up with the ever-changing political situation was not conducive to trade. Even as late as 1687 during the reign of James, Canary wine was still a hot topic, he issued a proclamation “For Prizing of Canary Wines”.³³ All of this confusion was not helping the government

30 James A. Doig, “Political Propaganda and Royal Proclamations in Late Medieval England,” *Historical Research* 71 (1998): 264. Hereafter referred to as Doig, “Political Propaganda.”

31 Charles R., *A Proclamation Prohibiting the importation of all wines of the growth of the Canary Islands, and all further trade and commerce with the said islands, and the inhabitants thereof, until his majesties pleasure shall be further known* (John Bill and Christopher Barker: 1666).

32 Charles R., *A Proclamation Recalling former proclamations prohibiting trade into the Canary Islands* (John Bill and Christopher Barker, 1667).

33 James R., *A Proclamation for prizing the Canary Wines* (Charles Bill, Henry Hills, and Thomas Newcomb: 1687).

make clear their intentions, which caused the writers of proclamations to rely on different tactics to manipulate the population.

Proclamations and government writings contained incendiary information. For example, a proclamation could be used to inform a populace that it would be shameful to the honor of their country if overseas territories were lost to another government and that this could be prevented through the people paying more taxes or offering service.³⁴ However, a second method was also employed to generate public support. The language of religion was frequently inserted in public documents. Always conveyed in a positive light, credit would be given to God for allowing the English to have a victory over the Catholics. During Elizabeth's reign this powerful tool was used to intertwine religion and politics. Protestant England was aware that by fueling mistrust of Catholics, the fear could be used to form an anti-Catholic ideology that could unite the nation; and at the time of the Spanish armada these sentiments were at their most potent.³⁵ An order of parliament was published announcing a public day of Thanksgiving within London and Westminster and the reason given for this celebration: "for the great success God hath been pleased to give the Navy of this Commonwealth under the command of General Blake against the Spanish."³⁶ Through highlighting God's role in supporting the English against their enemies the Spanish, the order served to foster the idea that God favored Protestants. By providing the public with a day of Thanksgiving popular support for future such endeavors could be garnered. A nation united against Catholics would be more inclined to adhere to whatever political doctrine was set forth by the Protestant government: "religion was politics".³⁷

Propaganda, whether it was promoting Protestantism as the right religion or debasing Catholicism, served to turn religion into a political duty. Spain frequently employed similar tactics to garner public support. Arresting Englishmen for piracy, even when they were trading legitimately, and then turning them over to the Inquisition for heresy could contain the English presence in the islands. By employing a religious means to contain the threat the government

34 Doig, "Political Propaganda," 266.

35 Patrick Collinson, "The Politics of Religion and the Religion of Politics in Elizabethan England," *Historical Research* 82 (2009): 79. Hereafter referred to as Collinson, "Politics of Religion."

36 Scobell, clerk of Parliament, *An Order of Parliament with the consent of the Lord High Protector, for a Day of Public Thanksgiving* (Henry Hills and John Field, 1657) 1.

37 Collinson, "Politics of Religion," 76.

would seem proactive in containing the threat of heresy, which could both instill fear into their own population and also promote respect as a Godly institute performing the will of God. In the cases of both Spanish and English governance the skillful use of religion was a political tool for gaining support. The arrests of the English merchants benefited both governments because both sides could spin the arrests to their own advantage. The popular imagination was born from the negative and positive materials fed to the masses or even in some cases a lack of information could breed fear and negative ideas. Even today a focus on negative images creates misinformation, but conveys an effective message.

The Spanish Inquisition came into creation in the year 1480. The impetus behind the institution is generally thought by historians to be Isabella and Ferdinand's concern with the Morisco and Converso populations within the fledgling Spanish state. Over the next several hundred years, the Inquisition expanded its jurisdiction and concerns to encompass all aspects of religious heresy, forming itself into the watchdog and judge of all religious practices within the expanding Spanish empire. The Inquisition was in existence until the year 1834 when it was officially disbanded by the Spanish monarchy.

The Canary Inquisition was established in Las Palmas on the Island of Tenerife in 1505. Prior to the ten-year period under scrutiny their primary goal had been to safeguard the populace against foreign religious influences such as Islam and Judaism. They also dealt with lapses of faith or questioning of religious doctrine. For the most part, the Canary Inquisition had only targeted their own population of local Catholics and the occasional slave, native or traveler. In 1586, when the Inquisition began targeting Englishmen they targeted a rather specific demographic of them. Many of the merchants arrested by the Canary Inquisition shared similar backgrounds. They were born in England and had worked in the mercantile field in some capacity. They had also all been sailors at one point or another. Almost all of the prisoners were young enough to only have memories of Elizabeth's reign and the religious laws set forth during her time. They all were aware, to various extents, that the Protestant beliefs differed from those of the Catholic Church and based on some of the more skilled answers to the Inquisitors questioning some of the prisoners were well aware of in just what ways those differences

manifested themselves. In the case of almost all of the prisoners they were first arrested and charged with the crime of piracy and were only later denounced and moved to the Inquisition prisons. All of these men were traders in some capacity or another.

The word Inquisition conjures a number of powerful images: burning at the stake, obscene and creative tortures, screams, and the glimmer of panic in the eyes of a prisoner asked a question that will damn him no matter his answer. How accurate is this imagery? For generations historians have mined the available sources for information regarding the truth behind the stories; through an examination of Inquisition records, firsthand accounts, court records, and many other sources, a more accurate view of the Inquisition and its actions has begun to emerge. Near the forefront of this new school of thought is the historian Henry Kamen whose work, *The Spanish Inquisition: A Historical Revision*, has uncovered the more humane and progressive actions of the Inquisition. Kamen has also helped to further acknowledge the fact that many of the stories about the Inquisition were developed out of fear of the unknown. The Inquisition imposed a rule of silence upon those prisoners released from their dungeons; if the prisoners were to share what they knew of the procedures and process of the institution and word of this returned to the Inquisition then they could face being arrested again and incarcerated for extended periods. Out of this silence grew many of the stories and rumors that created the lens by which much of the world views the Spanish Inquisition.³⁸

If people were so fearful of being rearrested by the Inquisition, then does that not mean that something bad must have happened while they were in their custody? Not necessarily, or perhaps not something bad enough that it would cloud a person's judgment about all Spaniards. While it is clear why the rule of silence would function well within Spain itself, where the likelihood of encountering the Inquisition was great, it is less clear why this rule seemed to also work on non-Spaniards. Were merchants less likely to speak about their experiences for fear of jeopardizing their trade prospects? Or did the Inquisition not treat their prisoners as badly as the popular imagination has led us to believe?

38 Henry Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition: A Historical Revision* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997) 182. Hereafter referred to as Kamen, Spanish Inquisition,

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Thomas Nichols was an English merchant arrested by the Canary Inquisition in February of 1560. He spent at least five years in its prison before being released and returning to England.³⁹ After his return to England he published a pamphlet *A Pleasant Description of the Fortunate Islands called the Islands of Canaria, with their strange fruits and commodities* which did not address his experience with the Inquisition except for a brief reference to his encounter with them in the islands: “But I poore pilgrime maie call those islands infortunate islands for there I was apprehended for an heretike and an open enimie to the Romish Churche, and there deteyned in that bloudie Inquisition, the space of five years”.⁴⁰ This is the only reference in Nichols’s writing to the Inquisition. It seems he may have included the reference as a way of building his authorial authority. In his epistle to the pamphlet he explains that he was inspired to write the work in order to correct the misrepresentations set forth by the French writer Andrew Theut, who as Nichols goes on to explain wrote an account based on hearsay.⁴¹ Throughout the pamphlet Nichols uses language such as “I have eaten”, or “I have talked with”.⁴² At one point Nichols even corrects Theut explaining that sugar cane required two years to grow not the five months that Theut had claimed was necessary.⁴³ Nichols careful use of the language of “I have” and his corrections to Theut’s earlier work helped to build his credibility, much as his mention of his time with the Inquisition helped to place him on the islands and create the idea that he was involved enough with the local community to attract the attention of the institution.

Nichols goes on in the pamphlet to give a detailed and glowing description of the Canary Islands and society. The pamphlet presents a very positive view of the islands. Nichols even speaks very highly about some Spanish officials on the islands “there dwelleth the governor who ruleth al that island with justice”.⁴⁴ The language throughout the pamphlet was very complimentary. Nichols frequently referred to the goods produced on the islands and the nat-

39 Francisco Javier Castillo, “The English Renaissance and the Canary Islands: Thomas Nichols and Edmund Scory,” *Proceedings of the II Conference of SEDERI: 1992*, 3. Hereafter referred to as Castillo, “English Renaissance,”

40 Nichols, *A Pleasant Description*, 3.

41 *Ibid.*, 3.

42 I have eaten 7, I have talked with 6.

43 9.

44 14.

ural charm of the islands as “beautiful”, or “good”. He even speaks of the citizens of the largest island, Gran Canaria, as “curious and gallant in apparel”.⁴⁵ There was no need for the language to be so positive. Nichols was writing the pamphlet in England, in English, and for an English audience; he was safe from the Inquisition. He may have been so positive about the islands because he planned to return to them and try his hand in trade once again, but at the time of the writing he was out of the Inquisition’s reach.

The fact that Nichols did not write about his time in the Inquisition prisons is significant. As far as we know he respected the oath of silence he would have been required to take before he left the prison. Nichols never wrote an account of his experiences at the hands of the Inquisition. However, even without writing about his prison experiences, the absence of them in his pamphlet speaks to them not necessarily having been very difficult. If his experience had been horrifying, Nichols would have been unlikely to have any desire to return to the islands. There is also the possibility that had he written a lurid account of the horrors he faced in the prisons he might have benefited financially. The fact that his pamphlet is positive about the islands, implying that Nichols may have wished to return makes it clear that whatever he experienced at the hands of the Inquisition was not enough to cloud his opinion of the islands and their possibilities. There was no horror on the islands that Nichols was avoiding.

The Inquisition functioned primarily through denunciations; very little actual investigation went into their work. When the Inquisition arrived in a community, its personnel publicly announced a “period of grace” from the pulpit of the local church.⁴⁶ Any person who came forward during this period and confessed their heresies would be treated more leniently. The period was also open for denunciations. Any person could denounce another and the majority of the Inquisition’s cases were brought to their attention through friends and neighbors condemning one another for real, imagined, or made up heresies. Since the name of a denouncer was kept anonymous it was extremely difficult for a defendant to mount a defense. All revealing details of when and where the heresy was committed

45 8.

46 Kamen, *Spanish Inquisition*, 174.

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were kept out of the defendant's hands to protect the identity of the accuser. What frequently ended up occurring was that the defendant would admit to a variety of heresies he had in fact committed in an attempt to explain them away. The prisoner rarely remembered the incident he was accused of committing. Many people were convicted by the Inquisition based on events they related in their own defense. In most cases the only chance the defendant had for getting off without incident was to correctly guess the identity of his accuser and prove that the accuser was an enemy of his. Only by correctly guessing who spoke out against him and what crime he supposedly committed would a prisoner have a chance to portray his actions in a more positive light.

A first offense depending on the severity of the crime would result in penitence and was usually accompanied by wearing a *san benito*, a fine, banishment or occasionally the galleys.⁴⁷ A second or third offense was treated more severely with the prisoner being forced to wear a *san benito*, confiscation of all property, and if they had committed a crime grave enough to earn being burned at the stake they wore a special *san benito* decorated with demons and flames and were forced to walk in an *auto de fe*.⁴⁸ Each offense was accompanied by a term of imprisonment that could be anywhere from a few months to life. In general only a third offense would result in a prisoner being burned at the stake, and even then if the prisoner confessed their crimes they would first be garroted before being burned. Only the most unrepentant prisoners were burned alive. The Inquisition's first goal was to gain the prisoner's repentance and reconciliation, but sometimes they were faced with repeat self-denouncers. For example a French nun from a convent in Alcala, Ursule de la Croix confessed three times to eating meat on Fridays. The first two times she was treated lightly, but after her third confession the Inquisition finally sent her to the stake.⁴⁹ Had she remained silent she would never have appeared before the Inquisition at all. This case is also emblematic of how the Inquisition operated. They relied heavily on self-denouncers and neighbors and friends coming forth to denounce others in their communities. Very little original investigation was actually conducted by the Inquisition.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 200.

⁴⁸ 200.

⁴⁹ 181-182.

Imprisonment by the Inquisition was one of the better forms of imprisonment to experience within Spain. Prisoners were isolated within their own cells. They were forbidden to speak to prisoners in the surrounding cells. They were provided with a bed, usually a small table, and some form of sanitary bucket. Extra commodities could be acquired if the prisoner asked and was willing to foot the bill.⁵⁰ Various cases within the Canary records show that prisoners occasionally complained of a shortage of bread and water, or wanted extra clothing, and one gentleman even requested that his wine not be diluted with so much water.⁵¹ If the request was within reason the prisoner was usually granted it.

A man's stay in the prison was paid for out of his own confiscated property. Once a person was arrested by the Inquisition, his property was placed on hold pending his trial. If a person's family petitioned, they would sometimes be provided with enough money to live on. The prisoner was then housed and fed within the prison out of his own pocket. Only in cases where the prisoner's property had run out or he had next to no property to begin with, did the Inquisition pay for his upkeep out of its own budget. This practice continued to hold standard in the Canaries, where for almost eight years the Canary Inquisition paid for the imprisonment of English prisoner Bartholomew Cole.⁵² In general, the Inquisition prisons were considered to be better than those of the secular and ecclesiastical authorities.⁵³ If a prisoner was sick he was allowed to be seen by a doctor and if the sickness was very severe he would even be removed to a hospital: both Cole and Wingfield spent time at a hospital. Many of the secular prisons were overcrowded and large numbers of prisoners died from disease. In fact it was not unknown for a prisoner to commit heresy in order to be transferred to the Inquisition prisons. In one case, a friar in Valladolid Spain made heretical statements in order to be transferred from his current prison to that of the inquisition.⁵⁴ Clearly the risks of being killed by the Inquisition were not considered great enough to outweigh the comforts of their prisons.

Despite the higher number of arrests of English merchants

⁵⁰ 186.

⁵¹ De Alberti and Chapman, "English Traders," 238.

⁵² de Alberti and Chapman, *English Merchants*, 81.

⁵³ Kamen, *Spanish Inquisition*, 184.

⁵⁴ Kamen, *Spanish Inquisition*, 184.

during the period covered in this paper, the records of the Canary Inquisition do not indicate that the Englishmen were subjected to treatment that was any different from what the rest of the Canary Inquisition prisoners experienced. The prisoners were all kept in separate cells within the prison, but during the day many of them had the run of the town and even held jobs, the income from which would be used to help fund their stay in the prison. Occasionally the rule of silence was even broken within the prison. Hugh Wingfield and fellow prisoner Bartholomew Cole were questioned regarding events that occurred when the doors in the prison were damaged. The men had all been found dining and carousing together by the guards. The Inquisitors were not concerned so much with the prisoners communicating, but that they might have been communicating about their cases.⁵⁵ The prisoners were not punished for this incident. Once the questioning was complete the Inquisitors simply ordered them to refrain from taking advantage of the time it would take to repair the doors. They instructed them to stay in their cells and cease communication, but no one was punished for the damage.

There were also several cases in which prisoners escaped from the Canary Inquisition and were apprehended. The Inquisitors would then question the prisoners to ascertain whether their motive had been to leave the church, or to merely evade punishment.⁵⁶ As long as the prisoners came up with a good story or promised they were still desirous of reforming then the Inquisition issued no further punishment. Only in cases where the prisoners were able to escape off the islands did the Inquisition take further action, which usually entailed confiscation of any property the prisoner left on the island, sentencing them if apprehended to time in the galleys and usually burning of them in effigy during the next *auto de fe*.

Another key aspect behind the image of the Inquisition is the torture performed on prisoners. Many pictures and popular tales portrayed grotesque and creative forms of torture such as ripping out fingernails or burning the prisoner's feet with hot coals. When speaking of the Inquisition's tortures, one imagines a small, windowless, dark room with a hooded man bent over a table of unusual devices. The reality was much less dramatic. Torture was used

⁵⁵ de Alberti and Chapman, *English Merchants*, 49-50.

⁵⁶ De Alberti and Chapman, "English Traders," 243.

to extract information from all prisoners, including the Englishmen arrested by the Canary Inquisition. Torture was standard Inquisition practice and as a result was confined to several specific methods. Torture of prisoners was conducted in a rather large room in the presence of several Inquisitors and was always documented by a scribe. The following dialogue follows standard Inquisition methodology and was recorded during the torture session of English merchant John Ware in the Canary Islands:

And upon this order was given to proceed to the torture chamber, to which the said Inquisitor and Ordinary went, and arriving there order was given for the arms of the said John Ware to be tied, and being thus tied. He was admonished by the love of God to speak the truth, and not to bring this great trouble on himself... Questioned as to who taught him... Replied the Dominican Friars. Questioned as to what they taught him... Replied, to pray, and attend mass daily.⁵⁷

A scribe would always record the events leading to a torture session including dialogue adjuring the prisoner to confess so he would not be tortured. The scribe was also responsible for recording statements releasing the Inquisitors from all liability should the prisoner be injured: “if in the said torture he should die, or be maimed, or any effusion of blood or mutilation of any member should ensue, the fault must lie with him, and not with us”.⁵⁸ In the above case of John Ware it is clear that treatment of the English merchants by the Canary Inquisition was no different than their treatment of any other Inquisition prisoner.

There were three main types of torture: the *garrucha*, *toca* and *potro*.⁵⁹ The *garrucha* had the prisoner’s arms tied together and then they lifted them off the ground, occasionally weights were tied to the prisoner’s feet to increase the stretching. This is also the form employed in the Canary Islands during John Ware’s torture session. The *toca* form of torture involved tying a prisoner to a rack and then

⁵⁷ de Alberti and Chapman, *English Merchants*, 10.

⁵⁸ Ibid., 10.

⁵⁹ Kamen, *Spanish Inquisition*, 190.

tightening cords wrapped all around the body. The *potro* method required the administrator of the session to stuff a rag down the prisoner's throat and pour water onto it, very similar to waterboarding, the amount of water varied depending on cooperation. Throughout all of this, a prisoner was asked questions and a scribe recorded the questions and answers. A confession by torture was not considered valid in court; a prisoner had to re-confess the next day to whatever they admitted under duress. If he failed to validate the confession, then the confession was useless in court. While there may have been cases in which a scribe was never called into the room or a more creative form of torture was employed we have no evidence to support those cases. The existing documentation of the Inquisition points to the fact that they were far less inhumane than the popular imagination made them out to be.

A possible explanation as to why the English prisoners were not treated very harshly could be tied to the crimes they were accused of committing. Most of the merchants were accused of being Protestants and they mounted a defense that claimed since they were born in England they had had no chance to learn any differently. The Canary Inquisition was very concerned with questioning the English prisoners about the practices of Protestantism. They sought information about how the prayers were conducted, who led the services, how the sacrament was given and received. They also desired to know how long a prisoner had been a member of the Protestant church; in the case of most of the prisoners they were born into the religion and knew no other. Most would profess a desire to be corrected from their ignorance and usually would be placed in the charge of a member of the Dominican order who would help them with their spiritual learning.

Since many of the prisoners were then turned over to members of the Dominican order to be instructed in the proper beliefs of the Catholic faith, this seems to indicate that the Inquisition viewed their crimes as being “‘propositions’... statements which potentially indicated thoughts that were in error in matters of faith and were thus sinful”.⁶⁰ Also about one out of every three cases tried by the Canary Inquisition was classified as propositions or blasphemy.⁶¹ By clas-

⁶⁰ Stuart B. Schwartz, *All Can Be Saved* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 18.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 23.

sifying the English prisoners' heresies as such the Inquisition was able to buy into the merchants' excuse of ignorance and treat them more lightly. Propositions had various levels of gravity and only the most extreme cases of heresy were punished severely. In cases such as these, holding the prisoners and having them instructed in the true faith was more beneficial than punishing them.

What constituted a proposition was rather loosely defined but most of the Englishmen tried were probably tried under the category of heretical doubts about the sacraments or liturgy.⁶² Considering that the Protestant church in England differed from the Catholic Church on many such matters of sacraments and liturgy, it is not surprising that when questioning the prisoners many of the Inquisitors questions regarded these differences. An example of this type of proposition would be a questioning of the validity of the Eucharist and this type of questioning would result in the stiff penalty of being sentenced to serve in the galleys.⁶³ Many of the English merchants were eventually sentenced to serve in the galleys, although several were able to escape before their sentence could be enforced. The only Englishman to be burned at the stake in the Canary Islands seems to have taken the crime of proposition to its most extreme lengths. In 1587, a twenty-four year old tailor named George Gaspar was arrested by the secular authorities, and then following a denouncement, moved to the Inquisition prisons. He was denounced for turning his back on a crucifix and fixing his eyes on the moon in prayer.⁶⁴ He was questioned by the Inquisition regarding his motives for doing such things. His response was to attack doctrine of the Catholic Church and claim the saints had no power.⁶⁵ These attacks on the religious dogma of the church ultimately led to his being burned alive after an *auto de fe*. Gaspar's case was an extreme one. In the case of the other merchants, most of them were more than willing to be reconciled with the church and accept their punishments.

The tensions between England and Spain were felt around the Atlantic World, but nowhere were they felt more deeply than within the European Atlantic and especially on the Canary Islands. The islands were very dependent upon trade with England and as a

62 19.

63 22.

64 De Alberti and Chapman, "English Traders," 243.

65 Ibid., 243.

result they were willing to tolerate illegal trade and piracy as a means of keeping their economy afloat. However, the Spanish government did not necessarily tolerate what locals tolerated, and pressure was placed on the islands' governments to take action against this illegal trade. The Spanish crown encouraged the arrests of English merchants for piracy, and their subsequent denouncement and incarceration by the Inquisition. When the merchants left the Canary Islands and returned to England they tended to abide by the rule of silence imposed by the Inquisition and would not speak of their time in the islands, this was probably done in order for them to be able to return to the islands in the future and continue their trade ventures. The silence of the merchants encouraged rumors and stories to develop.

How did this benefit anyone Spanish, English or merchants? The truth is that it was never about the merchants. The merchants were inconvenienced by the situation, but not really damaged in a permanent fashion. When the Inquisition arrested the merchants and held them for extended periods of time Spain benefited, they were able to use religion as the reason behind their actions towards England and were able to gain public support because they were trying to stamp out heresy. The English also turned the situation to their advantage. When the merchants returned from their time with the Inquisition but refused to talk about what happened, it was the perfect opportunity for the English government to use the power of propaganda. Creating horrific stories of the horrors committed by the inquisition garnered public support for efforts towards harming the Spanish. The English turned anti-Catholic sentiment to their advantage. Both sides used religion as a political tool to foster popular support for their causes. The ten-year period from 1586-1596 was the creation and the highpoint of this political manipulation. Subsequent rulers both Spanish and English were to continue using religiously aimed propaganda to unite their subjects behind a common cause that benefited crown policies and endeavors.

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The Face of Exclusion: How People are Perceived Based on their Facial Appearance

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The proposed study will examine whether individuals make more internal attributions (personality traits) or external attributions (situational factors) towards targets that have facial imperfections. Participants will randomly receive either a photograph of a male with facial imperfections or the same photograph but without facial imperfections. Participants in both conditions will receive a questionnaire with a scenario describing how the individual in the photo failed to meet anyone at a local bar. The scenario will give 10 possible reasons, 5 attributed to internal attributions and 5 to external attributions. I expect that those individuals who received a blemished target will attribute more internal attributions as opposed to the other individuals who received a blemish-free target and will attribute more external attributions.

It is evident people use attractiveness as a proxy to make assumptions about people's behavior. People tend to unconsciously view attractive people as having more sociability, kindness, and positivity. Media also reinforces that beautiful people are popular and successful, giving off the appearance of perfection. Specifically, people assume that those who are facially attractive also possess positive internal traits. Thus, it is important to recognize first impressions and how people make attributions for behaviors as a function of facial attractiveness.

“Beautiful is good” effect

First impressions are used to make assumptions about people when first encountering them. Research shows that attractiveness is a strong social cue in first impressions. However, how are social skills improved with time in relation to attractiveness? Bull and Ste-

vens (1981) examined the relationship between facial appearance and people's beliefs about social ability and find that attractive people are viewed as more socially skilled, because attractive children get to work on their social skills more than those who do not have as many opportunities. Therefore, as the attractive child grows up, he has learned to be more social because he has had more opportunity to develop such a skill from an early age. This is based on the behavioral reactions the child receives from the adults. Being beautiful, though, goes beyond having higher social skills; it also includes people's beliefs that beautiful people have better executive skills, emotional stability, and better health (Leeuwen & Macrae, 2004). In addition, it has been identified that the main aspect that we relate people's attractiveness to is with their face. Adults and children as young as 12 months prefer attractive facial characteristics more than less attractive ones (Langlois, Roggman, & Rieser-Danner, 1990); this shows that being beautiful is a characteristic that any individual feels attracted to, regardless of age.

The face is the first physical feature that people pay attention to when making first impressions. Moreover, people base their judgments about social qualities on the basis of one's facial attractiveness. These judgments occur unconsciously and often affect the way people treat each other. For example, people have a tendency to draw inferences about a person's unique and enduring dispositions from behaviors that can be entirely explained by the situations in which they occur. This is a common aspect that occurs in almost every social situation; however, the consequences of misconceptions are not entirely comprehensive to the rest of the community (Gilbert & Malone, 1995). Therefore, many internal judgments are associated to people who are physically unattractive without understanding the real reasons of the behaviors.

The Correspondence Bias

Social attributions are assumptions that help people understand the behavior of others. In everyday life, people make judgments of others' behavior on the basis of their perspective without fully understanding the reasons for such actions. Thus, it is important to understand the concept of the correspondence bias. The cor-

responsibility bias is when people attribute behavior more to internal than external attributions. Internal attributions occur when someone attributes behavior to a factor, agent, or force within one's control, also known as dispositional attribution (Grinnell, 2009). For example, if an individual is answering with short-answers, the other person might think that he or she is rude or antisocial. On the other hand, external attributions occur when a person attributes behavior to an outside factor, such as the cause of an event; also known as a situational attribution (Grinnell, 2009). An example would be if an individual is being rude at work, the customer could attribute his or her behavior to having a bad day as opposed to blaming it on a personal characteristic such as being mean or rude.

This study will focus on the facial attractiveness of an individual with blemishes as opposed to not having any facial imperfections. Those with blemishes are stigmatized, and previous studies have concluded that being physically handicapped or being a member of a minority racial group usually derives emotional sympathy (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986). However, facial blemishes are a common condition for most individuals and might be viewed as controllable stigma. That is, people see the individual as responsible for his or her predicament, since there are treatments that the individual can commit to improve his or her condition: treatments such as Proactiv, medications, and light treatments. There is also makeup usage that can minimize the visibility of blemishes. Wearing makeup also brings a different perspective to others such as that targets with makeup are rated as being cleaner, more tidy, more physically attractive, as well as being more secure, sociable, interesting, poised, confident, organized and popular (Graham & Jouhar, 1981). This is related to females only, though. Thus, it does not give an option to the males, which then, could be differentiated between males and females rating a target with facial blemishes. Facial imperfections are similar to an overweight condition; facial blemishes are also visible and individuals who suffer from it feel ashamed and guilty because they are the ones that need to make changes in order to change their appearance. Crocker, Cornwell, and Major explain that stigma resides not in the stigmatizing condition itself but in others' reactions to that condition (1993). Therefore, I predict that people will make negative internal attributions for the targets with facial blemishes.

These attributions are not labeled on purpose, but instead, it is an automatic reaction that people in general have towards one another. However, the effects of the judgments are behavioral changes, making the targeted people feel that it is their fault that they are treated a certain way. People with blemishes receive negative comments and reactions from others, which then leads to introverted, awkward, and shy behaviors that they elicit after receiving such comments. The behaviors then are reinforcement to the people judging, to confirm that in fact those who have physical blemishes are shy and less social.

The present experiment looks at the social attributions that are attributed to an individual as the basis of one's facial attractiveness: whether they have facial imperfections or not. The main question is if people will react differently to targets with physical imperfections or not. Will people assume that their actions are based on their personality (internal attribution) or a situational event (external attribution)? Participants will read a scenario with a photograph of an individual (John). I will manipulate the photograph: half of the participants will see a target with facial blemishes and the other half will not. Participants will then make attributions as to why John did not meet anyone at a local bar. Participants will rate both internal and external attributions for John's behavior. Where John has blemishes, the participants would make more internal attributions. When John was blemish free, participants would make more external attributions.

Methods

Participants

Participants were 51 Sonoma State students who received partial class credit in return for their participation, but it is strictly voluntary.

Stimuli

Stimuli consisted of a color photograph of a face of a college-aged, Caucasian male adult selected from a Google database and altered using Adobe Photoshop CS5 to add or remove blemishes.

Procedure

The participants were tested in groups of 3-5. The experiment took between 15-20 minutes. As the participants arrived, they received a questionnaire and were assigned to a computer by an experimenter that was aware of the main purpose of the study. Before filling out the survey, the participants received an informed consent (Appendix A) explaining about the research and general instructions before viewing the photos. To minimize the possibility of experimenter bias, all experimenters followed a written script that indicated exactly what to say during the experiment. The experimenter showed to each participant, based on randomization, a picture (Appendix D) of a male student “John” with blemishes or the picture of the same male without blemishes (between-subjects experiment). Participants were told that their opinion was needed to understand the visual impressions people experience towards others.

The students filled out the survey that included a scenario about John. The scenario was about John going to a party trying to meet new people. However, at the end of the night the story described that John did not meet anyone. The main question that the participants were basing their answers on was “why do you think John did not meet anyone?” The survey contained five responses measuring internal attributions and five answers measuring external attributions (Appendix B). At the end of the survey, the data was collected using a Likert scale and every participant received a debriefing form (Appendix C) explaining that the real reasons for the research was to determine if facial imperfections play a role in social attributions, and to answer any questions the subjects may have. They were also given the opportunity to write down their information for future contact to receive the results of the experiment.

Materials

After reading the scenario, participants rated 10 reasons to explain John’s behavior based on the photo that they received. Participants responded using a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (strongly agree) to 5 (strongly disagree). Refer to appendix B to

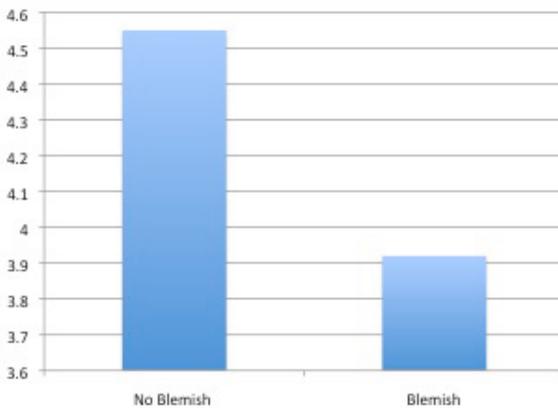
view survey.

Analysis

Data were analyzed using *t*-test. There was a manipulation check to determine the effectiveness of the photographs and the attractiveness ratings. The manipulation was effective $N=51$ (females=35, males=15) $t(1,45)=2.17, p<.05$.



Attractiveness Chart (less attractive 1-more attractive 5)



The Face of Exclusion

Moreover, a factor analysis was conducted to determine whether distinct factors emerged for internal and external attributions. The analysis demonstrated that two items (shy & self-conscious) loaded into internal attribution factors and two items (crowded & music) loaded into external attributions factors. The remaining items were excluded from analysis due to weak factor loadings. There was a t-test implemented in both remaining scores, but no significant effects emerged from the analysis.

Conclusion

The t-test showed that the manipulation of attractiveness was effective. However, the attributions were not strong enough to support our hypothesis.

Discussion

Limitations

The usage of the photograph was not effective because it was not strong enough of a difference. Subjects were only presented with a single photograph and did not compare it to anything else. In addition, acne might not be the best option to determine attractiveness. It is possible that subjects believed that acne was a fairly common condition and that it does not strongly affect internal attributions or perceptions. Social desirability was also a factor that affected the experiment because many of the subjects did not want to make assumptions that gave the impression that they were being judgmental. Most people want to believe that they do not assume certain characteristics about others. This experiment did not provide any personal information about the target, except for a brief description of the situation (scenario→attending a party) and a photograph. These are not enough to have subjects choose a characteristic without being judgmental.

Future Research

It would be interesting to conduct a similar experiment em-

ploying a female target to see if there is a gender difference between a female target and a male target. It would be intriguing to also change the scenario to become a positive outcome (John actually meeting people at the bar) to see if internal attributions are made towards a blemish-free target and external attributions towards a blemished target.

Some changes that can be included for future research would be to create a scenario that includes different photos where participants would have to match the attribution to the individual that they think would act as described on the specific scenario. The pictures could include a total of 10 photographs with 4 attractive and 4 unattractive and 2 neutral ones. The pictures can be chosen from past research regarding what determines a beautiful face and what does not. It would take a longer time period due to the fact that pictures have to be selected without any biases.

Other ideas could involve using a stronger manipulation that shows a greater difference such as moles on the face, scars, and maybe even weight on the face. These conditions are not as common as acne and therefore might demonstrate a stronger effect. Overall, having a stronger manipulation and a better explanation of the situation can lead to better results. Finally, reaching to a broader sample population can bring more variety to the results and also the ability to compare gender and even ethnicity or age groups.

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Older Adults: Perspectives on Aging in Place and the American Dream

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As we grow older many of us will lose some mobility, and at some point, the ability to drive. I started my research a year ago looking only at the effects of being over the age of 70, living alone and no longer being able to drive on one's life. I re-interviewed the eight interviewees that I had interviewed in the last year, turning my project into longitudinal research. By checking back in I found new information by re-asking previous questions and new information about the American Dream. Independence is a large part of the American Dream. What does the loss of this independence do to one's well being? I take a look not only at how these changes affect people, but also what their vision of the American dream once was, compared to what it is to them now.

Growing up we all had the Declaration of Independence in our lives. As Jim Cullen states in his book *The American Dream*, "Far more than simply the center pieces of any notion of American historical and cultural literacy, the kind of document virtually all of us are taught in school, the Declaration actually shapes the way we live our lives-not always well or consciously, mind you, but powerfully nonetheless"(2003:37). My goal in interviewing was to discover what the elders' view of the American Dream was when they were in their teens or twenties. Then I explored what that dream is to them now.

Aging Population

One might think, "why study aging, living alone and the American Dream?" Most every one will live to an old age. Today people are living longer and longer. As Michael Bury and Anthea Holme discuss in their study, *Quality of Life and Social Support in*

the Very Old, “Thus, the number and proportion of the elderly aged 85 years and over has increased steadily and will continue to grow over the next twenty years”(1990: 345). Our aging population is growing at a rapid rate and it is not going to slow down, but rather continue to grow thanks to modern medicine advances and better nutrition. The Administration on Aging reports that,

The older population—persons 65 years or older—numbered 39.6 million in 2009. They represented 12.9% of the U.S. population, about one in every eight Americans. By 2030, there will be about 72.1 million older persons, more than twice their number in 2000 (2011).

Another way to see this is,

About one in eight Americans are age 65 or above today, compared to the one in 10 in the 1950s. By 2030, one in five Americans will be 65 or older... (Population Resource Center, 2012).

That is a huge change in our population. We as a society need to adjust to these changes. Some of these adjustments need to be regarding our current housing structure and transportation system.

Transportation

Our current housing and transportation system works well for people who drive and have little to no mobility issues. Older adults who no longer drive and struggle with mobility issues become isolated in their homes. They do not have the ability to jump in their car or grab a bus and head to the grocery store. Many people might think that moving to a care facility or an older persons’ “retirement” home would be the best solution. My first thought is, “would you want to move from your home?” Most people want to age in place. The home they have lived in for many years is the home they want to continue to live in. Meika Loe writes, in her article “Doing it my way: old women, technology and wellbeing,” “given the blurring of

home and healthcare, elders themselves state a preference for aging at home. Forty years of national survey research, including that of the American Association of Retired Persons (AARP), reveals that the vast majority of elders prefer to age at home” (2009, p. 320). It makes sense to want to age in place. Yet issues come up when people do age in place: how do they get to their doctor appointments, buy food, or even socialize? Being human means we are social creatures. We need to have social ties in order to be physically, emotionally, and mentally healthy.

Population of Study

I have intentionally chosen to study adults who live alone because this is a vulnerable part of society that needs to be seen and not ignored or disregarded. One might have a spouse who dies. This leaves one alone and thus leads to loneliness. David Russell (2009) discusses loneliness in his article, “. . . it is quite clear that living with a spouse provides a considerable degree of social integration and support. The presence of a spouse may help to create a stabilizing sense of security and belonging, without which a person may experience feelings of loneliness” (461-462). Having someone in your life is very important. Social capital according to the definition from *Collins English Dictionary* (2012) is defined as, “the network of social connections that exist between people, and their shared values and norms of behavior which enable and encourage mutually advantageous social cooperation.” The more social capital you have, the better off you are because you have more people to relate to and have mutual understandings with. Social capital is a driving force that keeps people healthy; it is how we relate to one another. Walker and Hiller explore the importance of social capital in their article (2007), “Emerging from such research is the notion that social capital—mutually beneficial social relationships between citizens characterized by interpersonal trust and norms of reciprocity—might be suggested that the extent of social capital in an area might explain differences in overall health” (1155). The differences in health between those with social capital and those without is what my research explores as I inquire with those who live alone. Research I have found shows that social isolation has negative impacts on health,

More specifically, social network size is linked to numerous aspects of health and well-being, particularly among older adults. Social connectedness protects against late-life depression, and heart disease and mortality. Social network diversity is also protective of physical and mental health, reducing susceptibility to the common cold (York & Waite, 2).

Cornwell and Waite state the lack of socializing causes health detriments, “Individuals who lack social connections or report frequent feelings of loneliness tend to suffer higher rates of morbidity and mortality, depression, and cognitive decline”(2009, 31). In my research I have chosen to study adults age seventy or older because it is more common to start to lose mobility at this age and beyond. Another aspect of my research is exploring if the participants I interviewed are able to socialize at all.

Independence

Everyone’s American Dream varies from person to person and has many different aspects to it. One of particular importance to my study is independence. Americans pride themselves on their independence. We work hard from a young age to achieve this goal and once it is lost, on any level, we feel as if we have failed or we feel of less value to society. Smith, Mayer, Wittert, and Warin (2007) discuss this in their article, “As with previous studies, we found that lay perspectives of successful aging among the older men in our study were closely tied to being able to maintain their independence. This was consistent with sustained personal autonomy being perceived as a measure of successful aging” (2007, 326). This quote pertains to men, yet women also feel the need for independence as well. Everyone in society wants to remain independent. Jennifer Hochschild mentions in her book, “the ideology promises that everyone, regardless of ascription or background, may reasonably seek success through actions and traits under their own control” (1995, 4). When we age we start to lose control over many aspects of our lives. This loss of independence has a huge effect on our emotional, physical,

and mental health. Aging should be a process that is respected and embraced. Part of the American Dream needs to include and honor all aspects of the aging process.

Methods

In my study I conducted in-depth interviews of adults age 70 or older in their homes. I interviewed adults 70 and older because it is at their age period that mobility becomes an issue for many, and the numbers of people over 70 are increasing at a rapid rate. The greater likelihood of adulthood isolation in older age would then potentially affect mental and physical decline.

Other criteria for my interviewees included living alone, and no longer driving an automobile. I did make one exception and interviewed someone who lost the ability to drive for a period of time. I feel that my criteria fulfilled my research objective because I want to know the effects in our society of loss of independence in relation to the American Dream, the loss of mobility and social isolation. We have created a society that values independence and is thus based on the use of an automobile. When one becomes older and lives alone, losing the ability to operate a motor vehicle is very isolating and can potentially cause physical and mental health issues.

In the spring of 2011, I interviewed eight people. I have gone back and re-interviewed all of these participants, except one, that I could only observe due to her current health status. I also interviewed two new people, making this a longitude study. I created new questions to ask. These questions inquired about what their idea of what the American Dream is to them, or was, and what it is to them now, or isn't. I wanted to know if they feel like they have lived the American Dream, and if they feel they are living it now. The interviews were to be based on my hypothesis as written about in *An Introduction To Qualitative Research*, "...theory driven, hypotheses-directed questions are asked" (Flick 2009, 157). Interviews are appropriate for this research. It does not make sense to do it any other way. Being able to sit one-on-one and give someone my undivided attention for an hour is the most efficient way to get information. If I had done a focus group it would be really challenging to get the participants there since they no longer drive and have mobility issues. As Flick

points out, “the apparent economics of interviewing several persons at the same time is clearly reduced by the high organizational effort needed to make up an appointment which all members of a group can meet” (2009, 201). If I had done questionnaires, I would not get to ask any further probing questions to follow up on what they have told me. As you can see, conducting interviews, is the best strategy to get the information I desired. Since my study is longitudinal, I acquired more in-depth data from my sources, “Longitudinal studies are the most consistent way of analyzing developments and process in their course” (Flick 2009, 138). Having a year go by between interviews has given my research participants time to gain more insight into what I had previously asked them, and they were excited to share new information.

Thinking about the American Sociological Association Code of Ethics and how my participants felt being re-interviewed about a sensitive topic was a concern of mine. I wondered if people would want to be interviewed again. To my surprise, everyone wanted to participate in second interviews, even the two who had forgotten about the first interview. One woman in particular had been excited and reluctant at the same time the first interview, but she was even more interested in contributing this second time around. By the end of the first interview she said some concerning things and I do not want to upset her. She talked about not knowing why she was still alive (she is in her nineties) and I could tell she is pretty depressed. She does have a support system and wants to contribute to society but cannot. This is part of her depression, so I think she really enjoys the interview as a way to contribute to society.

Flick (2009) brings up vulnerable populations, “But what if you want to study people who are not (seen as) competent to understand and decide, say younger children (as in the case of Allmark 2002) or very old people with dementia or people with mental health problems” (Flick 2009, 41). In my case, I have interviewed elders and I made sure to be mindful of the fact that participants may have dementia or have difficulty understanding. Two people from my first interviews disclosed that they have Bi-polar disorder. I feel confident that I can assess whether or not I should interview someone, and found one participant not interviewable at all. This participant had two strokes and could not maintain a conversation with me when I

went to visit her and see how she was doing. During another interview, I stopped because she seemed to not understand me. I stopped recording and sat and talked with her for another twenty minutes.

Another issue was the effect my interviews have on the individuals after I have left. People who live alone and are isolated may not know how to deal with feelings that arise from the interview. In the past it has worked well to make sure that the last things we talk about are more upbeat and positive so that when I leave they feel uplifted and not sad. I have had the full range of emotions from no reaction at all to someone crying. I have always been able to allow those feelings in the moment and then later bring them back to a more light hearted and silly space. It was still be my intention to make sure that by the time I need to leave my participants are in a good state of mind.

While doing my research previously, I could not find much data that corresponded to what I am currently researching. There are topics that come close, but none that are what I am researching. This is both positive and negative. It would be nice to have some research to compare what I come up with. However, if there is not research in this area then I am glad I am doing it because I feel this is a very important topic. Everyone ages, and I do not think that anyone wants to age and find him or herself isolated, and alone. How could isolation fit in the American Dream? I do not think that we as Americans think far enough ahead to realize that many are heading in the direction of isolation. My hope is to shed more light on this as well as come up with some possible changes that could be made to society to change this outcome.

Research Questions

In my original research I asked: Do older adults socialize with their neighbors, friends, or family? Do they keep to themselves because it is too difficult to maneuver outside? Are they too depressed to call family or friends? Are they able to care for themselves? Do they prepare their own meals? What is their daily routine like? How often do they get sick? Are they able to get to a doctor when needed? Do they enjoy living alone? As I conducted my follow-up interviews I asked people what had changed since we first had talked and asked

them some of the health questions again, but did not ask all my first interview questions, as I wanted to keep from being repetitive. Some new questions I added: What was your American Dream when you were younger? What is it now? Do you feel you have experienced the American Dream? Why or why not? What should the American Dream look like? How should aging be viewed in American Society? What changes should be made to policies, social structure, transportation systems, or even housing?

Importance

The importance of my research is to add to the existing research that is out there and bring in the topic of the American Dream. I think it is important for people to think about the American Dream in respect to aging. Younger Americans fall into the trap of focusing on what they want right now, and do not give much thought to what it will be like when they are older, or how elders are currently experiencing this dream. I enjoyed talking with elders and finding out first hand where they feel gaps need to be filled when it comes to aging in our society. I hope my research will lead to more research by others and then followed by policy changes and structural changes in society.

Analysis of first data (2011)

Loneliness

Each person I interviewed revealed some form of loneliness to me. Each handled this feeling in a somewhat different way. My first interviewee walked three times a day twenty minutes each time. This enabled her to meet new people and to converse with them. There is a park in the center of this mobile home park that is very pretty and is a good place to meet others. She utilized it as a way to keep her body in shape, as well as a social mechanism. She mentioned that she could not always remember names but that she did enjoy taking,

But I like it here very much and I do go for my walks as I told you, and uh, I get out and I see people at the park and we talk for a few minutes, but you can't believe the people that are here. There are so many, and uh, if you get their name, I have to write it down. I take a little pad in my Rollator there that, that's what its called a Rollator"(Interview 1, 7).

My second interviewee found that if she went outside first thing in the morning she was better able to control her depression and also meet and talk with neighbors. She mentioned she feels most alone at nighttime,

Not having anybody to talk to in the evenings, you know, when the girls go home, and, you know. All that kind and its very difficult not to have anybody, um, that can help you do anything (Interview 2, 9).

Regarding the ability to get out and spend time outside with others for my first two interviewees, it seems, being outside for parts of the day is very important. My third interview was conducted with someone who has not driven for about a month. I had thought her lapse in duration was more significant than that. I still learned from her, because she is somewhat housebound. She has some very serious back pain issues that keep her in bed almost all the time. She also talked about loneliness. It seems that when she is watching TV, she wishes someone could enjoy it with her, "I miss saying, 'Hey wasn't that a good movie. You know I really like that scene.' or 'Isn't that beautiful music' or something like that" (Interview 3, 3). Having another person there just to talk with seems to be what could really make a difference for her.

My only male interviewee stated his need for getting out of his house. He finds that being alone is not that big of a deal, but goes on to point out how friendly his neighbors are. He is checked-in-on daily by one man. He has hired help that comes three times a week for two hours each time. They have over eight years of a relationship and seem like they are family. His main issue with living alone is not having anyone to talk with, "I haven't thought of anything really,

other than nobody to talk to. I get myself talking to the wall every once in awhile, but other than that..." (Interview 4, 5). He spends time with another man in the park. They go around together and socialize with all the neighbors, "He stops and talks to every house, so I find out what is going on in the park" (Interview 4, 6). Having lived in the community for over thirty-five years he knows many of the neighbors and he is very friendly, so makes friends fast.

My fifth interviewee finds herself pretty well off in most areas. She did not mention feeling lonely. None of my questions directly ask, "Are you lonely?" I did not think to be that blunt, nor do I think I should have. It came up in my other interviews naturally. I think that perhaps this interviewee was trying to figure out what I was looking to know. She is the only interviewee that mentioned that my focus was mostly on not driving and she felt it should be more about aging and effects of aging. She has inspired me to look at my questions, and to add, or change some of them. My guess is that she is somewhat lonely. She talked about renting her extra bedroom and sunroom out to someone in need. She seemed very excited about this soon-to-be-roommate. Even though most participants felt lonely and expressed it in some way did have an outlier. My tenth interviewee feels good about living alone. She stated,

I can't say it doesn't sound very exciting, but I don't feel that I am not the kind that gets terribly lonely. I think I get involved in political discussions or I have something on the Internet that I have to respond to (Interview #10).

This person, who is in her nineties, finds that she is enjoying being politically involved. She attends meetings and stays up on things via the radio and Internet. She also expressed that she cared for people her whole life and this is the first time she is getting to just focus on her interests.

It seems to me that loneliness is inevitable if you live alone. Most of my interviewees have found ways to meet people and to socialize. This seems to break the day, or week up, so that they do not spend as much time alone as they would otherwise. It is very important to have social ties in order to have good emotional and physical

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health. Those that put the energy out to make these social ties seem to do better mentally and physically, as far as I can tell. The woman that could still drive, but was mostly homebound, seemed to feel the most depressed. Being stuck in bed all day really isolated her. Professor Rose told me, “we age as we have lived.” It is telling that the people who have been social on some level throughout life still are, and the people that were not as social still are not.

Getting Around Town and Beyond

Each of my interviewees has a way to get from home to the doctor or grocery store for the most part. Interviewee number one has a distant relative who shows up six days a week to help her with food, medication, cleaning and anything else she needs. He only takes one day off and he does not get paid to do any of it as far as I was told. It was obvious to me that she felt very cared for by this friend and does not feel the loss of the ability to drive has affected her at all. I can see why since she is well cared for! I left her home feeling that she was very blessed to have this individual in her life.

My second interviewee has many different modes of transportation she uses or has used. There are other seniors in her park that still drive and help others that no longer drive. This is an option she has used, but not often. She feels others in the park whom are older than she need it more so. Her main mode of transportation is the city bus. There are many difficulties with this. The first difficulty is that it only runs on the hour. The next big inconvenience is that on Sundays it only runs every four hours. That almost makes it not worth running at all as far as I can tell. If you ride the bus to church for example, you are stuck there for 2-3 hours after the service. She has come up with a good system for herself. She uses the bus to get her to the grocery store and then she takes a cab back home. That way her fare is cheaper at least one of the directions she goes. What she pointed out to me is that in an emergency she has a really difficult time getting to a doctor. She explained how she broke her ankle and could not get a ride to the doctor. She has the ability to use Para transit, but they need advance notice of ride needs, so when she called them they were full. It really was not the kind of emergency one would call an ambulance for so it left her not sure of what to do.

It left her in a bind when she needed to see a specialist in Vallejo. There are no specialists at the Kaiser in Napa, and the bus that goes to Vallejo runs twice a day. This is very inconvenient to the seniors that have Kaiser.

My third interviewee is the one that still drives. However, she still needs rides to some of her doctor's appointments. She had gone to a doctor's appointment the day I interviewed her and had to have a driver because of the procedure being done to her. She said it is tricky to plan out doctor's appointments when you need someone to take you. The person that took her to that appointment just happened to call the night before the appointment and offered to take her. She said,

And another friend called and, she, I had not been at church on Sunday, so she asked 'was I okay?' And I said yeah, and told her where I was going tomorrow, today, and she says, 'Well would you like a ride?' Oh really, so nice that you called, (laughing) as a matter of fact, yes I could use a ride! So that, kind of, fell in my lap (Interview 3, 7).

My fourth interviewee has someone he has hired to take him shopping, to the doctor and anywhere else he needs to go, "She does all my shopping and takes me to the doctor or any of my outside activities" (Interview 4, 8). This woman who helps him also helped take care of his now deceased wife when she was sick. He kept her on after his wife died and now they are very close. She has even come over on her day off to take him to the doctor. During the interview he also mentioned that he goes to a square-dance dinner once a month and a fellow square dancer picks him up. I also noted to myself that this person goes way out of their way to do so. He also occasionally goes out to lunch with the mail lady! He has many people looking out for him.

My fifth interviewee also hires someone to take her out. She pays a woman once a week to take her to do her errands. It was also obvious that she really enjoys the company of this individual. I would imagine having a ride from someone is very helpful but so is the company that it provides.

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My other interviewees each have figured out different ways of getting to where they need to go as the first five did. Some utilize neighbors, hire help or take para-transit. All expressed difficulty with asking for help. It seems the one that can afford to pay for help feels less of a burden than those who have to ask for help and cannot afford to pay. It seems that each of the people I have interviewed have found ways in which they get to where they need to go. They are still not able to go as easily or at all to social events or family's homes for visiting, but they do get their basic needs met.

Freedom

My interviewees felt freedom is when you do not have to answer to anyone else. Most of my interviewees mentioned that the positive part of living alone is that they have the ability to do what they want when they want. It was their first response when I asked what the benefits are of living alone. Each also laughed as they said it or right after they said it. It seems to me that was their way to not feel silly when they next said that they felt lonely or that they missed having someone to talk to, etc. I think on some levels each of the people really do enjoy living alone and the independence that they still have. Yet they also seem to crave conversation with another person. They have each found a way to get some of this need met during the daytime hours so I would imagine the nighttime is more difficult. This is an area I would like to explore a bit more. I am thinking that freedom is not necessarily what they enjoy about living alone, that perhaps it is a cover up for the loneliness they feel. The way they react and try hard to find this answer really seems to be a cover up. As I have carried this research further I am still noticing the reluctance, then laughter when asked what they like about living alone. It seems they enjoy some aloneness, but would rather have a companion to spend time with. Many people mentioned feeling invisible and this implies feeling unneeded and lonely.

Analysis of second data (2012)

Peace

When I asked the question, “What is the American Dream” I thought I would mainly get the stock response of, buying a home, getting married, having kids and so forth. To my surprise most did not say any of that. Most people felt that either the American Dream is peace or should be peace. Many of my participants have lived through many wars, and have seen the damage caused. As we age, I think we learn that peace is the ultimate goal in life. Peace in their minds is an end to war, knowing your neighbors and caring for them, not only caring about yourself but caring for others as well. Some answers to this question are:

Well it used to be to have homeownership, but now I think the American Dream is to be at peace (Interview 3 follow-up)

To wish it were more to have peace in the world and share power (Interview 8 follow-up).

Everybody learns to live together. And that is it (Interview 1 follow-up).

I think most people want peace (Interview 4 follow-up).

I think the American Dream depends on where you are in life, but I always thought that if we could live in a time when there is no war (Interview 10).

Separation of Generations

Many of my interviewees spoke of the loss of sharing and caring between generations. Old and young alike should take the time to gain knowledge from one another. The American Dream focuses so much on independence that it loses valuable insight on the sharing between the generations. As one participant said, “I think WWII made a tremendous difference. It made people see more opportunities for themselves. And uh, independence, but at the expense of others.” Today we as a society have learned to fight hard to make

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it, but to make it individually. We do not usually take the time to help others get ahead. In some cases we just cannot do so. The way our society is set up currently, many struggle to just make it by, and cannot afford to help their elders,

Um, when I was young and the depression came. I had two great aunts and a great uncle that came to live with us. We bought a little farm and there was room for everybody. But in the world we have now where our kids are working around the clock and most of them are living in corridors or apartments where there isn't room for an older person, the question is, where do you go (Interview 8 follow-up).

People these days have to work crazy hours and sometimes more than one job, just to barely get by. How are people supposed to care for their neighbor or elders? Another interviewee said this,

Older people, not all of us, but a lot of em' have so many experiences they can share with people. You know, and they're kind of an untapped source, you know. I think people should value the knowledge that older people have you know. And older people definitely love to have younger people to talk to you know. There is a big separation in generations (Interview 3 follow-up).

An untapped source indeed! Before my project I had not spent much time with people older than seventy. I had never sat down and had a conversation. It never even occurred to me. I pointed out to the person I quoted above that I am shy already and to just show up somewhere and start a conversation is hard for me, even if it is desired by the other party. Yet how would I know that and where would I start? Now that I have the connections I have made through this project, I do have people that I know would love for me to come and chat with, yet it is still hard. I guess this leads to how do we bridge that gap? Where do we start? With our parents and neighbors?

Do we show up to neighborhoods geared towards fifty-five and older and start knocking on doors? Feeling separated from the younger generations does not make one feel that they are living the American Dream. It makes one feel isolated, alone, and unneeded.

Invisibility

Invisibility is a feeling I think many people feel at one point or another in life. As we age, it seems that invisibility will become a regular feeling one experiences. It will depend on the life one leads. If one is very active, like my outlier is in politics, one might not feel invisible because one puts themselves out there to be seen. Yet there are many people who do not get involved in politics and have their lives that are mainly in their home. When out in public older people a lot of times are not really seen, but looked past, just as one would choose not to look at a homeless person. I think this happens because of fear. Fear that aging could and will happen to you, of course. Since I have started this project I have made an extra effort to make sure when I am out and about, mainly on walks at the park, that I notice and say hello to people, especially elders. The smile that gets returned to me says a lot. There have been many times that I have said hi to someone and they just light up.

What really stuck out to me is that some people who felt invisible also felt this way about their kids, “You know, and you kind of feel invisible sometimes. Not always, but you become invisible, even to your kids. I know they love me, and I don’t live near anybody, but you know, you don’t even hear from them” (Interview 3 Follow-up). It seems like such a small thing, to pick up the phone and call someone, yet for our busy, hard-working generation it is not so easy. In the last few years I have heard people say everything is interconnected. However, we are a very disconnected society. Sure we have our cell phones and Internet, but we are forgetting how to connect to one another by phone and in person. Hearing someone’s voice and seeing their face are two very important human experiences. When they do not happen it has some serious ramifications. Our society today has many problems do to the ‘disconnect,’ and lonely seniors who feel invisible are just one of them.

Money

Many of the elders expressed money issues. They are struggling to make it and money has become too important to some. The elders I interviewed live in either mobile homes or did. They are not rich, but most feel that they have enough to get by. Some things I heard were:

I think there is a an awful lot of elderly people who don't have the ability to live in a place like this, and um, that they're kind of left by the way side (Interview 2 follow-up)

Well I think as a privilege in the early years, um, as a terrific challenge when you get older and you wonder how you are going to survive. The question is where do you go? How does your money hold out? (Interview 8 follow-up).

She probably makes one hundred dollars less than I do a month. She doesn't even have to file taxes. She can't afford anything. She is in so much worse shape than I am. You know, it's not right. When her husband had cancer and he got real sick and he died she spent nine years paying off the medical bills (Interview 3 follow-up).

The last quote is referring to a neighbor who is older than her, and struggles more financially. This participant shows great concern in the interview about how people make it by in old age. I was shocked that her neighbor had to spend nine years paying off her husbands' medical bills. It is so sad in itself to lose a partner, let alone have nine years of debt staring at you when you are on a fixed income. Somehow it seems that once we are in retirement that it should be possible to live off of a retirement system. We should all be paying into retirement and benefit from it as elders. Social Security was the plan for that. Some get enough to live on, others do not. It seems like everyone should get the same amount as long as they worked for a set number of years. It should not be based on what one

earns. If there is to be an American Dream it should include all age groups and not leave out the elderly.

Discussion

Sociological Significance

As a society we have made it very important to be young, independent and successful. As we age, we are no longer young, and success is usually based on independence, so as we lose that independence we are no longer considered successful. This loss makes one feel socially insignificant. It is important to study the social aspect of this process. If one lives alone and cannot drive to the grocery store or a doctor's appointment, one's health may decline. If a person prefers to live in the home that he or she has lived in the last forty years, but they can no longer cook, what happens then? Western culture is most interested in youthfulness, how to stay young and independent, thus making aging an invalidated milestone. In my research it has become very apparent that everyone I interviewed feels lonely and that it is hard to take care of some basic needs due to lack of transportation. This is why we, as a society, should learn what it is like for someone who lives alone at an older age with loss of mobility in a society that is motor dependent. As a society we should have an obligation to our older population of caring and making changes to accommodate older adults who live alone. Research has shown that, "Social isolation has been positively linked to higher stress levels, low self-esteem, disease susceptibility, cardiovascular reactivity, and mortality" (Wong & Verbrugge 2008, 210), thus making it even more important to learn about.

Conclusion

Interviewing elders has been enjoyable to conduct. I enjoyed sitting down with each elder and listening to them talk. I have learned to ask fewer questions that do not directly relate to my topic. In my second interview I found myself not only interviewing but also having conversation with her. Conversation made for a lot of transcription time. However, I feel I got the most information from

her and it may be because she felt comfortable talking with me. As I continued on with my interviews with elders I did find that one couldn't just show up and ask the questions and have that be it. Conversation needs to take place. Time needs to be spent there not just for my benefit. I think most other types of research you could just go after the data, but in my research I have found that elders frequently feel invisible, like "throw aways" and I did not want to contribute to that on any level.

I find that our current lack of rides for elders is a problem. The elders I have interviewed have each found a way to meet this need on some level, but many of them have to pay for their help. When you are over the age of seventy years you usually do not have a lot of money to live on, let alone pay someone to help care for you. Also women tend to live longer than men and women do not usually make much money and they always make less than the men in their field. This leaves them with far less resources unless they get to have their spouses' retirement. Even then, one illness can bankrupt anyone.

As young people we all contribute to society by working, raising kids, volunteering, researching, and so forth. Once we become older adults we should not have to worry about the fact that society no longer cares about how we live or get from place to place. We need to have more emphasis on what we as a society can give back to our elders. Taking the time to talk with our elders and have more cross-generational dialog is very important. It is something that is currently missing in our country. Older adults still need to feel needed and important. They are needed and important. They should not be treated as "throw aways", they should be respected and listened to with the wealth of knowledge that they have. As Marx believes, a species existence and awareness and how humans are conscious of being human, survive by creative procreation and that humans are social and altruistic. I am in agreement with Marx. I think that society survives by people feeling that they can help others in some way and that people find ways to be creative these days. This helps people to feel whole. However, as we age we are less able to help others and this leaves elders feeling a loss of purpose in life. If we used this "untapped" resource, then elders would not feel like they are "throw-aways" and they would feel they are part of society

and thus would become a valued part of the American Dream.

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Gendered Antigay Affect

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Prejudice is described as a negative evaluation of a social group (Allport, 1954). The emotions associated with prejudice, however, differ across social groups (Cottrell & Neuberg 2005). For instance, research indicates that emotional associations with Native Americans elicit pity, and those with African Americans elicit anger and fear. Sexual minorities were also originally assumed to elicit fear, coined as homophobia, but more recent research shows otherwise. Research shows that gay men have been found to elicit anger (Parrott, Zeichner, & Hoover, 2006). However, most research shows the primary emotion felt, at least towards gay men, is disgust (Cottrell & Neuberg 2005).

Rozin, Haidt & McCauley (2000) argue that there are two forms of disgust, pure disgust and moral disgust. Pure disgust is when there is a physical stimulus that is perceived as a contaminant to the individual, such as rotting meat covered in maggots, or viewing a leg amputation. Pure disgust is something that is seen as revolting to the individual that makes them want to turn, or get away, from the stimulus. Moral disgust is when the individual is so strongly affected by a stimulus they perceive as immoral, they view the stimulus as a contaminant itself. In order for moral disgust to be present, a stimulus must be perceived as immoral and must elicit both disgust and anger from the individual.

Previous research shows partial support for the moral disgust hypothesis. In a series of studies, heterosexual men and heterosexual women were shown film clips depicting gay male and lesbian affection (Paolucci, 2009). The research found that heterosexual men experience moral disgust towards gay men. That is, heterosexual men found homosexual men to be immoral and felt disgust and anger towards them. Heterosexual women, however, perceived gay men and lesbian women as immoral but did not feel any anger towards them,

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only mild disgust. For lesbians, heterosexual men had no negative affect felt at all.

The above findings reveal people's emotional reactions to homosexuality are tightly linked to gender in important ways. First, the gender of the perceiver matters, given that heterosexual men and women had different reactions to homosexual affection; men experienced both disgust and anger towards gay men, but women only experienced disgust. Second, the gender of the target matters; gay men elicited mild disgust from women but anger and disgust towards men, whereas lesbian women elicited mild disgust from women but no negative affect from men. Lastly, a factor that was not tested in the previous work is the gender typicality of the targets. That is, might masculine lesbians elicit different affective reactions than feminine lesbians? This last question is the purpose of the present work.

We wondered if gender typicality for masculine lesbians might specifically influence heterosexual men's affect reactions. It is likely that in the past research heterosexual men eroticized feminine lesbians and that this is why they reported no negative affect. Masculine lesbians however violate gender norms and may not be eroticized by heterosexual men. Given this we would expect disgust and possibly even anger to ensue. For women, however, we expect to replicate previous work and find only mild disgust and no anger should occur regardless of gender typicality.

Methods

Overview

We approached our research question by having the participants fill out a questionnaire after viewing film clips that depict: a gay couple being affectionate, a feminine lesbian couple being affectionate, a masculine lesbian couple being affectionate, and a neutral clip of people talking in a courtroom. After one clip was viewed, the participant would fill out the corresponding questionnaire and repeat this process for each film clip. We had a 2×4 mixed model (gender X clip: control, gay, feminine lesbian, masculine lesbian). Participants were shown all four film clips and rated how immoral they found the clip to be, along with what emotions they felt after watching the clip.

The film clips were shown in different orders to test for an order effect but no such effects emerged.

Participants

There were a total of 62 Sonoma State University undergraduates who participated in the study. There were 18 men and 44 women. We found volunteer participants for the study through classroom visits, mostly in the Psychology department. One of the main sources of participants came from classes that were introductory courses and offered a mix of majors. Participants were offered extra credit from their professors to participate. Participants were randomly assigned to which order they would watch the four film clips in. One participant identified as homosexual, and was removed from analysis.

Procedure

Before participants were let into the lab, the research assistant would prepare a folder for each participant scheduled. They would refer to a random assignment sheet to determine which order the film clips would be played for each participant. After the order was determined, a questionnaire for each clip was placed in the same order that the participant would be viewing the clips in. All the questionnaires were the same but the title of the clip being shown was written on top to make sure it was known which questionnaire was for which clip. Then the research assistant would place a personality inventory sheet on top of the questionnaires within the folder. The personality inventory asked for basic demographic information, which included participant gender. Finally two informed consent forms, both already signed and dated by the assistant, were placed on top of the folder.

Participants were then greeted by the research assistant who would ask them to sign their name on a piece of paper in order to receive extra credit. Then they were asked to sit down by any of the three open computers that were located in the lab. As the participants would seat themselves, the research assistant would ask them to fill out the informed consent forms.

The assistant then asked them to fill out the personality in-

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ventory. After this was done, the assistant would explain the procedures of the experiment to the participant and then, after any questions, would start the study. All participants were watching the clips in different orders without any sound. Their instructions were to read a brief synopsis of the corresponding clip they were about to view, wait for the research assistant to come to their computer, click the clip they were to watch, and then watch the clip. After viewing the clip, they filled out the corresponding questionnaire. The participants would watch all four film clips and fill out a questionnaire for each one. Since they were all played in different orders, some participants would finish before the others and we asked them to sit and wait for everyone to finish. After participants were done, they were debriefed.

Measures

The questionnaire included a list of 28 emotions on a Likard scale from 0=*not at all*, to 7=*extremely/a great deal*. Participants were asked to rate the extent that they felt each of the emotions listed. Five assessed disgust: *disgusted, revolted, sick to my stomach, repulsed, and grossed-out*. Another five items assessed anger: *angry, hostile, scornful, irritated, and loathing*. Items were then averaged to create composite scores for disgust and anger. Participants also rated how immoral each clip was to them on a scale from 1 to 7 (1=*not at all immoral*, 7=*extremely immoral*).

Results

Morality Ratings

A 2 x 4 mixed analysis of variance was performed on immorality ratings. This showed a significant main effect for the film clips. $F(1, 51) = 4.38$ $p < .05$. This analysis showed that the three homosexuality film clips received harsher immorality ratings than the control clip. This affect did not interact with participant gender.

Disgust

A 2 x 4 mixed analysis of variance was performed on disgust ratings. This analysis revealed significant gender X film clip interaction $F(1, 60) = 8.65$ $p < .05$. This meant that there was found to be a difference between genders with their disgust ratings towards homosexual men, feminine lesbians, and masculine lesbians. We found that for gay men, heterosexual men felt disgust and so did heterosexual women. However, men reported more disgust than women. This is consistent with previous research. For feminine lesbians, disgust was only reported by women. Men did not report any disgust reactions, which also remains consistent with previous research. For masculine lesbians, disgust was only reported by women, and same with the feminine lesbians, men reported no disgust. This goes against our hypothesis that men would feel disgust towards the masculine lesbian clip.

Anger

A 2 x 4 mixed analysis of variance was also performed on anger ratings. This analysis revealed a significant effect for the film clips $F(1, 60) = 7.42$ $p < .05$ – people reported more anger to the gay clip than the remaining three clips. The size of this effect however was quite small. Additionally, contrary to previous research, the predicted gender X film clip interaction was not significant.

Discussion

This study replicated several previous effects: all homosexuality film clips were perceived as immoral, women felt no moral disgust, and only mild disgust, for all gay clips, and men reported no disgust or anger towards the feminine lesbian clip. However, contrary to our hypotheses, men also did not report any negative effect towards the masculine lesbian clip. Even though men did report disgust towards the gay male clip, they did not report any anger.

Compared to previous research (Paolucci, 2009) the moral disgust hypothesis was not fully supported for men's reactions to gay men. That is, although men experienced disgust towards gay men, unlike previous research they did not report anger. Having women experiencing mild disgust reactions is showing that women are be-

ing very consistent with their responses towards homosexuality. It doesn't matter if the target is gay or lesbian, the reaction remains consistent. The reaction remains to show a moral violation and mild disgust. Whereas for men, target gender matters a great deal; gay men elicit both a moral violation and disgust while lesbians, regardless of gender typicality, elicited no negative effect at all.

There can be many explanations for why men and women react so differently to homosexuality. One possible explanation could be how it has been long shown that masculinity is linked to homosexuality. Masculine role norms are tightly linked with homosexuality for heterosexual men but not for heterosexual women. This can be that gay men are thought to deviate from masculine role norms and this deviation may explain why gay men arouse these feelings of disgust for men. Homosexual men are usually perceived as being feminine. Due to this, gay men are not seen to follow along with the gender norms that heterosexual men do, and this can be a threat to heterosexual men's own masculinity. Future implications for this research could possibly look into if gender role deviation may play a larger role in disgust and anger felt towards homosexual men. This could potentially help researchers to find out if this may play a role in the aggressive and hostile anti-gay attacks taken out towards gay men more typically than lesbians.

In our study, men felt no negative affect towards lesbians. Although considered immoral, it is likely that female affection was considered erotic to them. This may have even been the case in a clip of the masculine lesbians. It is important to note that the masculine lesbian clip was pilot tested to ensure that it was perceived as more masculine than the feminine lesbian clip. But despite this, men still did not report any negative affect. This can lead to suggest that two women simply showing affection towards one another can be perceived as erotic and then does not arouse disgust or anger. The clip that we used for the masculine lesbian film clip was taken from the movie *Monster*. Even though the actresses in the scene have makeup on to portray them as more masculine, the actresses in real life are very glamorous and attractive. The clip may not have been perceived to be masculine enough and the actresses may have still been recognizable. This may be why we found no effect for a strong link between masculinity and moral disgust.

There was however an important effect that was not replicated from previous research. Unlike results found in previous research, men in this study did not experience anger towards gay men. Anger has been repeatedly found in heterosexual reactions towards gay men (Parrott, Zeichner, & Hoover, 2006). We, however, found no evidence of anger in this study. One reason for this may be due to the liberal area where the study took place. We are at a university that is close to San Francisco and the campus has been known to be liberal. Students may have felt that they did not want to seem prejudicial, and could have been possibly trying to react the way they thought we wanted them to.

This was one of our other problems that arose. We collected our information with self-reported data from participants. Participants may have been feeling emotions that they did not accurately report on their questionnaire. Social desirability could have been the main motivation for this. Being on a campus that is typically more liberal could be making people who have higher prejudicial attitudes want to seem less prejudiced than they really are in order to conform to what the majority feels. Future studies could possibly use more physiological means for collecting this data in a way that the participants cannot hide their true reactions. This can be done through recording facial expressions, looking for micro expressions and eye tracking rather than the self-report method. Another reason for the lack of anger felt towards gay men may be due to our small sample size for men. By only having 18 men in the study, this limited our ability to accurately measure heterosexual men's reactions towards gay men. For possible future replications of this study, a larger heterosexual male sample size will need to be acquired.

In any case, the present results still suggest that homosexuality is viewed to be immoral and that disgust and anger is still felt towards the gay community. Even though we are in an area that is considered to be more liberal, there is evidence that these emotions are still felt towards the gay community. Such effects could account for anti-gay prejudice still being a prominent issue. Future research may want to address the endorsement of masculine role norms and how they are linked to these emotions felt towards the homosexual community. Thompson and Pleck's (1986) three components of masculinity could be used to measure these masculine role norm en-

dorsements. The three that they discuss include: status (men's need to achieve status and other's respect), toughness (that men should be mentally, emotionally, and physically tough), and anti-femininity (that men should avoid stereotypically feminine activities and occupations). Looking into which of these masculine role norms people endorse the most could possibly look into how deviation from which masculine role norms may lead to anti gay prejudice.

It is also important to look into what emotions may be predicting aggression taken out on gay men, in terms of behavior. Hate crimes are still the most prominent form of risk for gay men (Herek, Gillis, Cogan and Glunt 1991). For future studies we would like to look into what emotions are predicting these aggressive behaviors. Disgust is usually an emotion associated with avoidance. Yet aggression is associated with approached related emotions such as anger. Future researchers may want to reexamine this and determine if moral disgust in fact may be associated with aggressive tendencies.

Appendices

Disgust and Anger Reaction Graphs

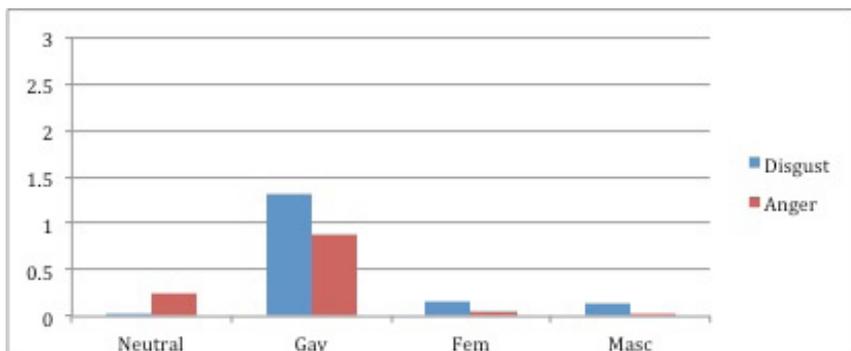


Figure 1. This chart displays men's ratings for disgust and anger towards all four of the clips. It shows that men feel a blend of disgust and anger for the gay clip. For the lesbian clips, there is not disgust or anger felt. This scale is from 0-7.

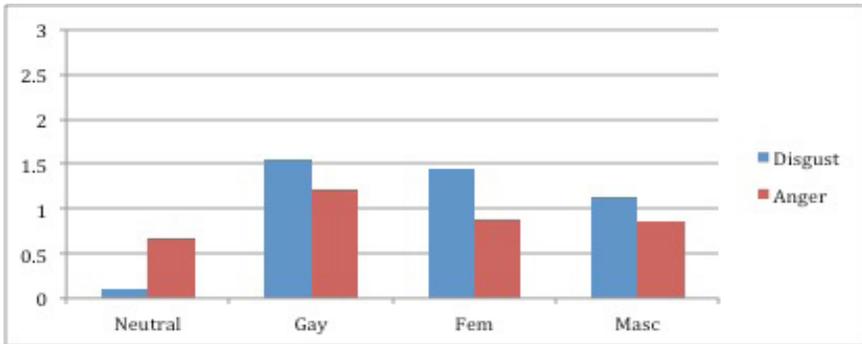


Figure 2. This chart displays women’s ratings for disgust and anger towards all four clips. It shows that women feel mild disgust for all of the homosexual film clips. There is no anger felt towards any of the clips. This scale is from 0-7.

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How State Flexibility Leads to Family Instability: The Crux of Poverty Amongst Welfare Reform and California's Stage 3 Child Care Subsidy

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When I gave birth to a beautiful 6lb 6oz little girl I named Ryan ten years ago, I fell in love. I would have been happy to stay at home, homeschool and raise her for the rest of her young days. However, CalWORKs (the TANF program in CA) required that I enter a job training program. I love and hate this aspect of TANF. On the one hand, I feel I have missed a large portion of my daughter's childhood while fulfilling the work activities requirement of CalWORKs. On the other hand, if it were not for that requirement, I would never have discovered my passion for academics.

When Ryan turned two, I enrolled at Antelope Valley College and began taking courses toward a photography certificate—my welfare approved training program. My CalWORKs advisor repeatedly challenged me to get a degree, and later a graduate degree, rather than the certificate. When he first told me his insights of what my life could be, I thought he was crazy! I felt that although I could project myself as confident and intelligent, I was really nothing more than a junior high school drop out, former drug addict, welfare dependent, single-mother with no real future to offer myself or my child—but I followed his advice and graduated Summa Cum Laude with two AAs and a certificate from AVC.

Just before my CalWORKs cash aid time clock ran out, I applied to Sonoma State University and a HUD housing apartment complex nearby. My simultaneous acceptance to both, just before my time clock ran out, opened the door for me to pursue a bachelor's degree, Ryan and I to live on our own and maintain access to child-care subsidy.

California's long term transitional child care subsidy, known as Stage 3, made it possible for me to not only attend, but to be *suc-*

cessful in academia. At daycare, my daughter received the additional homework help she needed, she was safe, she was supervised, she played outdoors, and she learned socialization skills. If it were not for Stage 3, I would not have been able to spend adequate time doing my homework, writing papers, or studying for exams (because instead I would be learning my daughter's 5th grade homework, and then spending even more time teaching it to her). More importantly, I would not have been able to take the classes I needed to graduate while ensuring my daughter's safety. Subsidized child care was a cornerstone to my academic success and path toward self-sufficiency, as it is for many families. However, the opportunity of subsidized child care vacillates with every state budget. State's flexibility was built into the federal model for child care, but families' instability is the legacy of that standard.

In this paper I will demonstrate how federal and state welfare law regarding subsidized child care have crippled low-income parents' ascendancy out of poverty. I will first review federal welfare policy and how child care subsidy programs were delegated to the states. I will then briefly discuss California's welfare policy and how the state has chosen to implement child care subsidies, specifically the long term child care subsidy known as Stage 3. I will highlight recent changes in child care policy and how those changes have destabilized parents work and educational opportunities. I will show how the newest proposals regarding subsidies have the potential to further impair ascendancy out of poverty. Lastly, I will discuss the policy suggestions that I have as a feminist, scholar, and welfare participant making my way out of poverty despite the policies that have made this process more difficult. My goal is to inform readers as to how moderate child care policies can make the difference between failure and success as parents make efforts to escape poverty.

Discussion

How Welfare Reform Changed Child Care

In 1996 President Clinton signed the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act (PRWORA) and put an end to the Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) wel-

fare program. The new program, Temporary Aid for Needy Families (TANF), claimed to evolve a feeble welfare recipient into a strong workforce participant. TANF reduced the cash benefit amount that families received, imposed a maximum lifetime time limit of five years, and no longer increased cash grants for additional children in efforts to incentivize its most chief objective: paid work. To this end the program provided “parents with job preparation work, and support services to enable them to leave the program and become self-sufficient” (Mink & Solinger, 2003, p. 645). However, PRWORA Section 103(c) explicitly repealed the Title IV-A child care entitlements (AFDC/JOBS Child Care, Transitional Child Care, and At-Risk Child Care) that were available under AFDC (Child Care and Development Fund, 1998 p. 39936). Although PRWORA did amend Section 418 of the Social Security Act to support child care grants, child care funding sources were fragmented and no longer guaranteed under the new policy (Child Care and Development Fund, 1998, p. 39936).

In August of 1998, child care funding became officially guaranteed within the TANF program. Though child care funding from the federal government was guaranteed, child care access was not. States retained the “flexibility” to choose whether or not to implement a subsidized child care program, and to what degree they opted to provide these services. Many states chose to reinstate the Transitional child care services, for working families attaining self-sufficiency but still below eligibility thresholds, utilizing the new streamlined Child Care and Development Fund provided by the Section 418 amendment. Transitional child care subsidies, however, were not entitlements, and many states chose not to offer these services. The amendment established a unified stream of child care funding to help parents attain employment under the new, more rigorous, standards of TANF.

The 1998 statutory changes made to PRWORA required TANF to increase the number of participants in work and training. Additionally, it was mandated that parents work an increased number of hours per week to maintain their services (Child Care and Development Fund, 1998, p. 39942). Though more parents were working, and those parents were working more hours, the low-wage work attained by TANF participants still did not reach thresholds of

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self-sufficiency (Johnson & Corcoran, 2003, p. 617) nor pay for their own child care costs.

In the early years of TANF, the program, in combination with a booming economy, succeeded in moving parents from welfare into work (Johnson and Corcoran, 2003, p.617; Ziliak, Figlio, Davis, & Connolly, 2000, p. 572). For the first time, unemployment rates for women-headed households had dropped and many families exited the welfare rolls. In reality the program succeeded in removing families from the welfare rolls but not necessarily uplifting families from poverty (Johnson and Corcoran, 2003, p. 617; Katz, 2012). Even when parents were employed full time, many did not earn enough to cover the basic costs of housing and food, but the numerous agencies overseeing the many aspects of welfare reform were not able to fully assess and respond to the child care needs of low-earning families.

The Child Care Chain of Command

Child care services fall under the jurisdiction of the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services (DHHS). DHHS has three basic functions with regard to childcare: 1. subsidizing child care programs and providing funding for quality enhancement, 2. funding and oversight of Head Start programs, 3. facilitating research and technical assistance regarding child care (Child Care and Development Fund, 1998, p. 39989).

Though the Child Care and Development Fund had made child care funding more efficient, the bureaucracy of administering those programs remained complicated. DHHS oversees the Administration for Children and Families, which oversees the Administration for Children, Youth and Families, which oversees four more bureaus. Two of these bureaus oversee child care and development services: the Head Start Bureau and the Child Care Bureau. These bureaus administer the Child Care and Development Fund to the states to assist low-income and welfare parents in obtaining child care (Karpilow 1999, p. 5). This complicated system of child care oversight separates parents' needs from the decision making authorities' understanding of the issues faced by low-income and welfare families. Recognizing this, the federal government decided that states needed more autonomy on developing and implementing child

care programs. Though there were many bureaus that oversaw child care, none were designed to enforce measures of accountability. The Child Care and Development Fund became the channel through which child care funding and oversight would be given to the states.

Child Care and Development Fund

The Child Care and Development Fund (CCDF) evolved out of PRWORA. It originated as the Child Care and Development Block Grant (CCDBG), which was three distinct sources of child care funding and eligibility requirements. PWRORA revised the Child CCDBG so that Federal child care programs were established under a singular set of eligibility requisites. Though the grant for the CCDF maintained its diverse funding set, the new name articulated the homogenous purpose of those funds: to provide funding for child care and development services (Child Care and Development Fund, 1998, p. 39982). However, the allocation of these funds was still determined by states.

The CCDF funds child care programs under three different categories. First, there is Mandatory Funding. This is the designated amount of money that the Federal government allots to each state (as well as to Native American Tribes and the District of Columbia, but for the remainder of this paper I will only refer to the implications on the states—the central focus of this paper) in the form of formula grants. A separate formula is used to calculate a Matching Fund, which matches the state's allowable child care expenditures. The third funding stream is known as the Discretionary Fund and allows for more flexible state spending, and again is calculated using a different formula. Both the Mandatory Fund and the Discretionary Fund are 100% federally funded and do not require the state to match the funds provided (Child Care and Development Fund, 1998, p. 39967). States were required to utilize a minimum of 70% of Mandatory and Matching Funds to assist families on TANF, transitioning out of TANF, or who were “at risk of becoming dependent on assistance” (Child Care and Development Fund, 1998, p. 39962). This broad definition essentially includes anyone who is poor or in danger of becoming poor, as long as they have not exhausted their 60 month time limit on TANF. States can decide how much of their own

money to put toward the Matching Fund, if any. Even when states do utilize the Matching Fund option, many children remain unserved. Of the remaining funds, including the Discretionary Fund, a “substantial portion” must be used to serve families whose earnings are below 85% of the State Median Income (SMI) level. Of course, there are very few remaining funds to serve low-income families after the overhead costs are rendered. Therefore this leaves low-income families without child care resources and assistance.

The flexibility of funding utilization for child care programs through the CCDF primarily ensures TANF recipients, and those in danger of becoming TANF recipients, have access to child care. However, as mentioned before, many families “time out” of TANF though they are not out of poverty, and they still require subsidized child care services beyond the scope of what the CCDF regulations require. Thus, while not officially stating a “time clock” on subsidized child care services for the poor, TANF eligibility has become a requisite for child care. In many cases, families who would not qualify for TANF do not qualify for child care regardless of their income or lack thereof.

The CCDF Bestows Money and Morality

The CCDF provides capital to each state to assist with the employment objectives set forth by TANF. The specialized fund promised increased flexibility to the states to determine how to structure child care programs in a way that best met the needs of their constituency, and also sought to “Promote parental choice to empower working parents to make their own decisions on the child care that best suits their family’s needs” (Child Care and Development Fund, 1998, p. 39982). Of course, federal oversight was needed to ensure that states complied with the social agenda the federal government had established. The CCDF not only provided the funds for child care access, it determined what that access should look like.

The CCDF articulated six primary social goals: 1. To provide financial assistance to increase low-income families’ access to quality, affordable child care; 2. To improve the quantity and quality of child care availability; 3. Allow parents to have options in the types of child care placement that met the needs of the family;

4. “Strengthen the role of the family”; 5. Enhance the coordination between child care and early childhood development programs; and 6. Increase the availability of programs that served pre-school and school age children (Child Care and Development Fund, 1998, p. 39982).

The CCDF issued additional mandates for states to satisfy. It required that Lead Agencies ensure that all children receiving care subsidized by the CCDF be immunized in accordance with state standards “—not just to those caregivers who are subject to existing State requirements regarding immunization of children in child care settings.” The regulation necessitated that the health and safety standards for all providers would incorporate immunizations, however, if the state already had established immunization regulations, then the state regulations would fulfill that mandate (Child Care and Development Fund, 1998, p. 39955). A failing of this provision is that it required children of low-income families utilizing child care subsidies to be immunized, however, other children attending the same child care centers but not receiving CCDF subsidy were not mandated to be immunized (Child Care and Development Fund, 1998, p. 39955). This disparity demonstrates that subsidy utilization rescinds flexibility and empowerment from both the state and the parents who use it; contrary to the agenda proposed by the CCDF.

According to the CCDF statutes, states receiving the CCDF subsidies were also required to make efforts to “empower parents” to make responsible choices with regard to child care. States were to expend a minimum of 4% of the CCDF “to provide comprehensive consumer education to parents and the public, activities to increase parental choice, and activities designed to improve the quality of child care and availability of child care (such as resource and referral services)” (Child Care and Development Fund, 1998, p. 39962). State agencies needed to provide parents with consumer information regarding their child care options, utilize diverse forms of assistance – such as grants, vouchers and contracts – to “maximize parental choice,” promote multiple categories of care (center-based care, family care, both licensed and unlicensed options), “coordinate planning and delivery of services at all levels”, design programs that would adapt as families’ needs change, and “design programs that provide uninterrupted service to families and providers” (Child Care

and Development Fund, 1998, p. 39982). The implementations of these goals are intentionally vague so that states can operationalize services to children and families as they see fit.

The CCDF statutes mandate that the rates of reimbursement for subsidized care should “be comparable” to the rates of the non-subsidized child care market, as established by the state Lead Agency in order to secure equal access to low-income families. The DHHS asserted, “A system of child care payments that does not reflect the realities of the market makes it economically infeasible for many providers to serve low-income children—undermining the statutory and regulatory requirements of equal access and parental choice” (Child Care and Development Fund, 1998, p. 39958).

In order to ensure comprehension and compliance with the many provisions of the CCDF, states were required to develop their own CCDF Plan (Child Care and Development Fund, 1998, p. 39961). The state CCDF Plan should address the state’s plan of implementation for the following two years and should include how the funds will be used and how the state will ensure compliance with the regulations set forth by the CCDF statutes (Child Care and Development Fund, 1998, p. 39944). Additionally, the Lead Agency should then submit quarterly need estimates to the Administration for Children and Families (ACF) (Child Care and Development Fund, 1998, p. 39944).

The goals and accountability set up within the CCDF rely too heavily on the state to set the parameters of implementation by which it will comply. The CCDF establishes the guidelines, but the state creates the rules, and then also fashions the checks and balances system that is supposed to ensure that the rules are followed. Therefore, it is a logical deduction that the state will not create rules that it does not intend to follow. The state will act in its own interest and not necessarily in the interest of the parents and children the CCDF money was intended to serve (Pavetti, 2012). As Dr. LaDonna Pavetti of the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities so eloquently put it, “States used their flexibility... to undermine, not strengthen, the safety net for poor families” (Pavetti, 2012). The state needs enough flexibility from the guidelines of the CCDF to address the diverse needs of its population, but more importantly, it needs enough flexibility to assert neither moderate nor permanent support for low-income families from

the state's own funds. This flexibility from the federal CCDF has led to the instability of child care programs in states such as California.

California's Child Care Policy

While child care funding at the federal level became more streamlined through various amendments to existing funding structures, State level subsidies remained diverse and complicated. California used the flexible funding to create a variety of programs to meet the diverse needs of its citizens. California initiated: State Pre-school Program, School-age Parenting and Infant Development Programs, Campus Child Care Programs, Federal Based Migrant Program, State Based Migrant Program, School Age Community Child Care Services Programs (Karpilow, 1999, p. 8), Severely Handicapped Program, Alternative Payment Program, Resource and Referral Program, and CalWorks Stage 1, 2 & 3 Child Care Programs.

California identified three basic incentives to provide subsidized child care: parental interest, child interest, and state's interest. Child care subsidies allowed parents to get an education, obtain training, work, and participate in work related activities. The subsidies also give children access to safe environments where they could learn, develop, and grow. Lastly, the state profited from the increased human capital by ensuring work supports for parents and school readiness for children (Child Care Law Center, 2010, p. 1).

The California Department of Education (CDE) is the Lead Agency and "oversees nearly all state-administered child care subsidy programs" except for Stage 1 (Child Care Law Center, 2010, p. 2). The CDE allocates funding for quality improvement activities (Child Care Law Center, 2010, p. 2) and oversees the "Negotiation, issuance, and execution of [child care] contracts, grants, or inter-agency agreements" (California Department of Education, 2009, p. 7). Additionally, it provides technical assistance to these service contractors and monitors the fiscal, service, and audit reports those entities are required to submit to the state (California Department of Education, 2009, p. 7).

California's Complex CCDF Plan

The California CCDF Plan is the document required by the CCDF that details how the state will comply with the statutes and objectives of the federal fund. The plan gives estimates of how much funding the state will have available to spend on child care programs, the funding sources of those estimates, as well as the estimated costs of administering said programs (California Department of Education, 2009, p. 5-6). The State Plan must also articulate which agencies, public or private, administer the programs and determine how the Lead Agency will “maintain overall internal control” of the programs’ compliance with CCDF ordinances (California Department of Education, 2009, p. 6-7). The CDE also reviews “each child care and development service contractor at the local level” to ensure that quality improvement activities are being implemented (California Department of Education, 2009, p. 7).

As part of the CDE’s responsibility to meet the CCDF reporting requirements, and its commitment to making new information readily available to contractors and grantees, the CDE posts management bulletins on its website. These management bulletins “define the new regulations and clearly outline the new reporting requirements” (California Department of Education, 2009, p. 8) to ensure compliance with the recent statutes.

The CDE also coordinates with many local and state agencies on how to best improve child care services in California. Two of the agencies that the CDE collaborates with are the state Employment Development Department and the U.S. Department of Labor in efforts to understand the child care industry and how to support the development and advancement of workers in the field. Perhaps they should also be discussing how to best support parents’ employment and ascension out of poverty to assess what supports are needed, what are realistic income thresholds and *time limits* on services.

The Child Development Division (CDD) is the sub-unit of the CDE that is responsible for administering all state child care subsidy programs (with the exception of CalWORKs Stage 1 which is administered through the Department of Social Services). The CDD also establishes the statutes that govern the various child care subsidy programs it holds responsibility for. Since the CDD is a state

agency, and has no local public agencies to manage the programs at the county level, the CDD contracts with private for-profit and non-profit public school districts, and county welfare departments to administer child care programs at the local level (Child Care Law Center, 2010, p. 2).

Local Agencies Play a Critical Role in Child Care

The local agencies that the CDE/CDD contracts to administer the child care subsidies often house two or more CDE contracts (Child Care Law Center, 2010, p. 4). Oftentimes, one agency will house both an Alternative Payment Program as well as a Resource & Referral Network. Some local agencies also house politically charged child care advocacy groups who teach parents to advocate for their child care and/or inform policy makers about the importance of child care in their district.

Resource and Referral Agencies (R&Rs) are generally individual non-profits contracted in each county of California. They provide families with free child care information and referrals. Additionally, R&Rs assist potential providers in navigating state licensing requirements and offer various trainings to improve the quality of child care provider services. Many counties have multiple R&R offices and some counties even have multiple R&R agencies (Child Care Law Center, 2010, p. 5).

Until July 2011, R&R agencies utilized a Centralized Eligibility List (CEL) that allowed low-income parents to sign up on a single list, at a single agency, for all child care programs across the state (using residency and other eligibility requirements per program as filters). Since the elimination of the CEL, low-income parents have been forced to sign up at multiple agencies in order to qualify for identical programs at the specific agency from which the subsidy would be dispersed. Many times, parents are unaware of the many different agencies, and the programs and services provided by those agencies, and therefore do not know to apply for them.

Alternative Payment Programs (APPs) are R&R agencies that contract with the CDE to specifically administer subsidized child care vouchers. Child care vouchers increase parental choice by allowing children to attend a variety of child care settings (li-

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censed child care center, licensed family child care home, or have an unlicensed care giver) that are paid via the APP. Though APPs are regulated by the CDE, APPs have significant discretion on how the subsidy is administered. These voucher programs can be either CalWORKs or non-CalWORKs subsidies. The APPs that administer CalWORKs subsidies work directly with County Welfare Departments (CWD) to administer child care subsidies and ensure CalWORKs accessibility and compliance. While some APPs are also contracted to administer Stage 1 subsidies, most primarily facilitate the CalWORKs Stage 2 and Stage 3 subsidies, as the CWD often retains the duty of administering Stage 1 (Child Care Law Center, 2010, p. 5).

The Structure of CalWORKs 3-Stage Subsidized Child Care System

CalWORKs Stage 1 child care is first awarded to CalWORKs participants as they enter the job market or welfare-to-work activities. Stage 1 is overseen by the DSS and by the County Welfare Department (Child Care Law Center, 2010, p. 8), though some counties do contract with local APPs to deliver this service (Child Care Law Center, 2010, p. 8; Karpilow, 1999, p. 16). This subsidy is an entitlement that participants will use as they search and interview for employment and/or acquire job readiness skills. Stage 1 is designed to be a very temporary subsidy, usually about six months (Karpilow, 1999, p. 16), given in the early stages of employment and training activity when schedules and longevity are fluctuating and uncertain.

CalWORKs Stage 2 child care is offered as “transitional” child care given once employment or training has been established and secured. Stage 2 is an entitlement that is offered while participants receive cash aid, and for up to two years after the participant no longer receives the cash grant portion of the CalWORKs benefits. Many of the participants receiving Stage 2 have either “timed out” from receiving the cash grant, have refused the menial cash grant in order to not “time out”, or have secured employment above income thresholds for receiving the cash grant, though still do not earn enough to cover child care expenses. Stage 2 and Stage 3 are overseen by the CDE and administered by APPs.

CalWORKs Stage 3 childcare serves families beyond the two-year time limit of the Stage 2 subsidy. This subsidy is for families whose low remuneration and/or extended training renders them incapable of affording childcare costs, despite their exit from the welfare rolls (Karpilow, 1999, p. 16). Some Stage 3 participants have “timed out” and are no longer able to receive other services such as cash aid, Job Search, or employment and education support services. Stage 3 is not an entitlement and only remains viable as long as there is state funding to support it (Karpilow, 1999, p. 16). Many Stage 3 participants are low-wage earners, and the child care subsidy is the only state service utilized.

As a long term transitional child care subsidy, Stage 3 has made the goal of TANF and CalWORKs, to transition off of cash aid, possible for low-income parents. With the subsidy in place, parents are able to gain and maintain low-wage work for long periods of time. As mentioned previously, TANF has helped families to exit welfare rolls but not to exit poverty. Thus, long term subsidies such as stage 3 are needed to keep parents stably employed and out of destitution, especially given the closure of the safety net for families who have “timed out.”

Recent Changes and the Instability of Stage 3 Child Care

The Stage 3 child care subsidy has the greatest potential to keep families out of poverty and off of welfare, but it is the most precarious subsidy available. As it is not an entitlement, Stage 3 funding is routinely cut when California has a budget deficit. The state has continually cut and reinstated this program, which has left many parents without reliable child care arrangements. Many providers have begun to refuse to accept child care subsidies in large part due to their unpredictability and complicated billing process in the midst of a low remuneration rate. Parents who do not have stable child care arrangements are not able to seek and maintain steady employment or opportunities for advancement. Every year Stage 3 must be reauthorized in the budget, and nearly every year changes are made to its structure or eligibility requirements. The reckless wielding of this subsidy has created instability for parents, providers, R&Rs, CWDs, the CDE, and ultimately the state. In this next section I will discuss

the recent consequences of California's flexible child care funding with regard to Stage 3.

Elimination of Stage 3

In 2010, California's deficit exceeded \$19 billion and then-governor, Arnold Schwarzenegger, line item vetoed funding for Stage 3 Child Care and put those monies into a "rainy day" fund. According to estimates, the veto eliminated child care access to upwards of 56,000 children (Child Care Law Center, Oct. 29, 2010) and potentially cost the state upwards of 60,000 jobs (California State Assembly Democratic Caucus, 2010). The Governor's veto was challenged by child care advocacy groups and the state Legislature.

October 8, 2010, Governor Schwarzenegger announced that elimination of Stage 3 Child Care was to be enacted November 1, 2010. The brief timeline gave impoverished parents only three weeks to make alternative child care arrangements for their children. On October 29th, the Child Care Law Center issued a press release stating that they, and several other public interest law groups, had petitioned the Alameda County Superior Court on behalf of Parent Voices Oakland and four low-income mothers. They sought to order the CDE to halt the enactment of the governor's veto (Child Care Law Center, Oct. 29, 2010).

On October 29th, Alameda County Superior Court Judge Wynne Carvill granted the petitioners an emergency temporary stay on the governor's veto. The stay allowed parents to retain their Stage 3 subsidy for an additional week. Lawyers presented further arguments on November 4th, and again, the Judge granted another stay until December 31, 2010 (Child Care Law Center, Oct. 29, 2010 and Nov 5, 2010; Parent Voices Oakland v. O'Connell). In the interim, Carvill ordered that the CDE instruct its local contracts to actively assist parents with locating and applying for alternative child care programs that they may be eligible for.

During this period of instability, families resorted to various measures to protect their children. Local agencies referred eligible families to various child care programs, and though most of them had long waiting lists, Stage 3 families were given priority in vacant slots. Many of these "slot" versus "voucher" programs required the

children to switch child care providers. Some parents preemptively quit their jobs and returned to the welfare rolls where they would again qualify for Stage 1 Child Care and retain their current providers. Still other parents made use of the CalWORKs Diversion plan.

County Response

The CalWORKs Diversion plan aims to keep families off the welfare rolls. Diversion is a clause within the CalWORKs program designed to provide poor families with some financial assistance to overcome temporary obstacles to self-sufficiency and prevent families from needing to apply for cash aid. Diversion is able to help with payments for vehicle repair, housing, work related expenses, and child care (Child Care Law Center, 2002).

CWDs across the state held mass Diversion application days, for example, in Sonoma County, the Santa Rosa CWD opened on a Saturday to fill the urgent need for child care to assist low-income families who were being terminated from Stage 3 (Community Child Care Council of Sonoma County, 2010). In order to qualify for the Diversion service, parents had to be employed, at risk of applying for cash aid if they lost their child care subsidy and subsequently their employment, and had not exhausted their 60-month time limit on CalWORKs. Qualifying families were “diverted” from applying for cash aid by transferring their Stage 3 Child Care back to Stage 2, allowing parents to maintain their current employment. By reverting to Stage 2, these families were entitled to an additional two years of child care subsidy (California Alternative Payment Program Association, 2010). Many families had already exhausted their life time limit of cash aid eligibility and did not qualify for Diversion. For these families, their last hope was the Oakland lawsuit and the arrival of the Governor-elect, Jerry Brown, in January.

Actions by the California Legislature

The day that Governor Schwarzenegger announced his line item veto of the Stage 3 Child Care subsidy, California’s leaders had already placed their hopes in the incoming governor-elect. The State Superintendent of Public Education, of the CDE, issued a news re-

lease stating, “I will continue to work with Legislative leaders and incoming Governor Jerry Brown to restore funding for this important program that allows low income working families to maintain employment” (California Department of Education, Nov. 18, 2010).

Assembly Speaker John Pérez (D-Los Angeles) made key advancements toward preserving Stage 3. By October 19, 2010, Pérez had pledged \$6 million toward Stage 3 bridge funding; funding to mitigate child care subsidies until general funding could be restored. His bridge funding partly accrued from the savings of “his 15% cut to the Assembly operating budget” and part from the First 5 Commission who funded child care for children under five years of age (Perez, 2011; First 5 Los Angeles, 2011). Pérez also vowed, “The Assembly will introduce a bill that takes effect immediately to fully restore funding for Stage 3 Child Care on the first day of the new session. Since Stage 3 Child Care is an educational program, the bill will only require a majority vote. This bill will be sent to the Governor’s desk on the first day the new Governor takes office” (Perez, 2010). By November 5th, Pérez announced over \$40 million in bridge funding for Stage 3, so that parents could continue in their employment until the new governor took office (Perez, 2011). By December 6, 2010, bills were introduced in the Senate and the Assembly, AB 1 and SB 12, to restore CalWORKs Stage 3 funding retroactively to the line item veto (California’s Children, 2010). AB 1 became the vehicle to allocate existing funding to transition the subsidy until the new budget could be enacted and Stage 3 officially restored (Perez, 2011).

The line item veto of Stage 3 should be considered to be a violation of the “uninterrupted service” clause of the CCDF. Without adequate federal oversight, however, this devastation to California’s long term child care subsidy went unchallenged by the Child Care Bureau or any other overseer of the CCDF. Child care activists were only able to advocate on regulations that they were aware of and/or understood. The elimination of Stage 3 was ultimately deemed unconstitutional by the Alameda County judge because it denied due process to the subsidy’s recipients and “violated the state’s obligation to help Stage 3 parents find child care under some other state program” (Parent Voices Oakland v. O’Connell et al., 2011). With Stage 3 secured through the end of the year, everyone was looking

to Governor-elect, Jerry Brown, to discover the fate of the child care subsidy.

Governor Brown's 2011-2012 Budget Continued to Destabilize Child Care

On January 10, 2011 Governor Jerry Brown introduced his 2011-2012 state budget proposal. In his proposal, he reinstated state funding for Stage 3 Child Care but also made changes to the funding and policy structure of the subsidy. One of Brown's proposals was to "deprioritize" eleven and twelve year old children in all three CalWORKs stages. This meant that younger children matriculating out of Stage 2 would receive "priority" Stage 3 funding and thus displace the older child from their slot. By deprioritizing, rather than eliminating, the state remained eligible for the CCDBG. These sorts of loopholes are made possible through the flexibility, without accountability, beholden to states receiving the CCDBG via the CCDF. Fortunately the deprioritization was blocked by the California legislature and did not become part of the final budget. However, other changes made increased the continuing instability of the subsidy.

Since the inauguration of CalWORKS, the state funded Stage 3 Child Care through the Proposition 98 public education fund and the CCDF. Proposition 98 was a voter-approved amendment to the state constitution in 1988 that established a minimum annual funding for K-14 (kindergarten through community college) education (Legislative Analyst's Office, 2005). After being enacted, the state legislature added the funding of child care to the purposes of Prop 98. According to the Legislative Analyst Office, "Proposition 98 funding constitutes over 70 percent of total K-12 funding and about two-thirds of total community college funding" (Legislative Analyst's Office, 2005).

Child Care Removed from Proposition 98 Budget

In Brown's 2011-2012 budget, child care was removed from the Prop 98 guaranteed funding and placed into the General Fund (California Department of Finance, 2011, p. 38). Child care had often elicited contention with the facilitators of education programs

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within the Prop 98 budget, which was supposed to guarantee funding for education, because child care was seen as a drain on the limited pool of guaranteed education resources. As part of the general fund, child care has come into contention with all other public services drawing from the same narrowing pool of revenue, monies that serve the same clientele: people in poverty. This has left many child care APPs wondering what will happen to child care subsidies when child care funding is not in a guaranteed budget. The long-term effects of this policy are indeterminable, as child care may be moved in and out of the Prop 98 budget as needed to reflect a balanced state budget. The irregularity of future child care funding adds increased uncertainty as to the subsidy's viability in subsequent budgets and with succeeding governors. This ambiguity threatens the work stability of both parents and APP agency workers, as both stand to lose their jobs without child care subsidies.

Cuts in Child Care Funding Create Additional Instability

In addition to the structural funding changes to child care, the Child Care budget was cut in multiple ways. First, the approved budget reduced nearly \$131 million across the board to child care provider contracts, forcing APPs and independent providers to make further cuts to their administrative costs. Many local agency employees were laid off and even more employees reduced their hours. These cuts impaired APPs' ability to deliver quality services to their clientele. Additionally, some APP employees whose hours were reduced became eligible for services themselves.

Cuts to Provider Remuneration Limit Parental Choice

As the Lead Agency in child care for the state of California, the California Department of Education determines the child care remuneration ceilings by county (Child Care Law Center, 2011, p. 3). The flexible reimbursement rates were a requirement of the CCDF, as it recognized that market rates often differ by geographic location (Child Care and Development Fund, 1998, p. 39958). Senate Bill 70, effective July 1, 2011, significantly reduced the reimbursement rates for license-exempt care. While licensed centers and family day care

homes remained at the Regional Market Rate (RMR) ceilings in the 85th percentile (according to the **2005** RMR standard), unlicensed day care providers – often friends, family, neighbors, or others close to the family – were paid only at the 60th percentile. This bill placed these providers’ pay between \$2.08 and \$2.70 per hour per child (California Department of Education, 2012). Assuming that a license-exempt provider is caring for less than four children, these providers are compensated significantly below California’s minimum wage of \$8.00 an hour. License-exempt providers who work from their own home are considered “self-employed” and therefore their pay is not protected by state minimum wage laws. Furthermore, since license-exempt providers are only able to care for the children of a single family at one time, this action has significantly impaired many unlicensed providers’ ability to continue care, and considerably impacted their income and quality of living if they were able to continue. This reduction should violate the “regulatory requirements of equal access and parental choice” articulated by the CCDF (Child Care and Development Fund, 1998, 39958), especially given that \$2.08 is less than one-quarter of the state’s minimum wage and nowhere near comparable to the RMR. Local agencies and providers had sustained major cuts, but still politicians claimed additional cuts were needed to balance the budget.

Reduction in Family Income Eligibility Curtails Transitional Child Care

The DHHS originally set the family income threshold at 85% of the State Median Income (SMI), affording low-income parents access to approximately 85% of the child care market. However, California had set the family income eligibility at 75% of the State Medium Income (SMI), which was reduced to 70% of the SMI (California Department of Finance, 2011, p. 40). Any family of three earning \$3,518 per month (the 70th percentile) or more was eliminated from receiving child care subsidy in any stage. This was a \$251 per month decrease in income from the previous income ceiling of \$3,769 (the 75th percentile), a decrease of over \$3,000 annually (California Budget Project, 2012, p. 12). These “top tier” families paid the highest out of pocket co-pays and utilized the least amount of child care sub-

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sidy per child. Furthermore, though the family's income may have been above the new threshold, their income was unlikely to be sufficient to cover the costs of child care. This action negatively impacted families' ability to successfully transition to paying the full costs of child care.

Trigger Cuts Additionally Stress the System

For the first time since the Great Recession, state revenues had increased beyond original projections. Still, Jerry Brown's original and revised budgets contained many more cuts to education, child care and public services. The final 2011-2012 budget did not cut as deep, but relied on the increased projected state revenues rather than what the state had actually brought in up until that point. Brown insisted on a balanced budget, not only in order to pass the budget, but also so that California could begin to ascend from beneath its debt. To this end, the "trigger cuts" were established to avoid making cuts that would further cripple California's safety net and public infrastructure. Should the revenues projected by California's Department of Finance not reach predetermined thresholds, then a three-tier series of additional cuts to education and social services would be made. Tier 1, a cut of \$600 million to social services, higher education, and public safety, would take effect if the revenues came in \$1 billion below projected. Tier 2, a cut of \$1.86 billion to Proposition 98, would be enacted if the revenue shortfall reached \$2 billion (Taylor, 2011, p. 2-3).

On November 17, 2011, Mac Taylor of the LAO gave his grim analysis for the states revenue projections. The new revenue projections fell approximately \$3.7 billion below the levels predicted when creating the 2011-2012 budget act. This shortfall thus required about \$2 billion in trigger reductions. The Tier 1 cuts would equal about \$608 million to state agencies. He also anticipated that a large portion of Tier 2 reductions would be enacted, another \$1.4 billion that would come exclusively from the Prop 98 budget. However, since these were only predictions, Californians had to wait until the Department of Finance delivered its analyses of actual state revenues in December before concluding what triggers, and what proportion of those triggers, would need to be pulled in order to agree with the

requirements of the budget act (LegislativeAnalystCA, 2011).

On December 13, 2011, the Governor announced that the Tier 1 reductions were going to be enacted: \$609 million. The state needed revenues to meet and/or exceed \$4 billion to escape any of the trigger cuts. With revenues at \$2.2 billion, the actual returns fell significantly short of the projections. With these Tier 1 trigger reductions, child care programs, both within and outside of Prop 98, would receive a 4% across the board reduction in funding. Non-Prop 98 child care funding was cut by about \$17 million. Non-Prop 98 accounted for nearly all child care programs other than state preschools and Stage 2 Child Care. Prop 98 child care was cut by about \$5.9 million. A total of \$23 million in California child care subsidies were cut effective January 1, 2012 (California Department of Finance, 2011, Dec. 13). These cuts prohibited the CDE from requesting additional child care funding mid-fiscal year as they were accustomed to doing. This led to a funding gap for Stage 3, with no way to meet the need for additional resources until the following fiscal year.

Stage 3 Gets Hit Again

Within hours of the Governor's announcement of the trigger cuts enactment, once again, the precarious nature of CalWORKS Stage 3 Child Care became evident. Shortly after the announcement of the trigger cuts, the CDE announced that Stage 3 had run out of funding and there would be no augmentation to get families through the fiscal year per the guidelines set by SB 70. The CDE posted a management bulletin requesting that R&Rs begin to disenroll Stage 3 families (California Department of Education Dec. 2011). Some R&Rs had not yet exhausted their fiscal year funding and chose to keep Stage 3 families till funding ran out or until the new fiscal year. Other R&Rs followed the CDE's announcement and gave the Stage 3 families 30 days notice.

One month later, on January 25, 2012, the CDE issued another management bulletin regarding Stage 3 funding. The CDE announced that it had acquired \$8 million to augment Stage 3 so that Stage 2 families would have access to Stage 3. Two weeks later, the CDE issued a management bulletin with directives on how contractors were to proceed with the augmented funds, including re-enroll-

ing disenrolled Stage 3 families.

Through the ups and downs of Stage 3 availability, many families lost eligibility while many other families lost hope. According to a report by the California Budget Project, close to 100,000 children have dropped, and have been dropped from, the Stage 3 child care subsidy in the past four years (2012, p. 13). While tens of thousands of families have been eliminated, some Stage 3 families have chosen to leave the program and have found more reliable child care arrangements. Many more families, however, are just hoping their child care will last through the end of the year.

Governor Brown's 2012-2013 Budget Proposal Dismantles Child Care Structure

Governor Brown's 2012-2013 budget did not bring any stability to the Stage 3 Child Care subsidy. Though Brown officially reinstated Stage 3 in the 2011-2012 budget, the 2012-2013 budget again called for its dismantling. Brown asked for the phasing out of the three-stage child care subsidy to be replaced with a "work-based child care system [block grant] administered by county welfare departments" (Department of Finance, 2012, p. 118). Under this new work-first plan, parents would no longer receive child care subsidies to attend college. Instead, parents will be allowed only a twelve-month vocational training program to get them job ready. Once "job readiness" had been achieved, parents needed to work a minimum of 30 hours per week in non-subsidized employment to keep their child care subsidy (Department of Finance, 2012, p. 116). This work requirement ignores that California's unemployment rate is predicted to remain above 10% through 2014 (California Budget Project, 2012, p. 8). It also fails to "adapt as families' needs change" (Child Care and Development Fund, 1998, p. 39982) in the midst of the Great Recession. An estimated 46,000 children will lose care through the parental work requirement (California Budget Project, 2012, p. 26). Having the subsidy as a block grant administered through CWDs, rather than the CDE, gives counties high levels of flexibility with regard to how to administer child care subsidies. Potentially, every county could have different regulations that clients must follow. If a family were to leave one county, they may not be eligible for the

same child care services in another county.

Additionally, the governor has again proposed reducing the income ceiling of low-income families. The current income ceiling is set at 70% of the 2005 SMI. The new income ceiling will be set at 200% of the Federal Poverty Level, which is approximately 61.5% of the 2009 SMI (Department of Finance, 2012, p. 145). For a family of three, this is an income cap at 12.2 percent of the current level (California Budget Project, 2012, p. 27). This change will result in 15,700 children losing access to child care (Department of Finance, 2012, p. 145).

Furthermore, Brown's proposal again cuts provider remuneration. He proposes a 10% cut to Title V child care centers and to reduce provider pay to the 50th percentile of the 2009 RMR in addition to the cuts sustained in previous years (totaling over 25%). If that were not enough, his proposal eliminates the Cost of Living Adjustment (COLA) for providers "for this year and all future years" (Child Care Resource & Referral Network, 2012). This action significantly reduces "parental choice" by eliminating over 50% of the child care market to families utilizing subsidies. As most providers cannot afford to keep their doors open with such low pay and no hope of increased remuneration through COLAs, this is also a hard blow to small child care businesses.

Governor Brown's proposed cuts to child care amount to more than 40% of the current operating budget. The 2011-2012 budget had already cut child care services for over 35,000 of California's children. The new 2012-2013 budget proposes to terminate services for an additional 62,000 children (6,000 more children than were terminated by Governor Schwarzenegger's elimination of the Stage 3 subsidy) close to 100,000 children in just two years. Brown's cuts to child care services will cause many Stage 3 children to be re-eliminated. More importantly it increases the vulnerability of low-income families already in unpredictable economic situations by eliminating parents' access to higher education and limiting their work options.

The precarious nature of the Stage 3 child care is a blatant example of how state flexibility leads to family instability amongst impoverished parents since welfare reform. For the past four years, families in need have been terminated, providers' pay has reduced to a fraction of what qualified professionals in their field earn, R&Rs

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and APPs are struggling to keep their doors open, and the entire subsidized child care system is being rapidly dismantled. If the goals that TANF established, the regulations that the CCDF outlined, and the objectives that CalWORKs promotes are ever to come to fruition, quality affordable child care needs to be prioritized.

Child Care Policy Suggestions from a Parent

Frankly, the instability we see with child care subsidies for low-income families does not have to exist, but it is built into the current system. The current system focuses on the parents: the parents' income, the parents' work hours, the parents' school hours, the parents' stigma for needing public services. In order to stabilize child care policy the objectives need to be designed around the needs of the children rather than the welfare requirements of the parent. Children deserve to be safe and supported regardless of their parents' daytime activities or income class. There needs to be increased accountability from the federal government on how child care subsidies are implemented in the states. States need to assure long-term child care subsidies are available to support parents caught in long term low-wage work. Additionally, child care subsidies need to support parents' educational attainment so that they may exit low-wage positions. The family income ceilings need to be increased to support parents' transition into self-sufficiency. Lastly, quality child care providers need to be adequately compensated for their care-giving and educational services. To truly diminish poverty, children must be well cared for, educated, and protected by quality professionals who guide them beyond their circumstance into prosperity.

Conclusion

The precarious nature of the Stage 3 child care subsidy has spurred my interests both politically and academically. In February 2012 I again went to our state capitol in Sacramento with Parent Voices, as I have done the past three years, to give personal testimony and speak out against the proposed cuts to child care and CalWORKs. In May I will stand with fellow child care advocates at the annual Stand For Children Day at the capitol to remind our legis-

lators that our children’s safety and future are not budget line items. Moving forward in academia, I intend to continue my research into subsidized child care systems and how they can be improved to provide support and stability for low-income families.

I was once a junior high school drop out and a drug addict; I was weak and unambitious. Today, I am a McNair Scholar, and look forward to pursuing a graduate degree. I have been accepted to a dual masters program in Public Policy and Social Work at University of Minnesota Twin Cities, and awarded a generous financial package. I am a Sonoma County Parent Leader and Statewide Steering Committee member with Parent Voices, mobilizing low-income parents to politically advocate for child care subsidies. I am President of the Woodcreek Village Tenant Association, helping to mitigate management abuses of low-income tenants. I work with Partnership for Children as a roundtable and steering committee member, seeking to make children a priority in all public and private policies at the local level. I am a former team member with Committee On The Shelterless, helping families transition out of homelessness. I have also been a mentor with Circle of Sisters, helping “at-risk” girls successfully navigate adolescence. This May, I will graduate Magna Cum Laude and honorary distinction with my bachelor’s degree in Women’s and Gender Studies with a minor in Political Science.

When I look at TANF, I realize it is only the supports that make the program effective. TANF needs to offer strong transitional child care services and facilitate access to higher education. State flexibility on this issue needs to be compromised to support the needs of families working their way out of poverty, rather than accommodating state budgets. Providing stable long-term child care access will help more parents to locate work, maintain employment, and ascend out of poverty—permanently. Until then, the current precarious nature of the Stage 3 Child Care subsidy will continue to be a significant obstacle to California low-income families’ ascent out of poverty and a crux to their survival within it.

Frequently Used Acronyms

1. **AFDC:** Aid to Families with Dependent Children was established by the Social Security Act of 1935 as a grant program to

- enable states to provide cash welfare payments for needy children who had been deprived of parental support or care because their father or mother was absent from the home, incapacitated, deceased, or unemployed. (<http://aspe.hhs.gov/hsp/abbrev/afdc-tanf.htm>).
2. **PRWORA:** The Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996 was a comprehensive bipartisan welfare reform plan that dramatically changed the nation's welfare system into one that requires work in exchange for time-limited assistance. (<http://www.acf.hhs.gov/programs/cse/pubs/1996/news/prwora.htm>).
 3. **TANF:** The Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996 (PRWORA) replaced AFDC with a cash welfare block grant called the Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF) program. Key elements of TANF include a lifetime cash assistance limit of five years (60 months), increasing work participation rate requirements which states must meet, and broad state flexibility on program design.
 4. **CalWORKs:** California Work Opportunities and Responsibility for Kids is a welfare program that gives cash aid and services to eligible needy California families. CalWORKs was established in response to TANF legislation.
 5. **DHHS:** The Department of Health and Human Services is the United States government's principal agency for protecting the health of all Americans and providing essential human services, especially for those who are least able to help themselves. (<http://www.hhs.gov/about/>).
 6. **CCDF:** The Child Care and Development Fund, authorized by the Child Care and Development Block Grant Act, and Section 418 of the Social Security Act, assists low-income families, families receiving temporary public assistance, and those transitioning from public assistance in obtaining child care so they can work or attend training/education. (<http://www.acf.hhs.gov/programs/occ/ccdf/index.htm>).
 7. **CCDBG:** To make grants to States and Tribes to assist low-income families with child care.
 8. **SMI:** State Median Income. In California the SMI was at \$51,755 in 2005 and \$54,459 in 2010.

9. **CDE:** California Department of Education over sees state K-12 education as well as nearly all state-administered child care programs.
10. **CDD:** The Child Development Division is the sub-unit of the CDE that is responsible for administering all state child care subsidy programs. It provides leadership and support to contractors and the child development community, ensuring high quality early education programs are provided to children ages birth to 13 years.
11. **R&Rs:** Resource and Referral agencies that are generally private non-profits contracted in each county of California to provide families with free child care information and referrals.
12. **APPs:** Alternative Payment Programs are R&R agencies that contract with the CDE to specifically administer subsidized child care vouchers.
13. **CWD:** The County Welfare Department is where low-income families first apply for food stamps, Medi-Cal (California's Medicaid program) CalWORKs, and CalWORKs child care.

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La filosofía del amor según Platón y Sartre en *Sab* y *María*

Salvador García: Spanish

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La filosofía del amor según Platón y Sartre en *Sab* y *María* se enfoca en el análisis de dos novelas del periodo Romántico (*Sab*, *María*) en Latinoamérica. Las filosofías del amor de Sartre y Platón sirven cómo marco teórico para el análisis de las dos novelas debido a su relevancia en cuanto a su definición de el tema del amor. (será en ingles)

Resumen

La filosofía del amor según Platón y Sartre en *Sab* y *María* se enfoca en el análisis de dos novelas del periodo Romántico (*Sab*, *María*) en Latinoamérica. Las filosofías del amor de Sartre y Platón sirven cómo marco teórico para el análisis de las dos novelas debido a su relevancia en cuanto a su definición de el tema del amor.

Justificación

En la obra *María* de Jorge Isaac tanto como en *Sab* de Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda el amor es un tema que predomina; en cuanto a lo que es y lo que se ha dicho de el, como un tema predominante de análisis. Las ideas filosóficas sobre el amor son cruciales para enmarcar tal tema en las dos obras. El banquete del amor y el ensayo *El principio y la nada* de Jean Claude Sartre sirven como marco teórico de las dos novelas mencionadas. En el *Banquete del amor*, Platón discute el significado de tres tipos de amor según Aristophanes, Sócrates, y Alcibiades, mientras que Sartre lo describe como un deseo físico por apoderarse de la libertad del otro. Estas filosofías del amor aun son una definición del amor o al menos unos de los diálogos mas influyentes para un acercamiento teórico a las

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dos novelas románticas.

*La idea romántica del amor según Platón, es el mito de que el amor es el resultado de la separación de un ser perfecto, uno de dos cabezas y de cuatro pies y manos, un alguien de increíble inteligencia y habilidad para rodar por el mundo. Su separación es debido a que su entereza era peligrosa para los dioses, quienes le separaron. El amor es por eso la búsqueda continua de nuestra otra mitad. Tiene por finalidad la conexión de si mismo, no la del sexo. En la novela de Gómez de Avellaneda, Carlota y Sab eran almas gemelas quienes fueron educados como uno mismo. Su amor no tuvo la necesidad sexual, de modo que al morir Sab, Carlota nunca jamás encuentra el amor, porque solo existe una otra mitad. En la novela de Isaac, Efraín y María son claramente sus otras mitades. Una de las otras menciones prácticas de lo que es el amor según Platón es la de la búsqueda de la belleza superficial, la inmortalidad o la gloria, y la conveniencia, no la del amor complementario. El amor se pone en una grada, donde el amor más bajo es el que se asocia con el cuerpo, de modo que el amor en cuanto al cuerpo—se rebaja a los sentimientos de ser esclavo de una pasión, en una escala a lo que nos conviene. Esa lucha por subir la escalera se presenta en la subida que toma el amor en *Sab y María*.*

Por último Platón personifica en Alcibiades un amor de sentimientos confusos, caprichosos, de carisma, belleza, y glamur donde el amor se puede transformarse de la ternura a la ira; de los celos o del coraje a la vulnerabilidad; siendo estos sentimientos todos parte del amor. En cambio, Sartre redefine el amor en base a lo que dice en su ensayo *El principio y la nada* que uno se enamora de la libertad del otro culminando en su destrucción al consumarse este amor. Carlota no puede enamorarse de Sab debido a su condición de esclavo, es por eso que al morir y de cierto punto llegar a ser libre, Carlota se da cuenta de su amor. En *María*, La joven María se enamora locamente de Efraín ante la continua separación, impuesta por la libertad de Efraín. Los discursos y la reinención existencial sobre el amor justifican el análisis teórico de las dos novelas según las filosofías de Platón y Sartre.

En diferentes artículos, el amor entre Sab y Carlota en *Sab* al igual que el amor entre Efraín y María en *María* se delinea de forma diferente a la filosofía del amor que tienen Sartre y Platón, ofreciendo

una filosofía distinta del amor en estas obras.

En su artículo *Estrategias femeninas en la elaboración del sujeto romántico en la obra de Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda*, Lucía Guerra analiza el amor por medio del sujeto romántico según la narrativa femenina de Gómez de Avellaneda. “El sujeto Romántico de esta novela es también dual y palimpsestico, fenómeno que nos permite estudiarlo tomando en cuenta dos aspectos vitales en la narrativa femenina del siglo XIX: los elementos convencionales de representación observados en la figura de Sab y las modificaciones femeninas de la tipología romántica en la caracterización de Carlota, y que funcionan como un margen transgresivo plasmados los dos conceptos fundamentales de la ideología feminista de la autora.” (709) Guerra alega que al esta ser una narrativa feminista el personaje de Sab es sutilmente feminizado por Gómez de Avellaneda para justificar sus sentimientos en cuanto al amor que el siente por Carlota, lo cual ofrece una filosofía del amor diferente a la perspectiva masculina de Platón y Sartre.

En su artículo Guerra propone que para el tiempo en que se escribió *Sab* el amor era para la mujer un cautiverio peor que el de un esclavo al esta no tener la esperanza de ni siquiera comprar su libertad, la cual solamente vendría con el sepulcro.

Un aspecto que llama la atención en esta novela, publicada en 1841, es el hecho de que, en su capítulo final, se produzca un cambio abrupto con respecto al énfasis de la línea argumental. Si bien la fabula se centrado en los infortunios del esclavo y su amor imposible por Carlota, quien, antitéticamente, se casa con el hombre amado, en la sección que concluye la obra, y que transcurre cinco años después de la muerte de Sab, se nos presenta a Carlota viviendo en un matrimonio desgraciado, y en la carta de Sab a Teresa, el negro afirma que la esclavitud de las mujeres bajo el lazo indisoluble del casamiento es una servidumbre mucho peor que aquella de los mismos esclavos (p. 708).

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Según Guerra, Gómez de Avellanada propone que el amor de Sab es solo uno de imposibilidad y sin importancia, el cual tiene por único propósito el reclamo hacia la elaboración del amor en el personaje femenino de Carlota. El cual ofrece una visión trascendental del amor según los derechos de la mujer.

La servidumbre de la mujer bajo el matrimonio es el amor para la sociedad, la cual Guerra compara con la esclavitud de los negros:

De manera similar a Sab, en el conflicto de Carlota se especifica como la lucha entre su naturaleza intrínseca y el destino asignado por la sociedad. Pero si el primero el Ser/Parecer equivalía a un alma y un cuerpo, en la protagonista esta dualidad es aun mas compleja. Definida la mujer en la novela como esencialmente un ser hecho para amar, como puro corazón, se infiere que el Ser Femenino esta ligado en forma primordial a la Naturaleza y la Divinidad (p. 715).

Lucia Guerra propone que para Gertrudis Gómez de Avellanada el ser Femenino equivale a sentir amor lo cual es algo asignado por la naturaleza y la sociedad. Esta filosofía del amor objetiviza al cuerpo de la mujer y asocia a sus estrategias de feminidad—emociones y sumisividad con el amor, de modo que se las da a el amor imposible de Sab al este ser feminizado con la posibilidad de el sentir amor como el que Carlota siente por Enrique Otway. Para Guerra el amor es algo de mujeres.

Amelia León dispone en el artículo *La caracterización del personaje femenino, el tratamiento de la naturaleza; el costumbrismo y el amor trágico en María de Jorge Isaac* de que el amor en *María* se entiende en cuanto a las características del movimiento romántico en la literatura. Siendo el tema del amor trágico una de las características mas importantes del Romanticismo. Como se nota “El amor funesto es sinónimo de la perfección romántica, la muerte del ser amado es el único medio por el cual el héroe puede eternizar su ser romántico. El sufrimiento y la soledad se prologan, la construcción virginal del ser amado y el amor platónico perviven, permanecen immaculados gracias a la muerte”. De acuerdo con León la

literatura romántica y *María* exponen el tipo de amor trágico; donde lo trágico de ese amor es lo que lo hace ser amor, llevándolo a ser un amor platónico. Como observa León

Trenzas, pies, labios, besos, deseos enaltecidos por el amor de una mujer idealizada, María, toda hermosura, dulzura e inocencia comparte el propósito de las mujeres puras, poéticas, ideales; sus virtudes están acordes a sus rasgos físicos, María es una virgen débil, sin carácter, condenada a sufrir por amor y sus consecuencias fatales. El manejo de estos elementos cumple con el propósito del escritor romántico que consiste no solo de idealizar la belleza, sino mostrar también que esta es finita...para Isaac resulta ser la ironía romántica, el fin fatal de un amor ideal, y de una mujer ‘bella y transitoria.

El fin fatal de un amor ideal para Isaacs según el artículo es la traición de Efraín y la muerte de María, factores que hacen que el amor de estos dos se intensifique en su idealización.

A diferencia de los artículos anteriores donde el amor en María y Sab es hasta cierto punto interpretado trágicamente, el artículo *Amor, patria e ilustración en el esclavo abolicionista Sab* José T. Enríques transmite una perspectiva menos trágica. Aunque el amor sea de todos modos inalcanzable, Enríques dice que el afecto que Sab no es capaz ni de expresar por su dueña, le conviene mientras este a su lado: “El amor de Sab es un amor inalcanzable, en ningún momento aparece atisbo de posibilidad de comunicar tan siquiera su pasión a la persona amada. De este rechazo previo a todo intento deviene la consciencia del hombre privado de sus derechos. También será atreves de la persona amada como se el esclavo acceda a la educación y a los libros que a su vez le posibiliten formular intelectualmente que es un ser sojuzgado para el que horizonte de aspiraciones esta estrechamente limitado.” (50) En esta perspectiva el amor se escrutiniza bajo la ambición que no se tienta el corazón. La ambición amorosa de Sab es el dinero y la casta de Carlota una de las mujeres mas nobles de las Antillas.

El amor puro de Sab que se aprecia en los otros artículos se

tiñe con la avaricia en este, de modo que Carlota se convierte en el vehículo que sacaría a Sab de su servitud. En ese contexto el amor sentido hacia alguien mas arriba en la escalera social tiene un beneficio además del sentir: “En Sab la mujer es la vía para acceder a la educación y la libertad, y el intermediario biológico para aclarar el color de la piel y de los descendientes. La posibilidad matrimonial plantada en la novela es un índice de la necesidad acudiente de conformar un ámbito de conveniencia...el amor y la integración racial merman considerablemente las posibilidades de revolución negra y sangrienta y surge el atisbo de una solución pacífica. Sab comunica a Teresa que olvida su condición de oprimido cuando se siente amado.” (55) La seguridad económica que brinda el amante calma los nervios y hace sentir paz en él. El solo hecho de amar y sentir ternura por Carlota hacen que Sab se sienta en paz con su situación como esclavo; de cierto modo el amor hace que veamos todo distinto. En el caso de Sab ese amor que siente por Carlota le llena de paz y esperanza hacia la vida.

La influencia romántica en María hacen de esta una de las obras mas bonitas jamás sido escritas, pero también una de las obras mas tristes. Siendo el amor fatal como lo describe en su crítica Daniel Moreno la causa de esta triste visión del amor: “En efecto como novela es de lo mas sencilla: sentimental según se ha señalado, realista en cuanto al ambiente; pero no en el sentido que después adquirió esta palabra dentro del léxico literario, también de tipo costumbrista y regional, siguiendo el cuadro campesino dentro del cual se desenvuelve. Un amor sencillo, iniciado desde la infancia y que cuando el enamorado cree que se acerca el momento de su realización se trunca por fatalidad.”(XXIII) El tema del amor es visto por Moreno como una fatalidad debido a su sencillez sentimental no realizada; es decir el amor en su análisis es la querencia de dos muchachos desde de la infancia la cual es truncada, por que en ello el amor en *María* tiende al fatalismo, siendo esto la descripción y definición del amor. El corazón con sus emociones toman el lugar de la *mujer fatal* en el contexto de *María*. El amor en este sentido es la causa de un fin fatalístico para los enamorados.

La idea del amor en María según Maribel Florián-Buitrago es la mas allegada a un amor sublime y bueno. En contraste con las demás observaciones de el amor en María, como filosofía esta se

apega los fundamentos nacionalistas de independencia de América en tiempos de independencia y de los valores de la familia nuclear. En su artículo *La María de Jorge Isaacs y su aporte en la construcción de la identidad de los sujetos*, Florián-Buitrago Expande en base a lo que dice Vergara y Vergara para mostrar María como una obra sentimentalista, bella, y ejemplar para un país: “José María Vergara y Vergara dice en el año de 1867: «María pertenece en literatura al género sentimental (...) es la narración de los amores de dos jóvenes, rodeados de muchas personas, viviendo en una misma casa y profundamente enamorados» (Vergara y Vergara, 1867:9). Según este criterio, podemos inferir que María fue recibida en el siglo XIX como una novela de orden sentimental, en la que se promovía una idea específica del amor: el amor que lleva al feliz término del matrimonio. Veamos un ejemplo:

Soñé que María era ya mi esposa: ese castísimo delirio había sido y debía

continuar siendo el único deleite de mi alma (María, p.204).” Los valores sentimentales que provoca el amor en esta obra según Maribel Florián-Buitrago son los que una casa ejemplar y un matrimonio feliz y digno como el de los padres de Efraín, tiene en la relación de María y Efraín.

El tema del amor en las obras *María y Sab*, se interpreta según la perspectiva femenina debido a que por mayoría la autoría de estas críticas son hechas por mujeres dado a que Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda también lo fue, y solamente Jorge Isaac no. No tomando en cuenta el genero del autor, por lógica el tema del amor tiene dos versiones en las dos novelas y ambas la de la mujer y la de el hombre merecen el mismo reconocimiento debido a que se refieren a un amor muto. La filosofía de Platón en su dialogo *El banquete del amor* y la de Sartre en su ensayo sobre el amor *El principio y la nada* tienen una diferencia a las de los artículos anteriores en parte debido a que son las de visiones del amor de dos hombres pero también por diferencias en estilo y características de interpretación, como vemos con Sartre quien ofrece una observación autentica y distinta del amor al catalogarlo como el sentimiento por apoderarnos de nuestra pareja, una visión distinta a todas las anteriores, o como las distintas visiones del amor según Platón que incluyen el amor platónico, complementario, o pasional.

Introducción

Las Novelas Sab y María son del periodo romántico. Corriente literaria que nace como respuesta del neoclásico en el siglo XIX. Se caracteriza por el desbordamiento de los sentimientos, y por las razones del corazón que la razón no entiende. El romanticismo busca encontrar en la indagación de los pensamientos del individuo los motivos de la vida. La naturaleza en el estilo romántico es una de las cosas más importantes, al remitirse lugares pastorales, bucólicos. La conexión entre la naturaleza y el ambiente en Sab al igual que en María es una característica del romanésimo. La fuerza de la naturaleza toma el clima de los sentimientos de los personajes y predomina en los acontecimientos, al alguna tormenta presagiar una tragedia como el accidente de Enrique o la enfermedad de María, para después como una calma como cuando hace una mañana hermosa después de una tormenta. Como novelas Latino Americanas, es preciso decir que llegan a ser influenciadas por las primeras muestras del romanticismo que surgen primero en Europa.

Según León “El Romanticismo aparece en la América hispánica aproximadamente en 1830 y hereda del movimiento europeo todos los elementos que lo caracterizan...El amor y la pasión...temas esenciales...Los escritores hispanoamericanos asimilaron el liberalismo de autores europeos como Víctor Hugo y las posturas conservadoras como las de Chateaubriand. La novelística hispanoamericana se bifurca en estas dos vertientes. La novela romántica alcanzó su plenitud en Europa con *Los Miserables* de Víctor Hugo, *Atala* de Chateaubriand y *Pablo et Virginia* de Bernardin de Saint Pierre; modelos franceses que tuvieron una gran influencia sobre la literatura europea e hispanoamericana. En nuestro continente dicha influencia se sintió a partir de la segunda mitad del siglo XIX, cuando se publicaron...*María* (1867) de Jorge Isaac...*María* Jorge Isaacs reprodujo el modelo francés. Aunque es posible observar un incipi-

ente realismo en algunas escenas de la novela como lo acontecido a Efraín en el Dagua. No obstante, sus motivaciones son de índole romántica...como...el tema del amor trágico.

Obras como *María y Sab* hacen posible el romanticismo en Latinoamérica, un estilo que ahí dura para siempre.

En *Sab* se cuenta con cuatro personajes principales y tres complementarios además de otros. Es Carlota de B y su esclavo Sab quien llevan la novela, al lado de Teresa y Enrique Otway. La novela *Sab* es una crítica a la dignidad de un país, que toma lugar en Puerto Príncipe Cuba, en una hacienda Azucarera donde el amor marca las vidas de los protagonistas y representa en ellos la grandeza del país. Carlota se caracteriza por ser impulsiva y sentimental. Mientras que su prima Teresa es seria y fuerte. Carlota quiere a Teresa como hermana por ser huérfana, mientras que Teresa envidia a Carlota por tener todo lo que ella no tiene. El pasado de Carlota se describe con nostalgia en cuanto a el de Teresa es como una pesadilla debido a que no tiene los medios para vivir y es recogida por los padres de Carlota cuya madre muere al poco tiempo. Carlota es claramente el antítesis de Teresa quien es perspicaz y se muestra racional mientras que las emociones, inocencia, y belleza de Carlota se desbordan— como cuando corre al campo en busca de su Enrique. Teresa no es la divina belleza que es Carlota, sus sufrimientos y acciones al principio la hacen parecer mala, pero al final el personaje se ve con buenos ojos al mostrar una increíble bondad. Como cuando al verse en un espejo por un lado de su prima Teresa llora, de dolor y se convierte en monja. Una Carlota abnegada al amor y su relación empedernida al amor Enrique es el sentimiento incorrespondido a cambio de su dinero por el amor de él.

Al principio de la obra las descripciones de Sab y Enrique se contraponen, hombres los dos de muy diferentes sentimientos: uno de belleza infinita ojos azules y cabello rubio con piel blanca y sonrosarte, mientras que el otro es mulato—el cruce de la raza Europea con la Africana, ambos también de clases sociales muy distintas. La caracterización de Sab es la de un hombre de una voluntad infinita que solo vive para amar a Carlota sin decírselo mientras que La car-

acterización de Enrique es la de un hombre malo, quien sin duda ama a Carlota por su belleza pero mas por su dinero. Sab es solo un esclavo, pero no cualquier esclavo, es de la propiedad personal de la niña Carlota y también es el hijo del hermano del patrón—don Carlos. La relación entre Carlota y Enrique se muestra como una de conveniencia por parte de Enrique hijo de un negociante ingles quien pide la mano de Carlota para su hijo por interés al Carlota pertenecer a una de las familias mas nobles de cuba y ricas de puerto príncipe. Ante los apuros económicos familia de Carlota y negativa de ellos al cazarse con Enrique, ella recibe una desilusión amorosa y se encapricha aun mas con Enrique.

Los géneros de los personajes se intensifican y valoran mas esos de valentía como Enrique y Teresa, contrastados con la debilidad de Carlota y Sab. Los motivos de Sab son los de Carlota, la quiere y obedece. Mientras que los de Carlota sean los de Enrique quien es motivado mas por su dinero que por el amor que le tiene. Teresa no tiene razones para tenerlos, pero aun así son Sab y María.

Jorge Otway se caracteriza como un oportunista Ingles que se enriquece en la isla, después de ser un muerto de hambre y que venia de la nada como un traficante de lienzo para llegar a asociarse con un grupo de hombres en un negocio de textiles. Haciéndose un hombre de dinero en poco tiempo y elevándose a las esferas del poder, se mete al circulo de la aristocracia cubana. Enrique su hijo, el cual encuanto tubo dinero su padre lo mando a estudiar en una academia militar en Londres. Enrique aunque falto de carácter hace todo lo que le dice su padre lo cual le hace aun mas despreciable al comprometerse con Carlota por su dinero. Jorge ve ala familia de don Carlos y a Carlota por esa razón como un medio para alcanzar un fin, el de convertirse en el hombre mas rico de cuba juntando sus negocios con la fortuna de Carlota.

Por ultimo el personaje de Martina es el de un personaje que de cierto modo une a Carlota y a Sab. Martina es una fiel india a la familia de B ultima descendiente indios Camagüey, quien vive en Camagüey. Cuenta que los Españoles le dan una espantosa muerte a Camagüey—cacique indio, en lo alto de la montana y que desde entonces su alma divaga sin rumbo y en el lugar de su muerte se ve una luz como recuerdo de su revancha. Martina es descrita muy alta y de edad casi 60. No parece de origen indio haciendo esta raza aun

mas mística. Al Carlota imagina a los primeros habitantes de la isla como humanos; se lamenta de la conquista, al describir como hubieran dormido bajo el mismo sol, sintiéndolo al despertar como ellos.

La novela de Jorge Isaac, tiene por nombre *María*. Nombre de mujer que encierra una historia de amor y muchas mas de dolor. Es un nombre muy especial y a la vez el de su protagonista. Mujer de indudable belleza que queda huérfana de madre siendo una niña, su padre se la da como hija para que la crie a su mejor amigo por que el tiene una familia y esposa quien la puede cuidar mejor un hombre solo y que a lo que se dedica requiere viajar y no son lugares para una niña. María nació Esther y judía pero por deseos de su padre, que quiso que una familia católica le criara, ella creció con el nombre de María.

Efraín es el personaje principal en *María* es quien se enamora de ella hasta el alma. El amor hacia María que el siente desde niño lo hacen hacer cosas que jamás nadie haría por alguna otra persona pero Efraín hace por María, como arriesgar su vida al cruzar un arrollo crecido para traer un doctor para su amada. Efraín no quiere separarse de María, ante que el sabe lo que es estar separado de ella porque así a sido toda su adolescencia que el permaneció en un colegio en Bogotá. A la edad de veinte anos su amor se realiza y por medio de flores y afectos su amor crece correspondido por María.

El padre de Efraín es en parte el culpable de la desgracia de su hijo al no consentir el amor de Efraín por María, hasta que el llegue un doctor de Europa. Quizás el no quiere el sufrimiento de los muchachos porque los ve como hijos a los dos, pero su negativa, desperdicia anos de felicidad antes de que muera María separada de su Efraín a causa de un mal que se intensifica con la ausencia de Efraín. A diferencia de el, su esposa y madre de Efraín es prudente aunque no hace nada por la felicidad de su hijo, al no interceder por el ante su padre.

Quizás el único personaje el la novela con ojos amigables el amor entre Efraín y María es Emma, la hermana menor de Efraín y cómplice de los amantes. Emma es testigo alentado espectador en el amor de los dos enamorados.

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The Migrant Education Advisor Program Makes a Difference

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High school is a time when students start to develop career goals and start contemplating what they will do after they graduate. Many dream about going to college and others already have a plan for after graduation. For these students, they know what is required of them in high school in order to reach their goal. The same is not true for migrant students, many of whom have a different lifestyle. Migrant students have parents who work in the harvesting fields and they move back and forth from their home country to a host country when there is work. The constant moving is what causes these students to fall behind in their schoolwork, and it puts them at a disadvantage as to the information regarding how to apply and prepare for college. As Salinas (2004) describes, migrant families are at the behest of harvesting seasons that sustain their family livelihood. Each fall and spring, Chicana/o students of migrant families arrive late and leave early to the academic school year. The jobs they work in are not the safest, as they tend to work with their parents in the agriculture fields or in factories. This causes a great deal of instability in the student's lives. Many students fall behind in schoolwork or drop out in order to work. Anderson and Gingras (1991) found that migrant farm workers are among the most educationally disadvantaged students in this country, and their dropout rates range from 50% to 90%. They show that migrant workers without an education fall within the lowest social-economic levels and this can lead to social problems. When migrant students reach adolescence, work is a necessity and their families expect them to work in order to contribute to the household economy. The challenge is trying to work while also remaining in school.

Migrant parents do value education, but they view school

as secondary to work. Even students who only hold a part-time job experience difficulty staying focused because their time is split between work and school (Kandel, 2001). This results in lower grades and may lead to lower college attainment goals. Kandel (2001) surveyed migrant students in Mexico, who were currently migrating or who had parents or family members that in the past were migrant to the U.S. He found that high levels of U.S migration are associated with lower aspirations to attend university at all academic levels for the students who were migrants themselves. He found that those students who are working in the fields with their parents, have only been exposed to this specific work and they do not know other job options. However, these students know they can continue working in the fields after graduation. Interestingly, Mexican students who had parents or other family members who had immigrated to the U.S had higher grades. Students who received remittances from family members working in the U.S received more money that relieved them from having to work and allowed them to instead focus on their schoolwork. Migrant students are motivated to try their hardest in school so that they can succeed in the U.S.

When migrant students arrive to the U.S they often enter schools after the school year has started and are put into classes that have already begun. The students are challenged to catch up, and in many cases are expected to perform at the same levels as the students who have been in the class since the semester started. This puts migrant students at a disadvantage from the beginning, coupled with the fact that many of them only speak and understand Spanish. Gibson and Bejinez (2002) examined how Mexican American high school students perform compared to White and Mexican migrant students. They wanted to know how schools help these students transition from Mexico to the U.S. They found that Mexican American children felt disconnected from the other students at the school. However, Mexican migrant students enjoyed going to school because they had people they could relate to and because there was a Migrant Education program available at the school site. The study showed that migrant students face many obstacles such as culture shock, fear of speaking in class because they might be ridiculed, stereotypes, and many home responsibilities. The migrant education program helped students feel closer to their school and become more

successful in raising their grade point average.

Furthermore, the Latino population has the highest dropout rate and spends less time in school compared to Asians, Whites and African American students (Davison, Manuel, Barajas, & Glenn, 1999). Thus, migrant Latino students are at a higher risk to drop out of school because they carry a double stigma—being both Latino and migrant. Davidson et al. (1999) found that students who had older siblings or other family members who dropped out of high school believed it happened due to poor attendance, low participation in school activities, problematic alternative education programs, low expectation of teachers/staff, and more personal problems. Attendance was low because students did not feel a sense of belonging to the school. When the students were sent to alternative programs, the curriculum there was too easy and they felt that people didn't care about them; the students ended up dropping out. Migrant students should be helped while they are at their regular school instead of being sent to a continuation school where the likelihood of dropping out is high. One solution is to have advisors check student attendance to prevent dropping out.

If migrant students do stay in school, a new problem is learning what is necessary to apply for college and gain acceptance. Araujo (2011) discovered that when students received help with financial aid, filling out paperwork, as well as emotional and academic support, college students were more likely to succeed. She also found out that financial instability worried the students most before applying to college; however, having someone there to help them complete paperwork gave them encouragement to apply. McHatton (2006) found that students who had culture awareness, were more competitive, could easily cope with rejection, did not procrastinate and worked hard in high school were the students that ended up applying to universities and getting accepted. McHatton suggested that high quality academic advising is needed for these students, including after-school tutoring, summer school, ongoing advocacy, and mentoring from school and family. In order for migrant Latino students to possess the qualities of a university student, migrant education programs are needed.

The Migrant Education Advisor Program (MEAP) provides support to migrant students in high school in order to prevent them

from falling behind, and to keep them motivated to continue their education. This program is a connection between Migrant Education and Sonoma State University as well as California State University, Sacramento. MEAP is implemented in school districts that are served by the Migrant Education Program in Region 2. The program is designed to help migrant students achieve educational success and ensure that they graduate from high school. The program provides academic advising from bilingual undergraduate and graduate level college students to middle and high school students. This advising prepares students with the knowledge of high school graduation requirements and the core curriculum. The goal is to increase graduation rates as well as help students attain skills needed for lifelong success and the pursuit of post-secondary education. MEAP advisors also provide career guidance as well as social and emotional support for each migrant student through exercises that teach them to have higher self-esteem, cultural pride, and how to develop their leadership skills. Finally, MEAP provides assistance to migrant parents so that they have a strong understanding of the education system and can be comfortable asking faculty members questions when needed (BCOE, 2006).

Each MEAP advisor attends a monthly class where they learn effective counseling methods and discuss issues that are arising at other schools. Advisors learn to think of different outcomes and ways to solve problems that may arise with their migrant students, whether it is personal or academic. It is important to have a diverse group of advisors/mentors for migrant students. Flores and Obasi (2005) found that those migrant students who had Mexican/Latino/a mentors were more likely to overcome personal struggles. Through verbal encouragement, supportiveness and availability, mentors were more successful in reaching their mentees. As a result, MEAP requires that its advisors be bilingual and even seeks advisors who were migrant themselves. These advisors can share and relate their backgrounds/history with their students. The struggles that migrant children face are significant enough to discourage them from continuing their education; however, if they look up to someone who encourages them and guides them, they can see that they can succeed. The objective of this study is to examine the success of SSU's Migrant Education Advisor Program using feedback provided by the

students; I will examine what predicts graduation rates and interest in higher education.

Methods

Participants

A total of 130 migrant high school students (female, $n = 58$, 44.6%; male, $n = 72$, 55.4%) attending six public high schools participated in this study. The participants were from high schools in region 2 of the Migrant Education Program, which consist of schools from Elsie Allen, Healdsburg, Montgomery, Sonoma Valley, and Ukiah. The participants averaged 15.6 years of age and were almost evenly distributed from grades 9th through 12th: in 9th grade ($n = 35$, 26.9%), in 10th ($n = 32$, 24.6%), in 11th ($n = 29$, 22.3%), and in 12th ($n = 34$, 26.6%). More than half of the participants were born in Mexico ($n = 67$, 51.5%), while some were born in California ($n = 57$, 43.8%), Central America ($n = 2$, 1.5%) and 4 of the participants (3%) decided not to state a birthplace.

In order for the students to receive the help of a MEAP advisor they were migrant and under the program requirements for students, they must have arrived to the U.S within the past three years of them being recruited. The students can also enter into the program if they or their parents currently work in the harvesting fields. All the participants met the requirements for the program thus they were considered migrant at the time.

Procedure

The MEAP advisors distributed the questionnaires in classrooms where there were mainly migrant students and also did them individually when the students went into the MEAP office. Students had the option of completing an English or Spanish questionnaire depending on what language they understood most. They were then analyzed and coded with a total of five sections.

The Migrant Education

Questionnaires

Students filled out pre and post questionnaires at the beginning of the school year and toward the end of the school year. For the questionnaire, students answered questions that assessed demographic information such as name, nickname if they had one, grade, age, and gender. Next, participants were asked if they had received services from migrant education in the past and in what areas they would like help. Services that they selected included what classes to choose in high school, career information, college information, personal problems, and English language skills. Next, participants responded to questions that assessed the student's career knowledge, the student's school engagement, and the student's feeling of school belonging. The questions were as follows:

School Engagement

How often do you take part in class discussions?

How often do you do extra work for school on your own?

How often do you pay attention to what teachers are saying?

How often do you get your homework done?

I feel comfortable asking my teacher(s) questions.

School Belonging

I feel like a real part of this school.

People at this school are friendly to me.

I feel proud of belonging to this school.

Other students here like me the way I am.

Each question was answered using a 5-pt scale where, 1 = *never true*, 2 = *almost never true*, 3 = *sometimes true*, 4 = *almost always true*, 5 = *always true*. Additionally, the post-questionnaire asks students to write in what they feel their MEAP advisor helped them with most throughout the year. After the students filled out the questionnaires they got a chance to talk to their MEAP advisor in

order for them to speak of anything that came up. Not all migrant students were able to complete the questionnaires because of being absent or they chose not to. The amount of migrant students at each school varies, at least fifty percent of the students at each school site completed surveys. The cover story that was given to the students was that the surveys were to help the MEAP advisors plan activities or learn what areas in which they can help them throughout the year.

Grades and Test Scores

We also collected the student's end of the year grade point average, grades, and test scores, as well as the end of the year secondary student report for each school. The reports contained information on the students test scoring for the California English Language Development Test, California Standardized Test, California High School Exit Exam, careers the students are interested in, schools they are interested in and a section where the MEAP advisor adds anything they think is significant to acknowledge in order to effectively serve the student. In order to process the information we used their migrant identification number that each student receives once they enter the program instead of their name, in order to keep confidentiality.

Results

In order to measure the effectiveness of MEAP with the questionnaires that were given to the students, we measured for two conceptual variables: school belonging and school engagement of these students. The questionnaires also asked students in what areas they would like MEAP assistance with, and in the post-questionnaires we evaluated to see if their requests were met. From the grades and standardized test scores we were able to correlate them with the 3 previous conceptual variables in order to see what predicted high school graduation of migrant students.

School Belonging

Students were asked questions on how close they felt with their school and peers. This is important because research says that

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there is a correlation between student's school bonding and academic achievement. A Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient was computed to assess the relationship between school belonging and student's grade level. There was a significant negative correlation between the two variables ($r = -.32^{**}$): the higher the grade level a student is at, the less they feel they belong to their school. As shown in Figure 1, ninth graders reported an average belonging of 4.03 ($SD = .62$), tenth graders reported an average score of 3.77 ($SD = .76$), eleventh graders reported an average score of 3.61 ($SD = .98$), and seniors reported an average score of 3.34 ($SD = .76$).

School Engagement

Through the school engagement questions, students were able to report on how active they are with teachers, administrators, and counselors. Similar to school belonging, students reported having a decrease in engagement as the grade level increased. When we conducted a Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient to assess the relationship between school engagement and the student's grade level, we noticed the decrease ($r = -.21^*$). As shown in Figure 2, there is a drastic decrease from ninth graders who reported an average school engagement of 3.76 ($SD = .65$), to an average of 3.34 ($SD = .70$) by tenth grade, it then stays near that average in eleventh grade with an average of 3.37 ($SD = .70$), and finally in their senior year students continued a small decrease as they reported an average of 3.32 ($SD = .75$). This indicates that as students are advancing in grade level, they are becoming less engaged in their schoolwork and this can negatively affect their graduation.

Grade Point Average

Through the students' academic records we were able to look if there were any correlations with our two conceptual variables as well as any trends. After conducting a Pearson correlation coefficient test, we noticed that the student's GPA decreased after ninth grade, however, it increased in twelfth grade ($r = .13$, ns). As shown in Figure 2, ninth grade students had an average GPA of a 2.42, in tenth grade it was an average of 2.07, in eleventh grade it was an average

of 2.06, and those in their senior year had a drastic increase of GPA to an average of 2.84. This is important to recognize, as migrant students need to be aware of the importance of maintaining their GPA at an average high, as this is very important when applying to colleges.

School Engagement & Grade Point Average

As we have shown, school engagement decreases as students are in higher grade levels and their grade point average increases in their senior year; it is important to recognize how these two correlate in order to increase graduation rates. As shown in Figure 3, there was a positive correlation between school engagement and GPA, ($r = .35^{**}$). Those students who had higher school engagement reported higher GPA's relative to those who were not as highly engaged. This is why school engagement is important, and with all the stressors migrant students face, this can be critical for their high GPA attainment.

MEAP Services Provided

Due to the results we have found so far, it is important to recognize what MEAP advisors are doing in order to help migrant students who are facing these issues. With the pre- and post- questionnaires we were able to measure how many services migrant students received of those that they requested at the beginning of the year. After analyzing all of the responses we were able to see that MEAP Advisors provided a total 42.75% of students academic support when only 26.3% requested it at the beginning of the year. As shown in Table 1, the advisors provided 37.25% of students with career/college support when 36.3% requested the help, and they helped 20% of students with personal/social support when only 9% requested it. This shows how the advisors are providing more support to the students than what originally is requested at the beginning of the year and this is important to realize, as this support is crucial for migrant students who are facing, on average, more obstacles than non-migrant students.

The following quotes illustrate how the program has benefitted the students:

Academic

“They have helped me increase my grades and my credits, also with not missing class so much and helping me see who I truly am.”

Personal/Social

“They were very friendly, helpful, and they taught me a lot of things. I have improved a lot because of them.”

College/Career

“The MEAP’s have helped me with motivation and information of schools after high school.”

Discussion

Migrant students face many obstacles due to the lifestyle they live, where they have to relocate according to the harvest season. When the students reach adolescence, they are expected to work as well as attend school and this adds to the stressors they are facing as high school students. This study demonstrated that there was a decrease in school belonging, as the students weren’t able to effectively connect with the other students that were not migrants. However, there was a non-significant trend for migrant boys who were able to have a small increase in school bonding throughout the year. Similarly, school engagement decreased as well and this could possibly be because students do not feel a sense of belonging and they do not engage with the students they do not feel close to. This can create more cliques in high schools, leaving migrant students on their own and with a feeling of loneliness. This is why it is crucial to have MEAP advisors there to support the students in the different categories, as they are the one’s advocating for the students who do not engage.

After analyzing student's grades, we noticed that the GPA of the students went down as the grade level they were in increased, until their senior year where they were able to bring their GPA up. This could possibly be happening because MEAP advisors focus a lot on seniors as they are the ones that are graduating and the students realize that it is their last year to do anything. This is also when school counselors are directly asking the students where they plan to attend after graduation and many migrant students realize the importance of their GPA then.

For the 2010-2011 school year, MEAP advisors were able to provide services to more students than those who originally asked for it at the beginning of the year. Our statistically significant means show that students got information about the different colleges and universities that exist. Through visiting campuses and conferences students were able to know more about the careers they would like to pursue. Many migrant students are not aware of the different educational systems that exist and of the different careers because they put their focus on working as opposed to pursuing higher education. MEAP increased students' awareness of what they need to do in order to get into college and achieve a dream goal. They also taught them through learning how to set future goals, the importance of having a plan and working hard for it. MEAP also helped students with understanding their transcripts and getting the lost credits many of the students had.

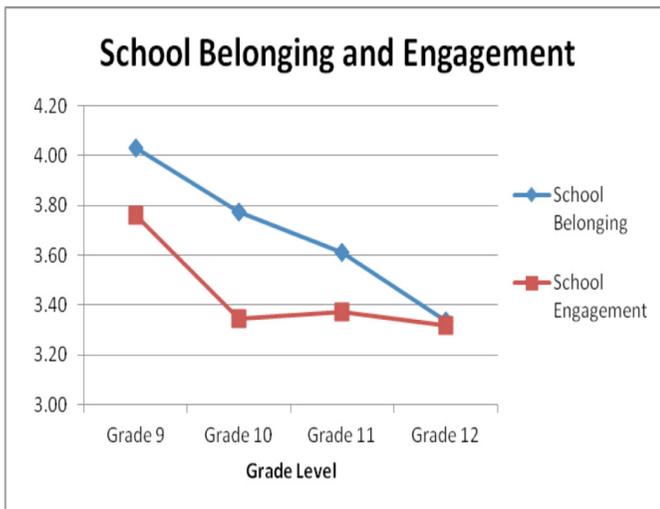
One limitation of the study resulted from the students' migrant lifestyle. For example, we were unable to collect as many post-questionnaires because many of the students had already relocated. There were a total of 130 participants that took the pre questionnaire; however, only 65 students were able to respond at the end of the year. Due to this, we only used post questionnaires to measure the services that MEAP advisors were providing to the students. Students that weren't available for the post questionnaires left to Mexico, moved to a different state as they found work in another place, or they dropped out. We were unable to follow through with the students that left because there was no information where we could contact them. Sadly, this happens a lot with students who live this life, as their main source of income is from the harvesting fields and when there is no work they usually move back or they find work

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elsewhere. Some students also missed some of the questions or decided not to answer some of the questions and this could have been why there was no significant difference in some of the areas. In the future, MEAP can focus on improving school belonging and school engagement with the students as previous research shows that it is important in order for children to be successful in school. Overall, MEAP provides migrant students great services that help them increase their grades and increase their knowledge of colleges and careers. This is huge with migrant students and with them just having an increase in GPA and gaining the confidence to talk to teachers or counselors, they are improving a great deal as many of them go through the education system without any guidance and end up dropping out. This program is a great model of what programs are needed in high school to inform students of opportunities after they graduate, especially for students that are in great need of it and who have not been exposed to such information in the past.

Appendices

Figure 1. *School belonging and engagement by grade level.*



Summary: School Belonging ($r = -.32^{**}$) and Engagement ($r = -.21^{*}$) decrease by grade level.

Figure 2. *Grade point average (GPA) by grade level.*

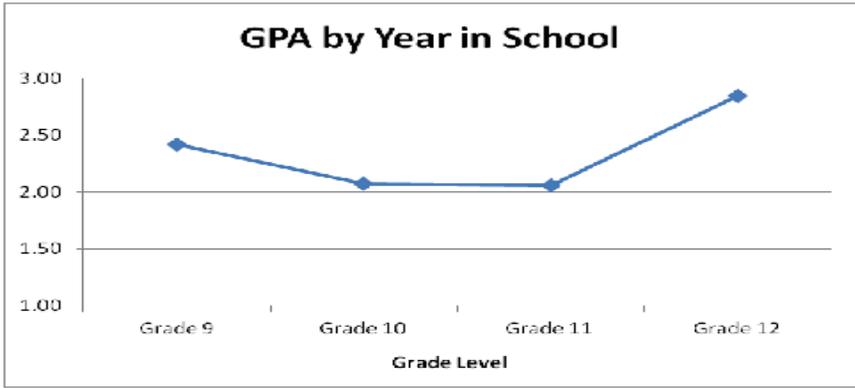


Figure 3. *Correlation scatterplot between school engagement and GPA.*

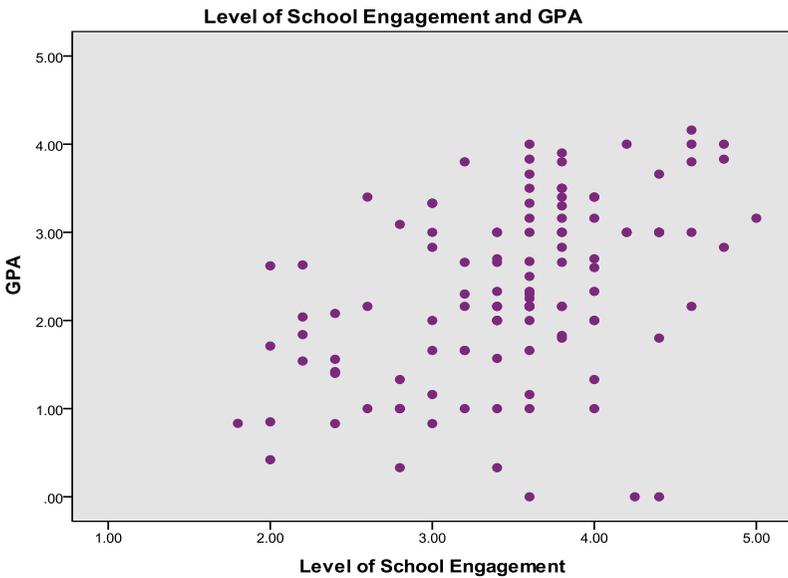


Table 1. *Degree of MEAP services provided.*

Area of Assistance	% of students requesting assistance	% of students who received requested assistance*
<u>Academic</u>		
High school course selection	32	55
Academic assistance	18	42
Study Skills	23	32
English Language skills	32	42
Mean	26.3	42.75
<u>Career & College</u>		
Junior college information	35	45
4-year college information	42	47
Career information	51	40
Trade or technical school information	17	17
Mean	36.3	37.25
<u>Personal/Social</u>		
Personal/social issues	11	20
Talking to your parents	7	20
Mean	9	20

*Out of 65 post questionnaires that were answered

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The Boys and Girls Club: Inspiring Its Members to Achieve an Academic Edu- cation

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The Boys and Girls Club of America

The Boys and Girls Clubs of America (BGCAS) is one of the leading community-based youth development organizations in the nation, with nearly 4,000 Clubs and serving some 4.1 million young people (bgca.org). Each specific clubhouse aims to provide youth with:

...a safe place to spend time during non-school hours and the summer as an alternative to the streets or being home alone. A chance to play, have fun, laugh and learn. Opportunities to build new skills that raise each child's belief that he or she can succeed and receive recognition for personal accomplishments. Ongoing relationships with caring adults and connections to new friends in a positive environment, reinforcing a sense of belonging, personal accountability, civility and civic responsibility. Generation-changing programs that support a commitment to learning, positive values, healthy habits and high expectations for success as an adult (Boys and Girls Club, 2011).

The mission of this organization is "to enable all young people, especially those who need us most, to reach their full potential as productive, caring, responsible citizens" (Boys and Girls Club, 2011). To meet this mission, the organization defines six core value areas including character/leadership, education/career, health/life skills, the arts, and sports/fitness.

The Boys and Girls Club

The Boys and Girls Club Marin and Southern Sonoma counties

In this study, I examined the Boys and Girls Club of Marin and Southern Sonoma County. The Boys and Girls Clubs of Marin and Southern Sonoma Counties serve more than 4,700 youth, ages 6 through 18. They provide a safe place where youth can interact with caring adults who help them to develop a sense of belonging, usefulness, influence and competence (petaluma-marinbgc.org). In this study, I focused on a small population of youth participating with the Boys and Girls Club of Marin and Southern Sonoma County in the Petaluma Downtown River Clubhouse. I chose to focus on this specific clubhouse because the youth that attend here are predominately ethnic minority youth whose parents did not attend college or have emigrated from another country.

My research will focus on how the Boys and Girls Club meets the core value of Education and Career. This area entails four areas that the Boys and Girls Club addresses in order to help each member successfully graduate from high school. The areas include having a partnership between parents, community, and school, increased school engagement, increased academic enrichment, and dropout prevention.

Youth Engagement

Engagement helps many youth feel connected to school and has been a key factor in high school dropout prevention. Archambault, Janosz, Morizot, and Pagani (2009) found that in the long run, many engaged and successful students will graduate from high school while others who remain alienated and disengaged, will eventually drop out. Archambault and colleagues found that adolescents at risk of dropping out reported more negative behavioral, affective, and cognitive differences that affected their high school experience. Research also suggests that civic engagement is important to prevent high school dropouts. Civic engagement not only helps adolescents to accomplish the developmental task of citizenship (Youniss et al., 1997)—it also is associated with positive youth development across a number of domains including involvement in extracurricular activities, avoidance of problem behaviors, enhanced

motivation, achievement in school, and positive connections with peers and family members.

Just as youth engagement has a positive effect on youth outcomes, youth disengagement, on the other hand, increases feelings of disconnectedness and increases the likelihood that students may withdraw before completing high school (Archambault, Janosz, Morizot, & Pagani, 2009). One role of the Boys and Girls Club is to teach youth ways to be engaged in the community and with their school. This organization does this by creating a partnership between the youth and their relationship with their family, community, school officials, friends and classmates.

Partnership between parents, community and school

Maintaining a close and healthy relationship with parents, friends, and school officials decreases the chances of dropping out of high school. In one study, researchers found that initiatives that aim to prevent student dropout by encouraging collaboration between schools and their surrounding communities can help keep students engaged in school and on track to graduation (Porowski and Passa, 2006). Research also suggests that success in school can be measured through the relationship between youth and family, particularly with young Hispanic adolescents and their mothers. Kaplan, Turner, and Badger (2007) studied what types of attitudes young Hispanic girls had towards their mothers and their school. They found that girls who felt that their mothers understood them were more likely to respect their mothers' points of view and were also more likely to have positive feelings toward school. Turner and colleagues (2002) found a strong relationship between more cohesive families and girls having higher self-esteem and less depression. These studies emphasize the importance of exploring the relationship between youth and their family.

Academics also play an important role in the equation of high school dropout prevention. For example, Yates and Youniss (1996) found that academically-minded, active adolescents may be attracted to school civic activities and the peer environment of civic engagement reinforces this commitment to school and school activities.

The Boys and Girls Club

Research indicates that civic activities help adolescents develop their values and beliefs and help them to develop socially as well.

Participation at The Boys and Girls Club

A key element in dropout prevention is youths' increased participation at the Boys and Girls Club. Research shows that being a member is only a piece of the puzzle; regular and consistent attendance shows the greatest benefits to youth.

Reviews of high-quality youth programs have shown that participation is associated with greater academic achievement, improved mental health, lower risk behaviors, and enhanced social competence (Catalano et al., 1999; Eccles & Gootman, 2002). Two predictors of increased club participation are: (1) presence of friends at the club and (2) parents' requirement of attendance. These findings are consistent with other research examining youths' motivation for participation, as peer relationships and friendships are important motivators underlying participation in youth development programs and sport (Quinn, 1999; Smith, 1999; Wankel & Sefton, 1989; Weiss & Ferrer-Caja, 2002). Youth participation at organizations like the Boys and Girls Club is influenced by peers' participation.

Research Question and Hypotheses

This study is exploring the core value area of Education and Career of the Boys and Girls Club, in particular high school prevention. Factors that influence high school prevention according to the Boys and Girls club include partnership between parents, community and school, school engagement and academic enrichment. Some questions this study explores are:

(1) How is partnership between parents, community and school, school engagement, and academic enrichment dealt with by these youth?

(2) Has the Boys and Girls Club been helpful at providing these youths the proper resources to decrease their chances of graduating high school?

Consistent with prior research, I hypothesize that club par-

ticipation will be important for both developing and maintaining friendships (Hirsch, 2005; Loder & Hirsch, 2003) as well as increasing youth engagement and academic interest.

Methods

Participants

The sample includes 11 youth [3 boys (27%), 8 girls (73%)] attending one club: Downtown River Petaluma Boys and Girls Club, which is part of Marin and Southern Sonoma County. The participants ranged in age from 12-18 years of age and were all enrolled in grades 8 - 12. This specific club is located in an affordable housing apartment complex. The participants that participated were all part of the program called Power Hour which is an hour allocated for homework set up by the Boys and Girls club. The ethnic background of the participants is as follows 10 (91%) identified Latino and 1(9%) identified as Black.

Procedure

Students participated in a college workshop where a survey was administered assessing the following topics: importance of activities, time spent in activities, time spent with social networks, and support from social networks. I began such workshop by asking participants to fill out a survey composed of 17 questions. The questions consisted of open answer and others on a scale ranging from 1 (not important) to 10 (very important). This survey took 10-15 minutes for each participant to fill out.

Results

School Life

The area of school involved two short answer questions that asked the youth if they were involved in school activities and after-school activities. Results showed that out of the 11 youth who participated in this survey only four (36%) reported participating in some

The Boys and Girls Club

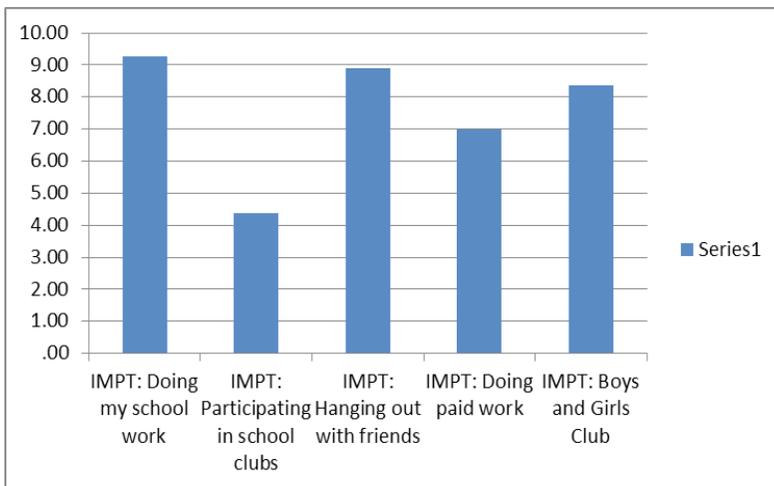
form of school activity, while the remaining eight (74%) reported no participation in a school activity. In terms of participation in after-school activities, six (55%) of the youth reported participation in this area while five (45%) reported none.

Importance of activities

Two follow-up questions were employed to predict which activities the youth felt were important and how much they actually spent on such activities. These two questions were asked on a scale of 1 (not important) to 10 (very important) and each was asked across five facets of school life, being: doing school work, participating in school clubs, hanging out with friends, doing paid work, and the boys and girls club. Five activities were chosen to measure how important these activities were to them. These specific activities were chosen since each portrays the most important aspects in predicting youth dropout prevention according to research

On average, youth as a whole reported on the importance of doing school work ($M = 9.27, SD = .91$), participating in school clubs ($M = 4.36, SD = 3.09$), hanging out with friends ($M = 8.91, SD = 1.51$), doing paid work ($M = 7.00, SD = 3.61$), Boys and Girls Club ($M = 8.36, SD = 2.20$).

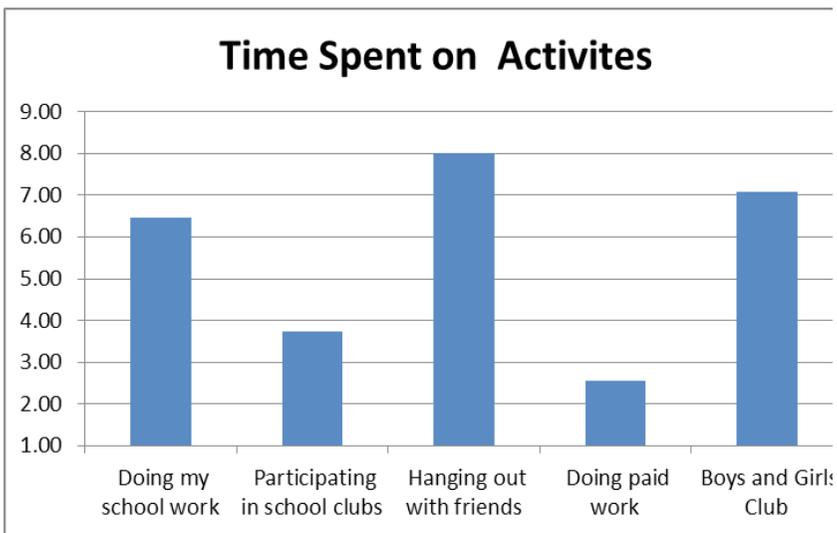
Figure 1. Results of the importance of activities according to youth



Time Spent participating in activities

The same activities chosen for the importance section were used to measure how much time was actually spent in each activity. The youth reported time spent in doing school work ($M = 6.45$, $SD = 2.3$), participating in school clubs ($M = 3.73$, $SD = 3.04$), hanging out with friends ($M = 8.00$, $SD = 2.86$), doing paid work ($M = 2.55$, $SD = 2.51$), Boys and Girls Club ($M = 7.09$, $SD = 2.91$).

Figure 2. *Results of the time spent on activities according to youth*



Relationship to Variables

Figures 1 and 2 display the means among youth across these five activities examined in this study. Several significant relationships were noted. Specifically there was a positive correlation in importance in doing school work and time spent at the Boys and Girls Club ($r(11) = .635$, $p = .036$). The more youth reported school work as important, the more they reported spending time at the Boys and Girls Club. Another positive correlation was found in importance in participating in school clubs and time spent participating in school clubs ($r(11) = .833$, $p = .001$): the more important youth reported it was to participate in school clubs, the more time youth reported

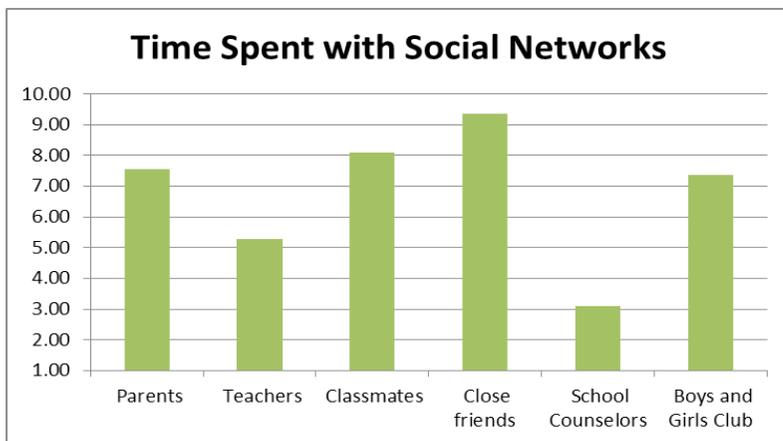
The Boys and Girls Club

spending participating in school clubs. The most important significant correlation in this section was a positive relationship between importance in hanging out with friends and time spent hanging out with friends ($r(11) = .877, p = .000$): the more important youth felt it was to hang out with friends, the more they reported spending time with friends. Overall activity of paid work did not correlate in response to the other activities.

Time spent with social network

Youth were asked to rate on a scale from 1 (not a lot of time) to 10 (a lot of time) spent across five areas: parents, teachers, and classmates, close friends, school counselors, Boys and Girls Club. These five areas were chosen due to their immense impact in predicting a healthy relationship for youth to have and a great predictor of youth graduating high school. Youth reported that they spent ($M = 7.55, SD = 2.02$) with parents, ($M = 5.27, SD = 2.37$) with teachers, ($M = 8.09, SD = 1.58$) with classmates, ($M = 9.36, SD = 1.21$) with close friends, ($M = 3.09, SD = 2.81$) with school counselors, and ($M = 7.36, SD = 2.98$) with The Boys and Girls Club.

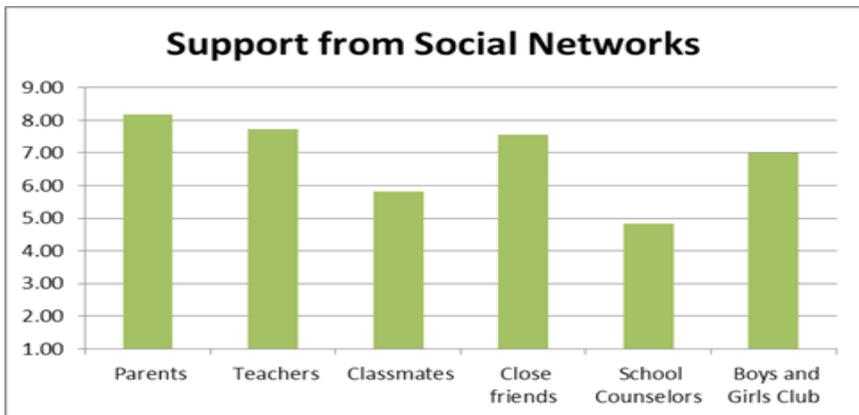
Figure 3. Means of time spent youth reported spending with social networks



Support from Social Network

The same areas used to describe time spent with social networks were used in the question of actual support these youth reported feeling. On a scale from 1 (not at all supported) to 10 (extremely supported), youth were asked to rate the amount of support they felt they were receiving from each of these five areas. When asked how supported they felt across their social network youth reported ($M = 8.18$, $SD = 2.64$) from parents, ($M = 7.73$, $SD = 3.55$) from Teachers, ($M = 5.82$, $SD = 2.82$) from classmates, ($M = 7.55$, $SD = 3.24$) from close friends, ($M = 4.82$, $SD = 2.96$) from school counselors, and ($M = 7.00$, $SD = 3.85$) from Boys and Girls Club.

Figure 4. Means of support youth reported having from different sources



Relationship among variables

Figures 3 and 4 display the means among youth across five different sources of the youth Social Network examined in this study. Several significant relationships were noted. Specifically there was a positive correlation between time spent at the Boys and Girls Club and the support youth reported having from the Boys and Girls Club ($r(11) = .699$, $p = .017$): the more time youth reported spending at the Boys and Girls Club, the more support youth reported having from the Boys and Girls Club. There was also a positive correlation between time youth reported spending with close friends and the amount of support they reported having from close friends

($r(11) = .610, p = .046$): the more time youth reported spending with close friends, the more support they reported having from their close friends. An interesting positive correlation between the support youth felt they received from The Boys and Girls Club and the time spent with teachers ($r(11) = .614, p = .044$): the more support youth reported receiving from the Boys and Girls Club, the more time they reported spending with their teachers. Overall these areas of the youths social networks impacted them except the source of school counselors, youth reported both spending the least amount of time with them and receiving the least amount of support in comparison to the other areas.

Discussion

This study was designed to address the different areas the Boys and Girls Club addresses as key in the prevention of youth high school dropout rates. The results provide information about the ways the different areas impact the youth's life and the motives behind graduating high school. This study also provides a sense of the people and activities that are currently playing key roles in the youth at this specific Boys and Girls Club cite.

Furthermore, the results of this study suggest that activities like hanging out with friends, engaging with the Boys and Girls Club, and participating in school clubs are both important and the areas where these youth are currently reporting spending most of their time. Based on these results, the Boys and Girls Club plays a large role in the lives of these youth. For example, youth rated the importance of Boys and Girl Club as an 8 out of 10 and also spent a lot of time at Boys and Girls Club and felt highly supported (average: 7 out of 10). Interestingly, the more supportive youth felt Boys and Girls Club was, the more time youth reported spending with their teacher. These findings confirm research done on the Boys and Girls Club which states that evaluations of community-based organizations have also illustrated the importance of developing quality relationships with staff and having peers who attend the program in both initial participation and retention (Vandell et al., 2004; Walker & Arbretton, 2004). In order for the Boys and Girls Club to be effective, participation is a proven key to get the positive outcomes of

being a member of this organization.

Additionally there was a significant relationship in that the more important youth reported it was to hang out with friends the more they reported spending time with friends. Based on these results, close friends play a huge role in the lives of these youth. Their friends in a way dictate many outcomes these youth can experience, one being participation and attendance at the Boys and Girls Club. Lots of research supports that youth engagement in after school programs is determined by whether their friends attend. The research specifically conducted with the Boys and Girls Club suggests that most youth enjoyed spending time with their friends at the club and talked about how their peers provided academic support, emotional support, and helped them to avoid negative behaviors. These findings indicate that peers play a critical role in both attracting youth to clubs and keeping them coming back (Hirsch, 2005; Lauer & Little, 2005). Hanging out with other youth who attend the Boys and Girls Club puts them at greater chances of success.

Additionally, these findings point to specific activities that these youth find important and spent time with while also getting at specific people who they spent time with and who they find supportive. This study points at two important aspects of the youth that are important for their success: (1) participation at the Boys and Girls club indicates just how affective their program is in the lives of these youth and (2) youth reported a strong relationship across support and time spent with parents, teachers, close friends, classmates, and Boys and Girls Club. The one exception was with school counselors who were rated low in both support and time spent by these youth. This study suggests that the Boys and Girls Club strategies to prevent youth from dropping out are effective at this site and are some indicators of the future completion of high school by these youth.

Limitations

Despite the encouraging findings, there are several limitations that need to be acknowledged. The study relied on youths' self-report and the responses provided by a one-time survey. No follow up survey was administered to point out differences in responses or new data. This data used correlations; therefore, relationships can-

The Boys and Girls Club

not be interpreted in terms of causation. What is simply known is that there is a relationship between youth report of importance of activities and the time spent in them while also pointing to support received from their social network and the time spent with them. There is no interpretation why youth reported higher means in comparison to others that scored low. This data could not be generalized to the public at large due to the small sample size attained.

Future Directions

Future research should explore how school counselors interact and provide support to their students. Currently, youth feel less supported and this has negative implications for their academic success.

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Social Work as a Profession: Motivations and Career Satisfaction among Social Workers in the United States and South Africa

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Research Mentor: Sheila Katz, Ph.D.

Using ten in-depth interviews from social workers in Port Elizabeth, South Africa and Sonoma County, California, this research paper explores the motivations towards a career in social work, career satisfaction within the profession, and how social workers alleviate burnout. This paper also discusses how social work embodies the cultural aspects of the American Dream and Ubuntu—"I am what I am because of who we all are." I aim to learn whether or not the differences in an individualistic attitude and a collective attitude affect motivations toward a career in social work, and how these different definitions of achieving one's dreams take part in career satisfaction and burnout. Majority of the participants entered social work because: they had an encounter with a social worker or because they wanted to help people. They discussed that their profession provided autonomy, intrinsic rewards, and mobility, which can suggest high career satisfaction. Unrecognized professionalism, low pay, and work and home conflict led to some career dissatisfaction. The participants reported techniques of lessening stress through work-home balance strategies, intrapersonal intelligence, and support from work. I find that the social work profession's core values represent the African philosophy Ubuntu. Implementations of Ubuntu lead to career satisfaction. The American social workers do not share similar values in the American Dream. The American participants argue that they do not need the material items or monetary gain to think they are successful.

Social work originated from industrialized Europe and North America, as attempts were made to respond to the societal needs of the time. The profession soon spread across western and southern countries including South Africa, where it followed similar trends (Mazibuko and Gray 2004). The National Association of Social

Workers' Code of Ethics states, "The primary mission of the social work profession is to enhance human wellbeing and help meet the basic human needs of all people, with particular attention to the needs and empowerment of people who are vulnerable, oppressed, and living in poverty" (2012). This paper explores the factors that motivate people to do this type of work. Social work is not a profession that most people want to enter because of the high demand of emotional labor. Hochschild defines emotional labor as the management of feeling to create a publicly observable facial and bodily display (2006:71). Since this career is demanding, do social workers demonstrate high career satisfaction? What creates career dissatisfaction? How do social workers reduce stress and burnout? South Africa is a developing country that is characterized by many social problems: poverty, unemployment, crime, and HIV/AIDS (Oliphant, Templeman, and Baranov 2001). My central research question is: what are the perspectives of social workers in the United States and South Africa on motivations, career satisfaction, and burnout? In what ways are they similar and different?

Another aspect of this project is exploring how social work embodies the cultural concepts of the American Dream and Ubuntu. The benefit of having high career satisfaction and low burnout leads people to believe in the attainment of the American Dream. The principles of the American Dream suggest that everyone can achieve their dream, one may anticipate success, success is personal, and success is associated with virtue (Hochschild 1995).

The American Dream can then be seen as an individual's journey. He or she must achieve their dream on their own and at their own will. However, the mindset of South Africans is on the opposite end of the spectrum of what determines success. South Africans believe in a philosophy called Ubuntu: the notion that "I am what I am because of who we all are." Ubuntu signifies an indigenous African philosophy of management that captures the complex social relations among people, highlighting why it is important to care for them as though they were members of one's own family. It reflects the sense of responsibility that Africans have toward each other (Kamoche 2007). One's success story is dependent upon one's community support. Do the differences in an individualistic attitude and a collective attitude affect motivations towards a career in so-

cial work? And how do these different definitions of achieving one's dreams take part in career satisfaction and burnout?

I will discuss how the social work profession formed in the United States and South Africa. Further, how the social work profession is today. Then I will give a background on research that has studied social workers' motivations towards their career, and career satisfaction and dissatisfaction within the profession. Additionally, I demonstrate the limits of previous research and why I chose qualitative in-depth interviews as my method. Lastly, I illustrate the contrasting ideas of the American Dream and Ubuntu.

History of Social Work in the United States

The modern social work profession emerged from two major movements—the Charity Organization Societies and the Settlement House Movements. The Charity Organization Society (COS), founded by Mary Richmond, was the precursor to the development of micro social work practice. Dissatisfied with the methods sponsored by many religious organizations, Richmond sought to bring accountability to social welfare by applying scientific analysis to social casework. Richmond developed assessment procedures and trained her colleagues to collect information on each family's situation. The COS then provided minimal social provisions based on established need (Vincent 2008).

Unlike micro social work, the Settlement House Movement, led by Jane Addams, established the origins of macro social work practice. Addams and her contemporaries established settlement houses in impoverished communities and sought to provide both social provisions and start social reforms. Social provisions consisted of teaching residents vocational skills, social mores, and providing cultural experiences. Based on information gathered from community residents, the leaders of the Settlement House Movement also engaged in social action that led to Progressive Era reforms in areas such as labor, housing, and child welfare (Vincent 2008).

The 1915 National Conference of Charities and Correction was a movement in the profession that developed private social service agencies. These agencies became the primary settings in which social workers of the time practiced. The structure of the social ser-

vice agency became the vehicle for a profession moving from informal volunteerism toward a science-based profession (Vincent 2008). Further, the Great Depression allowed social workers to see firsthand the national devastation brought on by the stock market crash of 1929. The Great Depression prompted a systematic governmental response to increasing social welfare concerns. President Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal established Social Security in 1935. Social Security and Aid to Dependent Children (ADC) laid the foundations for the U.S. modern federal welfare state (Botchwey 2006). ADC began as a small program in which the federal government provided cash allowances to aid widows, orphans, divorcées, or deserted mothers and their children. Roosevelt's New Deal was the first time the government acted as a primary contributor in the delivery of social services to the poor. Social welfare soon went beyond financial relief to the poor to include housing, rural problems, recreation and cultural activities, child welfare programs, and diverse forms of social insurance to all Americans (Botchwey 2006). These expansions were later materialized by the Johnson administration's response to increased rates of national poverty in the 1960s that culminated in the declaration of a "War on Poverty" (Botchwey 2006). This led to the establishment of Medicare, Medicaid, public housing, food and nutrition programs, and more child welfare and other programs (Botchwey 2006).

The Civil Rights Movement and President Lyndon Johnson's War on Poverty triggered the profession to undergo a radical change. The Civil Rights Movement forced the profession to examine its own collective perspective on issues of race/ethnicity, class, and gender (Vincent 2008). Social workers joined the movements of social activism that sought to confront the problems of racism and poverty. Johnson's War on Poverty, like Roosevelt's New Deal, was an opportunity for social workers to emerge as leaders in the development of antipoverty programs. Federal policies and programs also sparked the emergence of community organizing as an important social work practice modality. Community practice sought to empower poor, oppressed neighborhoods toward social and economic development (Vincent 2008).

However, the liberalism of the U.S. welfare system was stopped by the more conservative administrations in the 1970s and

1980s. These conservative administrations limited federal welfare spending and began dispersing social welfare responsibilities to the state level. Much of America's welfare state remained largely unchanged until 1996, when the Clinton administration enacted "welfare reform" (Botchwey 2006). This legislation replaced AFDC with TANF (Temporary Assistance for Needy Families), restricting entitlement to public welfare to individuals following strict work and personal behavior change requirements and program time limits (Botchwey 2006). With the loss of political support, the social work profession returned to its emphasis on micro level practice, including clinical therapeutic and case management services (Vincent 2008).

History of Social Work in South Africa

As early as 1657 the Dutch Reformed Church and the Dutch East India Company distributed relief in South Africa to impoverished white farmers (Boers) whose crops failed. However, the Dutch settlers were less likely to provide relief to indigenous Africans, since the racial attitudes of these early settlers reflected a Calvinist belief in predestination and a belief that they were a chosen and superior people. The Dutch settlers' expressions of supremacy were further manifested by their adverse opinions of Africans and the traditional African customs of social organization associated with marriage, religion and child-rearing. As social welfare services for whites progressed under the authority of the Dutch Reformed Church, institutional welfare resources for children and persons with disabilities were also established, but the church still neglected the indigenous population (Brown and Neku 2005).

The process of industrialization and urbanization resulted in increased poverty and the formulation of national welfare planning for whites through the coordination of church and voluntary initiatives. Blacks, particularly women residing in urban areas, created their own self-help and voluntary associations that reduced the risk of destitution and the impact of the government's discriminatory policies upon their survival (Brown and Neku 2005). But these voluntary associations were still not enough to meet the needs of the Black population.

By 1948 the practices of inequality and unfairness in the treat-

ment of Blacks were grounded in the social welfare system under the rule of the National Party with its apartheid regime. The Nationalist government implemented a policy of separate development in general and specifically in the area of social welfare. This would be disempowering and disenfranchising to Blacks for 46 years (1948–94). Welfare services were distributed according to race. This perpetuated discrimination, so that Blacks, who had the greatest need, received the smallest portion of the welfare budget and were least likely to have access to infrastructure such as housing, running water, and electricity (Mamphiswana and Noyoo 2000). The decentralization of welfare services also resulted in the development of conflicting standards among welfare departments (Brown and Neku 2005).

For Black South Africans, the introduction of apartheid resulted in economic marginalization, disempowerment, humiliation, and organized resistance (Hornsey 2009). Intellectuals such as Steve Biko drew inspiration from the Black Power movement in the United States and worked to develop Black pride and nonviolent opposition to apartheid in Black South Africans. Advocates of Black consciousness reinforced the notion that Blacks must stop their psychological subservience to, and economic dependency on Whites, and that Blacks should ultimately rule South Africa. The African National Congress (ANC) led by Nelson Mandela supported this new Black consciousness movement (Hornsey 2009).

In response, the Nationalist government created an army of police and intelligence agents to dismantle the new resistance. From the mid-1970s, a number of protests and rebellions broke out in Black townships (Hornsey 2009). In the 1980s, the energies of the ANC gradually moved from armed resistance to collective protest and mobilization. South Africa experienced an unprecedented wave of marches, riots, and boycotts, this time with significant support from Indian South Africans and international media and activists (Hornsey 2009).

Following decades of civil unrest that resulted in thousands of people being brutally tortured, murdered and imprisoned, South Africa held its first nonracial democratic elections in 1994. The event marked the end of the apartheid regime of the National Party and the beginning of government under the ANC and President Nelson Mandela. In the new democratic political period, South Africa began

to transform its social welfare system. Political activists, religious organizations, community leaders and social workers worked vigorously to change apartheid social welfare policies in which injustice was the norm (Brown and Neku 2005).

Historically, the South African social welfare system had been both residual and selective, that is, it provided emergency assistance for specific segments of the population, which was designed to maintain the preferential treatment of white people. This was replaced with a social development model—a delivery approach that engages communities in finding solutions to needs and problems. The concept is further defined as a method that relies on advocacy strategies and builds on various structures that emanate from local initiatives. Social development is also viewed as a method for removing societal imbalances and meeting the needs of the country's poorest groups through the development of programs such as universal literacy, preventive health initiatives, housing development and population planning (Brown and Neku 2005).

The United States and South Africa's social work histories both developed from European models. Social work changed from volunteering and charity works to a nationally recognized profession. But the United States decided to focus more on individual social work in case work and therapy, whereas South Africa turned to national policies and working through macro level planning. The two different histories demonstrate the individualism in the United States and collectivism in South Africa.

The Social Work Profession Today

Social workers are currently practicing in an extremely complex world. They need to understand the forces of globalization to connect with their international colleagues, and to represent themselves in an informed fashion in international circles (Hare 2004:408). Midgley has defined globalization as “a process of global integration in which diverse peoples, economies, cultures, and political processes are increasingly subjected to international influences” (1997:xi). Within this complex network of factors, social work has many roles to play. Foremost among these is the promotion of social development (Hare 2004:408). The contemporary social develop-

ment perspective focuses on the integration of economic and social policy. According to Midgley, “economic development should be inclusive, integrated and sustainable and bring benefits to all; and secondly . . . social welfare should be investment oriented, seeking to enhance human capacities to participate in the productive economy” (2000:24).

Across the globe, there are wide variations in social work practice, from clinical social work, sometimes in private practice settings, to community organization, social policy and planning, and social development. What emerged from the combination of methodologies is a core concept of person-in-environment. The central organizing and unifying concept of social work universally is the intervention at the interface of human beings and their environments, both physical and social (Hare 2004:409).

Adequate assessment in social work requires seeing the full transactional situation all at once. The practice setting, the field of practice, the behavioral roots of the problem, and the larger socio-cultural factors are among the numerous facets of every case (Hare 2004). For adequate assessment to succeed, social work has encompassed three core ideas: evidence-based knowledge, indigenous knowledge, and bio-psychosocial factors. Evidence-based knowledge envisions a scientifically based social work that uses the best available evidence to guide practice decisions (Hare 2004:415). Indigenous knowledge implies adapting imported ideas to fit local needs and modifying social work roles to become appropriate to the needs of different countries (Hall 1990:9). Lastly, social workers need to consider bio-psychosocial factors. Given such advances as deciphering the human genome, stem cell research, organ transplantation and reproductive technology, social workers must have the knowledge to participate in client decision-making and ethical debates occasioned by these developments (Hare 2004).

In the world of the 21st century, challenged by globalization and a widening gap between rich and poor, social work, with its holistic focus on the complexities of people interacting with their environments, has much to offer. It encompasses a wide range of methodologies, from clinical interventions with individuals, families and small groups, to community-based interventions, policy practice and social development (Hare 2004). Throughout the last century it

has been debated whether or not social work should remain a semi-profession or a fully developed profession. Currently there are also those who consider that social work is a group of professions rather than a unitary entity (Hare 2004).

Motivations Towards a Career in Social Work

The purpose of my research is to explore the motivations of: why people choose social work as a career (Freeman 2007; Furness 2007; Jensen and Aamodt 2002; Warde 2009), What is the career satisfaction rate within social work (Cole, Panchanadeswaran, and Dainin 2004; Himle, Jayarante, and Thyness 1986) and how do social workers deal with the burnout (Cordes and Dougherty 1993; England and Folbre 2006; Hochschild 2006). But before any of those research questions can be addressed, it is appropriate to understand the concept of care/emotional labor (England and Folbre 2006; Hochschild 2006).

Care is often defined as showing concern for other people, especially dependents —children, elderly, and the sick. But what is often overlooked is the fact that caring is work. Care labor requires personal attention. Face-to-face services are offered to people who cannot clearly express their own needs (England and Folbre 2006:498). Although care work is more intrinsically rewarding, it causes frustration to the workers. Care work forces the person to engage in emotional labor. The worker is obligated to “be polite, encouraging, and cheerful, whether they feel that way or not” (England and Folbre 2006:498-499).

Most people go into social work for reasons other than financial (Freeman 2007). Freeman found that people go into social work for spiritual reasons, “People who choose to serve and advocate for others as social workers do so because they perceive it as a calling or vocation” (2007:277). Most of the studies reported that intrinsic rewards outweighed extrinsic rewards (Freeman 2007; Furness 2007; Jensen and Aamodt 2002; Warde 2009). Intrinsic rewards attach importance to the work itself, valuing work for its inherent interest and importance. Extrinsic rewards focus on instrumental resources that are separate from the meaning of work: income, prestige, and security. (Jensen and Aamodt 2002). Three articles agreed that people

become social workers because they want to give back to their community, they have had experience with a social worker, or they felt that it was just a part of their personality (Furness 2007; Jensen and Aamodt 2002; Warde 2009).

A growing body of literature suggests that persons choosing careers in the helping professions have different family backgrounds than those in other types of careers (Lackie 1983; Marsh 1988; Russel et al. 1993). Russel et al. found that Masters of Social Work (MSW) students, more frequently than other graduate students, came from families in which alcohol or drug abuse was a problem, and that 73 % had experienced one or more problems that defined a dysfunctional family, a figure significantly greater than the comparable percentage for graduate students in education or business (1983). Marsh (1988) compared certain life events in the family backgrounds of 60 social work and 73 business undergraduate students from a small Midwestern college. There were notable contrasts with regard to addiction. Using subject-generated genograms to collect data on three generations of addictive and compulsive behaviors, Marsh found that social work students had an average of one alcoholic for every five family members. By comparison, the average for business students was one alcoholic for every ten family members. Moreover, 80% of the social work students, but only 59% of the business students, had an alcoholic family member. Addiction to a drug other than alcohol was reported twice as often in the families of social work students as in the families of business students (Rompf and Royse 1994).

Similarly, Lackie (1983) surveyed 1,577 social workers with master's degrees (alumni of the Smith College for Social Work) and found that 61% experienced stressful family situations while growing up. Stressful environments included any of the following: parents overly dependent on children; scarce financial resources; constant, open fighting between parents; one or both parents emotionally absent; considerable denial, depression, distance, or anxiety; or a crisis orientation to life. Forty percent of the respondents stated that their parents expected too much or too little of them, and forty-two percent said that they would not want others to have their family experiences. Lackie concluded that many social workers become caretakers early in their lives (1983).

Career Satisfaction

There have been studies on how social workers perceive their jobs, and whether or not they demonstrate high career satisfaction (Cole et al. 2004; Himle et al. 1986). Parker states “people with high career satisfaction experience a pleasurable or positive emotional state when they think about their job or job experiences” (2006). In the two articles, supportive supervision, autonomy, opportunities for mobilization, and flexibility led to high satisfaction (Cole et al. 2004; Himle et al. 1986). Cole et al. conducted a simple random sample of 500 social workers using a self-administered mailed survey (2004). They received 232 of the surveys, which produced a response rate of 42%. The study viewed information regarding perceived quality of supervision, perceived workload, perceived efficacy, intent to leave, and career satisfaction. Cole et al. concluded that perceived workload was predictive of career satisfaction within social work; higher levels of workload related to less career satisfaction (2004:8). The researchers also found that supportive supervision related to higher levels of career satisfaction (Cole et al. 2004:8). A unique finding suggested that perceived efficacy mediated perceived workload (Cole et al. 2004:8). When social workers feel they are able to elicit positive change with clients and have made meaningful contributions at work, they are satisfied with their job regardless of the level of workload (Cole et al. 2004:8).

Himel et al. conducted a cross-cultural comparison of social work in the United States and Norway (1986). In the Norwegian study, a sample size of 399 social workers was randomly drawn, and they were mailed a twelve-page questionnaire; there was a response rate of 54%. In the American study, a sample size of 639 social workers was randomly drawn, and they were mailed a ten-page questionnaire; the response rate was 72.7%. Himle et al. found that increased levels of challenge, freedom to decide how to work with clients, and the ability to see the results of one’s efforts all contributed to increased levels of career satisfaction (1986:329).

Career Dissatisfaction—Burnout

Career dissatisfaction has been attributed to lack of support from family members, lack of an adequate supervisor, and high

workload (Himle et al. 1986). Career dissatisfaction also increases because of poor salary, lack of support from co-workers, and negative feelings of personal accomplishment (Cole et al. 2004). These career dissatisfactions lead to higher levels of stress, which can eventually cause burnout. Burnout describes feelings of emotional overload, mental exhaustion, or cynical reaction to those needing help in the human service fields (Maslach, Schaufeli, and Leiter 2001). Burnout is usually studied using the three-dimension model introduced by Maslach et al. (2001). The model consists of emotional exhaustion, depersonalization, and a reduced sense of personal accomplishment (Maslach et al. 2001). Emotional exhaustion refers to feelings of being emotionally and psychologically drained and overextended by one's work (Maslach 2001). The second element is depersonalization, which occurs when workers become cynical and detached from their work environment and those in need of their services (Maslach et al. 2001). The final burnout component is inversely related to emotional exhaustion and depersonalization and is characterized by a reduced sense of personal accomplishment in the work environment. According to Maslach et al. (2001), the personal accomplishment dimension is the self-evaluation aspect of burnout and is described as a feeling of ineffectiveness, incompetence, and a lack of achievement. Burnout can significantly impact worker morale and effectiveness of a social worker.

For most working adults, the two major aspects of their lives are work and home. Often, these two indispensable spheres of adult life present conflicting situations. Some adults are able to keep these two aspects balanced and separate, but for many others this is not possible. The two domains collide and conflict with one another. This conflict is known as work-family conflict (Lambert et al. 2006). Work-family conflict can be divided into three types: time-based conflict, strain-based conflict, and behavior-based conflict. Time based conflict arises when the amount of time an employee spends at work or the scheduling of work hours interferes with his/her social and/or family responsibilities. This conflict appears to be common, as many workers are required to either adjust work shifts/hours or to work overtime. A second source is strain-based conflict that results from stressful situations at work causing the employee to suffer from tension, fatigue, irritability, excitability, depression, and/or shock,

which ultimately affect the person's social and/or family life. The third source of work-family conflict is behavior-based conflict. Here, the work-family roles are not in agreement with one another. Thus, this form of work-family conflict occurs because of role incompatibility. Behavior-based conflict can be further broken down into two subtypes. The first subtype refers to work roles that cause conflict at home. Social workers may be required to learn roles at work that are not necessarily appropriate in social and family life. For example, social and human service workers may treat their spouses, children, and/or friends as clients and impose unrequested treatment or intervention. The second subtype refers to family/home roles that are used at work. Sometimes roles used at home may not be appropriate at work. For example, social and human service employees with young children may use similar parent roles at work by treating their adult clients as children (Lambert et al. 2006:58).

Gaps in Existing Literature

Most studies that explored motivations towards social work, career satisfaction and burnout used surveys and questionnaires (Cole et al. 2004; Freeman 2007; Furness 2007; Himle et al. 1986; Jensen and Aamodt 2002). The researchers utilized sampling techniques such as random, convenience, and purposive sampling. There are few limitations when using surveys and questionnaires. There could be a difference between respondents and non-respondents to the surveys because they were conducted on a voluntarily basis. The surveys received a response rate between 45-55%. Although that is a high response rate compared to other studies, a higher response rate is always more desirable. Since the studies used surveys, the participants did not provide the researchers in-depth answers. Warde conducted his research of motivations through focus groups (2009). He used purposive sampling because he was interested in minority male's motivations to become social workers. He conducted one focus group with seven participants. Although he received detailed explanations to his questions, he had a very small sample size. The participants were not random which is not a good representation of the larger population. Also the respondents could have felt pressured to answer questions similarly because they were all recorded together.

The geography of previous studies lacks a focus on South African social work. This research compares and contrasts the social work profession in the United States and South Africa. This paper also argues the differences of the American Dream and Ubuntu, and how the notions of Ubuntu are more representative in social work.

American Dream and Ubuntu

The idea of the American dream has been attached to everything from religious freedom to a home in the suburbs, and it has inspired emotions ranging from deep satisfaction to disillusioned fury. Nevertheless, Americans believe the United States is a country where anything can happen (Hochschild 1995:15). The American dream consists of four tenets about achieving success. I will later discuss all four tenets, but first success needs to be defined. People most often define success as the attainment of a high income, a prestigious job, and economic security (Hochschild 1995:15). According to Hochschild, success can be measured in at least three ways (1995). First, it can be absolute. In this case, achieving the American Dream implies reaching some threshold of well-being, higher than where one began. Second, success can be relative. Here achieving the American Dream consists in becoming better off than some comparison point, whether it be one's childhood, one's neighbors, or another race or gender—anything or anyone that one measures oneself against. Success can, alternatively, be competitive—achieving victory over someone else; my success implies your failure. Competitors are usually people, both known and concrete (opponents in a tennis match) or unknown and abstract (all other applicants for a job) (Hochschild 1995:16).

The first tenet suggests that everyone may always pursue his or her dream. Two-thirds of the poor are certain that Americans like themselves “have a good chance of improving our standard of living,” and up to three times as many Americans as Europeans make that claim. In effect, Americans believe that they can create a personal success story that will rid them of their past and invent a better future (Hochschild 1995:18-19). This tenet assumes equal access to the pursuit of success. However, for most of American History, women, minorities, and poor Americans have been given few possibilities for

success due to the structural inequalities that exist. The second tenet is that one may reasonably anticipate success (Hochschild 1995:19). This tenet assumes that there are enough resources and opportunities for everyone to have a reasonable chance of having their expectations met. But American resources are not allocated equally. The third tenet explains how one is to achieve the success that one anticipates. Americans believe in rewarding people according to their talents and accomplishments rather than their needs. Hochschild states that in 1952, 88 % of Americans agreed that “there is plenty of opportunity and anyone who works hard can go as far as he wants”; in 1980, 70 percent agreed (1995:23). Success results from actions and traits under one’s control, but if one can claim responsibility for success, then one must accept responsibility for failure.

The pursuit of success is associated with virtue. This association implies four factors: virtue leads to success, success makes a person virtuous, success indicates virtue, or apparent success is not real success unless one is also virtuous (Hochschild 1995:23). This means that failure can imply sin. If a person is not successful, then they must not be moral, worthy, or honorable.

Ubuntu is a multidimensional concept that represents the core values of African philosophies: respect for any human being, for human dignity and for human life, humility, solidarity, caring, interdependence, and communalism. The essence of Ubuntu is that an individual owes his or her existence to the existence of others: “I am what I am because of who we all are.” This interpersonal character of Ubuntu is the source of many of its distinctive virtues such as patience, hospitality, loyalty, respect, sympathy, obedience, and sharing (Kamwangamalu 1999:24).

Ubuntu is a value system, which governs societies across the African continent. These values are not innate but are acquired in society and are transmitted from one generation to another by means of proverbs, myths, riddles, and story-telling. The two main values of Ubuntu are communalism and interdependence (Kamwangamalu 1999:24)

Communalism means the interest of the individual is subordinate to that of the group. In other words, the group constitutes the focus of the activities of the individual members of the society at large. Communalism insists that the welfare of each is dependent

on the welfare of all. In South Africa, communalism is a strong and binding network of relationships. Children, for example, belong not only to their biological parents, but are also under the authority and control of any adult in the community. Kinship terms attest to the nature of the relationships that bind the members of a community together. In South Africa, a member of a community can use the term *sisi* (sister), for instance, to refer to any female and not necessarily to one's sibling. Similarly, children are taught from young age that they must refer to anyone who is the same age as their father/mother as *Tata/Mama* (father/mother), and never to call such people by their names, as this would be considered disrespectful (Kamwangamalu 1999:24).

As one can see there is a distinct difference between the American Dream's individualism and Ubuntu's collectivism. Durkheim explains this difference further in his theory of division of labor. Organic solidarity, which Durkheim (1997) contrasts with mechanic solidarity, is intended as an explanation for how modern societies, with people specializing in so many different areas, hold together. What it entails, is that these societies hold together because their members exchange services with one another, e.g. a farmer exchanges his produce with the teacher who, in return, educates his children. People in organic societies such as Americans only work together for the benefit of themselves rather than for the community. On the other hand, mechanic solidarity, which corresponds to communalism in the Ubuntu system, "is a practice according to which traditional societies held together because the shared beliefs and understandings of a people constituted their collective consciousness, and this collective consciousness governed their thoughts, attitudes, and practices" (Griswold 1994:46).

For the purpose of my research, I discuss whether or not the American Dream and Ubuntu have a role in a social worker's motivations towards a career in social work. And I also look at whether or not individualistic cultures or collective cultures affect career satisfaction and dissatisfaction among social workers.

Methods

Through ten qualitative in-depth interviews I explored the motivations towards a career in social work and career satisfaction and dissatisfaction within the profession. I conducted qualitative research in Port Elizabeth, South Africa and Sonoma County, California from February 2011 through March 2012 with five social workers from Port Elizabeth and five social workers from Sonoma County. The interviews were in a semi-structured format. I designed the interviews ahead of time but modified the interview for each participant; for example, I had a few closed-ended questions with more open-ended questions at the core of the interview (Adler and Clark 2008:272). In-depth interviews allowed me to understand how my participants subjectively see their career and make sense of their lives (Adler and Clark 2008:270). Qualitative interviews also gave me the insight into the meanings of the participants' everyday lives by exploring with them their practices, roles, and attitudes towards their career. I was able to ask the participants to explain and elaborate on a concept or idea. This research will add to previous research because my study permitted the social worker to explain his or her career satisfaction and burnout strategies in a thorough manner. The participants were able to tell me my results instead of me going through surveys and picking out results.

I recruited my South African participants through convenience sampling: subjects were selected because of their convenient accessibility and proximity to me (Adler and Clark 2008:118). Due to lack of my own transportation and the safety of the city, I chose to interview social workers that were in a 10-mile radius of where I lived and were on streets that I could easily access. I met the social workers through my social work professor in Port Elizabeth. The American participants were recruited through snowball and purposive sampling. I asked a social worker from a previous interview to put me in contact with other social workers in a way consistent with snowball sampling (Adler and Clark 2008:122). The social workers were from different fields and have been a social worker for at least five years. This level of experience in social work enables them to talk about their experiences in detail consistent with purposive sampling (Adler and Clark 2008:121).

Of the five interviewees from South Africa, three of them worked with reoffending offenders, one worked in couples counseling, and one worked in macro planning. Four of the social workers identified as “Coloured”—a person of racially mixed parentage or descent. Under apartheid, “Coloured” was imposed as an official racial designation. However, in modern use the term is not generally considered offensive or derogatory (Oxford Dictionaries 2012). Further, one social worker identified as White. Four of the social workers were female and one was male. Their ages ranged from 25-43, with a median age of 33. Refer to Participants’ Demographic Table in the Appendix for more detail.

The five American social workers include one social worker in Veteran Affairs, one high school social worker, and three social workers that work in Child Welfare. Three of the social workers identified as white and two identified as mixed race. All five social workers were female. Their ages ranged from 28-56, with a median age of 40. Refer to Participants’ Demographic Table in the Appendix for more detail. Each participant’s name was replaced with a pseudonym at every stage in the research process. All interviews were audio recorded and transcribed verbatim; I performed qualitative analysis according to Grounded Theory methodology (Charmaz 2006). Code lists were developed through open coding, line-by-line coding, and focused coding. These code lists then created my five main themes: motivations towards a career in social work, career satisfaction, career dissatisfaction, stress reduction strategies, and the American Dream versus Ubuntu.

Results

My research builds on previous studies focusing on motivations towards social work, career satisfaction/dissatisfaction, burn-out and stress reducing strategies through qualitative interviews. Since previous research was primarily conducted through surveys, qualitative interviews add a more personal story to the concepts that have already been studied. A cross-cultural study is a way to enlarge our knowledge of the effects of work-related stress on social workers in different cultures. Looking at the similarities and differences in an individualistic and collective culture could suggest modifications

for improving career satisfaction and lowering burnout among social workers. This section will examine the motivations towards a career in social work, what leads a social worker to have career satisfaction and dissatisfaction, how social workers lessen their stress, and finally how the social work profession promotes the African philosophy Ubuntu.

In general, American and South African social workers reported similar answers about their motivations towards a career in social work and what creates their career satisfaction—autonomy, intrinsic rewards, and mobility. Although both American and South African social workers enjoyed their profession, they both agreed that unrecognized professionalism, low pay, and work-home conflict led to career dissatisfaction and burnout. Interestingly, the South African social workers reported higher levels of career dissatisfaction because of the higher caseloads and lower amounts of pay they receive. Overtime the social workers learned techniques on how to balance out their career dissatisfaction and stress through stress reduction strategies that they have created themselves or through work support.

In this research, I find that the social work profession is an example of the African philosophy Ubuntu. For participants, success happens through human interaction and collectivity. Social workers choose their profession because they believe in empowering people to their fullest potential. Ubuntu also plays a role in a social worker's career satisfaction. The high case loads and the demanding emotional labor almost become unimportant as long as social workers feel they are making a difference in others' lives. The American social workers also do not have the same American Dream as defined by Hochschild (1995). The American participants argue that they do not need the material items or monetary gain to think they are successful. The American participants believe they are successful if they are sincerely happy.

Motivations Towards a Career in Social Work

The interviewees provided two themes that motivated them to pursue a career in social work: participants wanted to have a positive impact on people/community, or they had an encounter with a social worker. Interestingly, South African social workers wanted to

enter into psychology but settled for social work.

The participants displayed real concern for people and their communities. The social workers in this research believed that they were able to help communities by being a part of social work. For example, when I asked them, “What drew you to social work?” Jacoline, a South African social worker that works with reoffending offenders, replied, “Trying to help people especially when they’re going through similar situations that you’re going through. It’s easier if people do it together. But I’ve also been through that then it makes it easier for themselves.” Further Christine, an American social worker that works in Veteran Affairs, responded, “What drew me to social work? I’m greatly rewarded by helping others...I would be able to hopefully help others help themselves to have the lives that they want. People heal, people who have a lot of suffering. I think I would enjoy witnessing and knowing human suffering in some shape or form and offer a positive impact. Essentially is still my goal in life.” Christine and Jacoline both gave similar answers of wanting to help people. They entered social work for reasons other than monetary gain as Freeman suggested (2007). Entering social work for reasons other than financial supports the notion that social workers believe intrinsic rewards are more important than extrinsic rewards (Freeman 2007; Furness 2007; Jensen and Aamodt 2002; Warde 2009).

Other social workers entered the profession because of their own experiences with social workers. Janet stated, “If you take my history into account, I was taken into foster care by my grandparents. So it took a long process because the social worker was my mother’s friend. So it was not the best interest of the child— myself— and my sister. It was what my mother wanted. So I wanted to become a social worker with children’s interests at heart and not favor what your friend wants. I want to do things that are right” (South African and works with reoffending offenders). On the contrary Amy, an American social worker in Child Welfare, responded:

Well I think initially I was thinking I wanted to go into like clinical practice and be a therapist of some sort. And then I worked in mental health for a little bit in San Francisco and got to know some people who gotten their MSW versus their MFT and I just

liked their style of more of working with groups versus like some of the people who have their MFT work more with like the individual. Whereas a social worker sort of took in the whole psyche of the community of you know the family, of the individual, and took all that and sort of looked at that and sort of working with the person. And so I liked that model a little bit better, and that sort of drew me into social work. And so I went in that direction instead.

Janet and Amy both had encounters with social workers. But the two examples are very different from each other. As a young child, Janet had a negative experience with a social worker. Since her own social worker did not have the best interest for herself and her sister, Janet felt that she needed to become a social worker to improve the profession, to be the type of social worker to children that she needed at the time but did not have. Amy had a positive experience with social workers. She was able to learn and witness the social work profession in action and decided that it fit what she wanted to do. Amy's experience is an example of a social worker possessing preexisting altruistic values—the idea that the social work profession's values of empowering and advocating for the vulnerable and oppressed were already values of the person before they entered social work (Warde 2009). When the participant became aware that the social work profession's ideas were similar to their own ideas, they were attracted to the career. This career gave them the opportunity to gain a better understanding of how to work with vulnerable populations on a more significant level.

Previous studies suggested that social workers enter their profession because of religion (Freeman 2007; Furness 2007). This was not congruent with my findings. None of the South African or American social workers said that their religion influenced them or that social work was seen as a “calling” (Freeman 2007). My research was congruent with other studies that found that persons choosing careers in the helping professions have different family backgrounds than those in other types of careers (Lackie 1983; Marsh 1988; Russett et al. 1993). Three of the South African social workers –Abra-

hem, Jacoline, and Janet—all said that their past histories influenced their decisions towards a social work career. Abraham battled years of substance abuse, Jacoline had difficulties in past relationships and now works in couples' counseling, and as read from Janet's quote above, as a child she had a negative experience with a social worker.

A unique finding in my research is that the majority of the South African social workers wanted to enter psychology but settled for social work. Abraham works with reoffending offenders, and he stated that "Psychology was my first option and social work was the second option. Just me being the person that I am, I chose the easiest, what I perceived as the easier route. In South Africa, when you get to your Honors level in psychology you need to be selected into a Master's program. And that is quite a tedious process. I think they only choose about 10 people per year. Yeah, so it's a very difficult string to follow. On the other hand, the easier option was the social work option." Similarly Kimberley, a South African social worker in macro planning, responded, "I actually wanted to do psychology, but the reason I did social work was it was linked to psychology. It was more opportunity of getting a job when you finished your social work degree. Because with psychology there's a selection process involved to eventually getting your Master's, and a lot of people didn't get in...so in that way I ended up doing social work." Kimberley, Abraham, and Jacoline said that they would have rather have gone into a career in psychology, but had to go into social work because the selection process was less rigorous. The selection process that Kimberley and Abraham are discussing in their quotes is that in Port Elizabeth, South Africa, the university selects 10 students a year to enter the psychology Master's program. The students must perform at a high academic level but the university also chooses potential students based on their ethnicity. Five of the students have to be Black, Two White, two Coloured, and one Indian, which is representative of the demographics in South Africa. This selection process is a way that the university sees to reduce issues of racism and segregation that South Africa is still battling.

Career Satisfaction

Overall, the participants had a feeling of high career satisfaction—to experience a positive emotional state when thinking

about one's job (Parker 2006). The participants gave examples of autonomy, intrinsic rewards, and mobility to demonstrate career satisfaction. These three themes were similar for both the American and South African social workers. The difference between the two countries is in how social workers are paid. American social workers felt that although they could always be paid more, they were paid enough to live comfortably. Whereas, South African social workers did not feel they were paid enough to live comfortably; this will be further discussed in my paper.

Autonomy means the independence to make your own decisions, or self-governing. The social worker is in control of their career. The participants believe they have the opportunity to make decisions in certain situations. The social workers argue that there is not a feeling of constant micromanaging. Carol, an American social worker that works in Child Welfare, gives her example, "Yeah. I love my team and I love it that if I need help at any point I can ask, talk, debrief, vent. Trot over to my supervisor's office and sit down and have her ear almost all the time. And if I don't need that then I'm really allowed to kind of just think on my own, work on my own, and make decisions on my own." Likewise, Kimberley says, "I think you get to work independently. Nobody really checks on you all the time. You do your own work. You pace yourself and you leave to yourself really. We have a supervisor but she isn't like on a daily basis involved with us. Basically like an ordinary staff and the reports that she does. And maybe we have a meeting once a month. But on a daily basis we know what we need to do and we, you know, we work on our own. So I think that part is nice" (South African social worker).

Carol and Kimberley enjoyed the fact that in their profession they are allowed to be as creative as they want. All of the social workers reported this feeling of autonomy, and if they needed assistance they could confide in their co-workers or supervisors. These findings are consistent with the literature that was previously reviewed (Cole et al. 2004; Himle et al. 1986).

As I have previously mentioned, social workers do not enter their profession for monetary gain. If they are not being paid high amounts, what causes social workers to stay in their profession? Kaya, a South African social worker that works with reoffending of-

fenders, replied, “When a client tells you, you know ‘I was like this, and you made me realize it’s like that. Or things have changed for me.’ You know, ‘I was here and now I moved to there’ even if it’s just one little step they took. Those are the differences that I’ve made. Or just the engagement that they’ve had with me.” Similarly, Michelle said, “Every day I get to see something change. Sometimes it’s good change, sometimes it’s bad change, and sometimes it’s really hard change. But every day you get to see something kind of grow and shift. And that’s why it’s important to me because that’s what, I don’t know, having a life is. It’s going through change. And it’s just so fun in a weird way and interesting to kind of see that happen with different groups and people. It’s pretty rewarding” (American high school social worker). Kaya and Michelle give examples of the intrinsic rewards that come with social work. The participants explained that the intrinsic rewards outweighed extrinsic rewards (Freeman 2007; Furness 2007; Jensen and Aamodt 2002; Warde 2009). The participants’ feelings were similar to the findings of previous studies because they felt that as long as their profession allowed them to see positive change or impact a client in a meaningful way was more rewarding than being paid thousands of dollars for doing a job that they did not see as meaningful or important (Jensen and Aamodt 2002).

Studies suggest upward mobility as a determinant of career satisfaction (Cole et al. 2004; Parker 2006), but my research concluded that mobility to change fields within social work is a factor in career satisfaction. Kimberley gives an example, “Yeah there is there is. It depends on what you like. Where your interest lies... I started actually at child welfare when I started work. Yeah then I went to work in the police, and I was there for about 9 years, and then I got a post at SANCA as a treatment coordinator. SANCA works with drug and alcohol abuse. Then NICRO offered a much better salary than where I was. So I moved” (South African macro planning social worker). Another example is given by an American social worker, Carol:

One of the things I like about social work is that I can withdraw from that job. I was in family reunification working with the attorneys and the kids out of

home. I did that for six years and now you've started to burnout on it and I moved over to the adults. And I worked for seven years with the adults. And then moved back here. So it's a way that you can complete a certain kind of learning and engage with the clients and then move to something else that deeply satisfying in its own way. So I've stayed in social work, but I've actually changed focuses of that work several times in that seventeen years I've been with the department.

A social worker is trained with a variety of skills, so they can move to different concentrations, or move to different areas of work within the same concentration. Social work offers one of the broadest ranges of opportunities and settings because it serves individuals, families, and communities. Social workers are found in public agencies, private businesses, hospitals, clinics, schools, nursing homes, private practices, police departments, etc. (NASW 2012). Michelle says, "At my current job I am a school social worker and I do counseling at 9th through 12th grade public high school. We have 400 students. And my job is everything from one on one counseling and case management, mental health services to bringing social services resources to campus, program development. And I do like you know research and studies and things like that to just to see what's going on in the population that I work with." Michelle gives a great example of the variety of skills that she has acquired even though she works in one concentration. Just to name a few options, with her skills she could potentially work with adults and families, in more community development, or the health profession. She does not have to keep working with high school students if she does not want to. Whereas in other careers, you only gain skills that pertain to that individual career and if one wanted to change careers they would have a difficult time because they lack other skills.

The biggest difference between the social workers when discussing career satisfaction is that the American social workers felt that although they could be paid more, they were paid enough to live a comfortable life. When asked if she felt that she was paid enough in her job, Carol answered, "I don't have huge needs for money, so

I feel like I'm paid well." Similarly, Amy replied, "Yeah, I mean I would love to get paid more, especially now that I have a baby. But yeah I mean I feel like I'm fairly compensated." Furthermore Emma responded, "I feel like I have enough to live on... but I think in general social workers are not always paid enough. But I am comfortable with where I am in my life right now."

All of the South African participants' expressed their struggles with the low pay that they were receiving. Although finances were not the basis for career satisfaction, it still allowed American social workers to have a higher feeling of career satisfaction than their South African colleagues. The low pay that South African's receive is due to the fact that South Africa is still a developing country. The country does not have the resources to allocate proper funding to social workers. Also, social work in the United States is more respected as a profession than in South Africa. The professionalism and resources that the United States' has, contributes to the fact that American social workers receive a higher pay in comparison to South African social workers.

Career Dissatisfaction/Burnout

The social workers said that they love the social work profession and they could not see themselves doing another profession, but there were three concepts that led the social workers to have some career dissatisfaction: work-home conflict, low pay, and unrecognized professionalism.

Both the American and South African social workers agreed that social workers in general are not paid enough for the demanding work that they do. However, South African social workers expressed more that the low pay was affecting their personal lives. Again both American and South African interviewees believed that social work's professionalism goes unrecognized, but the South African social workers believed that other professionals (i.e. doctors and psychologists) look down on social work because the other professionals think it is "easy" or that social work does not require a lot of education. Some of the South African social workers believe the lowering of standards it takes to become a social worker causes the unrecognized professionalism.

The most common cause for stress among all the social work-

ers is work-home conflict. Social work is an emotionally demanding career. When a career involves one's emotions, it is difficult to separate work from home life. Emma implies a time-based conflict, "So it is a hard, it is hard to find that balance because if you're really committed to the work. You know there's always just one more thing you can get done that's gonna you know take care of an issue. Or you know so that it can settle your mind that it's taken care of.... I mean because you know to be quite frank sometimes I'll wake up at two o'clock in the morning and I'll be thinking about stuff" (American Child Welfare social worker). Time based conflict arises when the amount of time an employee spends at work interferes with his/her social and/or family responsibilities (Lambert et al. 2006). Social work is a profession that is continuous. There is never a sense that something is finished. Once a case is completed, you always have another case to work on. This causes social workers to feel like they have to get as much done in one day because the next day they are going to have more cases. Which in turn causes some social workers to work overtime or bring their paper work home instead of having time for themselves or with their family. Working undesirable hours, too many hours, or working during times of family or social obligations all can lead social workers to view their jobs in a less favorable light (Lambert et al. 2006:68). Janet gives an example of another type of work-home conflict:

I don't think there's a typical workday because you know, things pop up you know. Just this morning I got a call from [another social worker]. I defer youth to areas in and out of Port Elizabeth. And then the social worker from that area contacted me and informed me that she [one of Janet's clients] died in a car accident. So you know that's kind of psyched me this morning, and when I heard that news it kinda. We're not supposed to get emotionally involved but you know when it comes to death and it's your client [you're] full of shock (South African social worker).

Janet's example is strain-based conflict that results from stressful situations at work causing the employee to suffer from tension, ir-

ritability, excitability, depression, and/or shock, which ultimately affects the person's social or family life (Lambert et al. 2006:58). A social worker may take these emotional events home because it is challenging to forget when a tragic event happens to a client. They might need to talk about the event to their family to relieve themselves of a horrid situation. The last work-home conflict presents itself through Kaya's response:

When I was working at Child Line. I was so paranoid with my little girl when she was a baby. I would check if she was breathing all the time. You know, I don't like leaving my children even with the neighbors because even then you don't know. I get a little bit paranoid and then I fear for my son's life because I used to work with children his age. He's twelve now and kids his age out there, the stuff that they're doing; I'm hopeless when he has to go to high school. Even though I teach him certain things, I don't know if he'll take it, if he is taking it well, or what will happen. So I fear that (South African social worker).

The work-home conflict Kaya expresses is behavior-based where social workers may treat their spouses, children, and/or friends as clients and impose unrequested treatment on them (Lambert et al. 2006:58). Since Kaya has worked with children she is paranoid about the life of her children. She might become overprotective of her children because of the tragedies she has witnessed in other children.

As previously discussed, American social workers believe that they are paid well enough to feel that they have a comfortable life. South African social workers passionately expressed the low pay they receive. Abraham was the most expressive in his response:

Absolutely not. It's the most undervalued profession in the country, my opinion... So we are either on top or slightly below par of unskilled labor in this country. And to me that is disconcerting in that it impacts on your ability to function. Because

we go out into the communities, we try to empower and uplift and we talk about this thing of empowerment. We ourselves are battling financially, the credit crunch, the whole economy... So when we're sitting ourselves with these very frustrations that we are going out to assist people with. It starts to impact our service delivery. It's almost like I'm schizophrenic and I've got you on my couch and I'm treating you with schizophrenia, but I am unable, I'm not even on the medication to deal with my own schizophrenia. So that is the type of issue that we sit with.

Kaya also conveyed her unhappiness with the low pay that South African social workers receive, "The pay is very little. I think the social work profession pays very little. So I don't enjoy that. But yeah, I think I'm frustrated at the moment because of salary and therefore I need to move... Where I am at now but it's just that the salary is not meeting my needs at the moment. My personal needs so that's what I don't like now." The low pay that the South African social workers receive has affected their personal lives. This low pay can be contributed to the fact that South Africa is still a developing country. The Human Development Index (HDI) is a summary measure for assessing long-term progress in three basic dimensions of human development: a long and healthy life, access to knowledge and a decent standard of living. United States' HDI value for 2011 is 0.910—in the very high human development category—positioning the country at 4 out of 187 countries and territories (International Human Development Index 2012). South Africa's HDI value for 2011 is 0.619—in the medium human development category—positioning the country at 123 out of 187 countries and territories (International Human Development Index 2012). The International Human Development Index demonstrates the fact that the United States is a developed country, so the government has the capability of providing their employees with a decent living wage in comparison to South Africa, which is still developing in all aspects—political, economic, and social.

Another career dissatisfaction that the South African social workers suggest is unrecognized professionalism. Social work is not seen as a desirable job because it receives low pay and also other

professionals do not respect the social work profession. Abraham gives the first example of unrecognized professionalism:

Yeah with the professional side, I think we fall into a semi-profession. Semi-professions in that there's not enough people that has made social work a lucrative business. The chance of you becoming wealthy, as a social worker, is almost nonexistent. So I think that impacts also on the way we are perceived from other professions and I also think it impacts on the type of people we draw into the profession. There's also a government-funded bursary. That will take anybody that just wants to do any old job and bump them into social work... So we're fast tracking, we're trying to you know just fill up a position. Then having people fill this position. So we need to fiddle with the system so that we can get these people into jobs. I think that has what brought our profession in terms of social work; it's just another aspect that they literally brought it down in my opinion.

Similar to Abraham's response, Kimberley gives another example of the lack of recognition that social workers receive in South Africa:

When I studied was you had to have a four your degree in social work. But since then I think the standard has dropped a lot. It was like a selection before. Now anybody can really study it. It doesn't matter how they passed or if they really have an interest because I because they're giving bursaries now because there's a shortage of social workers. So it's attracting everybody to say well it's free. What can I do? Okay let's do social work. There are often people coming in now that aren't even interested. But you know I think the standard now has dropped a lot, and the requirements as well to study social work. That could also be something that brings the perception; other people are looking at it and thinking oh that person is doing

social work. It's bringing that whole perception down as well. The lowering of requirements to study.

Abraham and Kimberley discuss the lowering of requirements it takes to become a social worker. For 2011, Statistics South Africa estimates the population of South Africa is 50.59 million (2012). The estimated overall HIV prevalence rate is approximately 10.6%. The total number of people living with HIV is estimated at approximately 5.38 million in 2011. About a quarter of the population is unemployed (Statistics South Africa 2012). These statistics express the need for social work help. The South African government is reducing the requirements to enter the field because they are trying to employ more of their citizens and also trying to help those who are poor and HIV positive.

Stress Reduction Strategies

With the demands of social work, both American and South African social workers have generated ways to alleviate their stress. The social workers either created their own stress-reducing strategies or they received assistance from their work. The participants in the research developed their own techniques through the years of social work. The social workers all felt that when they were younger, they had difficulties reducing the amount of stress they endured. As they got older, it was easier for them to understand how not to stress themselves out. Intrapersonal intelligence was one of the most common ways to reduce stress by the interviewees. It is the notion to be self-aware of who you are as a person. In order to eliminate burnout, you have to know your boundaries and before you can help anyone else with their problems, you have to make sure your problems have been resolved. Janet describes ways in which she reduces her stress, "When I'm stressed, I just put music on or I just sing and dance around because I'm alone I can do whatever I want kind of thing (laughs). So yeah, that's the way I deal with it. Or for me my most soothing place is the beach or like watching the waves, and I can go relax in the afternoon." Likewise, Michelle gives another example of reducing stress, "The best way to balance it is to get out of the building. Like when it's time to go, it's time to go. And you knowing that that feeling of ok it's never really done, you have to I've been

here for ten hours it's time to go home. And that's okay. That takes practice. But I make sure that I do things every day where I take care of myself every day." Janet and Michelle have made it a conscious decision to alleviate their stress. Making sure that one has time for themselves to do things that they enjoy whether that is dancing, singing, watching TV, or spending time with their family. All the social workers agreed that it is a long process to develop a separation from work and home. It requires a lot of intrapersonal intelligence. You really have to know yourself to be a great social worker. Carol adds a unique technique when dealing with stress:

I was just in a training when they were talking about women who work with rape survivors start to have actual symptoms in their bodies of being as though they were raped. So vicarious trauma is that strong. But I do a lot of yoga, which is body practice that kind of breathe and calm down and center. I talk a lot with my interns about literally resetting the brain from the arousal that happens when you're hearing upsetting things. So I do that, I do the trauma releasing exercise, which is a neurogenic shaking exercise that resets the brain.

Carol provides an interesting way in separating oneself from the traumas that social workers hear. Her examples of "resetting" the brain are unique to my research that has not been previously discussed by other researchers.

American Dream vs. Ubuntu

In this research, I find that the motivations of why American social workers chose their career embody aspects of Ubuntu and not the American Dream. Ubuntu believes success involves help from others to become successful, and that monetary gain is not the sole purpose in life. Social workers chose their career because they wanted to have a meaningful impact on their community. I also find that the American social workers hold different values than the values of the American Dream. What they desire in life are actually examples of Ubuntu, and they express these values without knowing

or hearing what Ubuntu is. The American participants also suggest how the social work profession embodies aspects of Ubuntu but they call it embodying their own American Dream and not the definition of Hochschild (1995).

When asked, “What is your American Dream?” Carol replied, “You know it’s probably to have a little a dog, to have good friends, to have my health, to have work that is satisfying, to feel connected to my community and like I’m making things better. That’s very much kind of my dream.” A different description given by Michelle is, “My definition of the American Dream is to wake up every day and feel happy with the life that you have.” Carol and Michelle give different definitions of the American Dream as defined by Hochschild (1995). Hochschild gives a definition such as a person achieving monetary success through his or her own personal attributes (1995). Carol wanting to feel connected to her community represents Ubuntu’s values in communalism and interdependence (Kamwangamalu 1999). Michelle gives examples of being satisfied with the life that you have which goes against the American Dream of always wanting more and competing with others to achieve your desires. When asked “how is your American Dream different from other Americans?” Amy replied, “Well I think some of it, I mean. I have this feeling that some Americans want more than like most people can achieve you know. I think people are always wanting this idea of perfection or like wealth. You know money falling off I don’t know. I’m just assuming that’s what other want. But that’s what sort of makes the media I think portrays of the American Dream. It’s like you know rolling around in money and cars and your houses.” Also Emma said,

I think for some people the American Dream is you know two car garage, 2.5 kids, and a dog...And the other thing I feel really important about and I think this is also coming from a social work degree is that my happiness or what I want for my life...I don’t want to feel like what I have I need more because that could potentially take away from somebody else. You see what I’m saying? You know and so I think that

might be something unique to my dream versus what other people [want].

Amy and Emma's examples are congruent with Hochschild's definition of the American Dream: the idea of always striving for more than your neighbors. Emma's statement of not wanting her happiness to take away from someone else demonstrates Ubuntu, in that she does not want to cause harm to someone else for her own success.

The participants further gave examples of how social work promotes and embodies Ubuntu. Although when I asked the question, I asked in terms of "their American Dream" and not Ubuntu because I did not discuss with my participants the notions of Ubuntu before the interview. Additionally when asked, "How does social work embody aspects of your own American Dream?" Michelle answered, "I think social work as a profession depending on where or what you're doing maybe but we help people or organizations or whatever support communities in that process of finding fulfillment. It may not be happy all of the time but you should feel like your life is your own and you have what it is that you need. And that's what social work can do for people." Michelle discusses how social work uses interdependence to give people a fulfilled life. Human interconnectedness and interaction are how people are able to live a satisfying life. Likewise Carol stated,

So if you're looking at kind of what I believe in the American Dream which is connection and I would take it out of America and say also to really know your place in the world. Rather than America on top of everybody, that to really take our place in a global community. That social work is very involved in that. Both globally and you know people going to other countries...social work is really embodying the American Dream of having to be more connected and more satisfied with our connections."

Carol's example is a perfect representation of the values of Ubuntu. Globally, humans are interconnected and interdependent with each

other. Social work is an international profession that assists people on a global scale. It is not just Americans helping Americans or South Africans helping South Africans; it is people helping people no matter the country of origin.

Conclusion

This study gives personal accounts through in-depth interviews about why social workers choose their career path. Their career choice decisions are based on factors that include wanting to help their community and having a personal encounter with a social worker. South African social workers differed from their American colleagues in that they wanted to enter psychology but had to settle for social work. Overall, the social workers expressed their career satisfaction through autonomy, intrinsic rewards, and mobility within the profession. The American social workers also expressed that they were fairly compensated in their job. The social workers disclosed that dissatisfaction with their jobs was caused by a work-home conflict. The South African social workers were more communicative about their low pay and unrecognized professionalism they received from other professionals. Participants were able to prevent burnout through their stress reduction strategies: work-home balance techniques, intrapersonal intelligence, and support from their work.

Being in an individualistic or collective culture does not affect the motivations of social workers in their career choice. The determining factor between career satisfaction and dissatisfaction among the two countries is that the United States is a developed country where as South Africa is still a developing country. South Africa is characterized by many social problems: poverty, unemployment, crime, and HIV/AIDS (Oliphant et al. 2001). South African social workers had higher caseloads and were paid relatively less than American social workers. The lack of professionalism came from the lowering of standards to attain a social work degree.

Social work, as a profession, embodies aspects of Ubuntu. Success happens through human interaction and collectivity. Ubuntu plays a role in a social worker's career satisfaction. The high case loads and the demanding emotional labor almost become unimportant as long as social workers feel they are making a difference in

one's life. The American social workers rejected ideas of the American Dream and believed more in Ubuntu.

These research questions are of importance to the sociological study of work because the Bureau of Labor Statistics states that the social work profession in the US is expected to grow by 16 percent during the 2008-2018 decade, which is faster than the average for all occupations (2012). Employment of child, family, and school social workers is expected to grow by 20 percent from 2010 to 2020 (Bureau of Labor Statistics 2012). However, growth in this occupation may be limited by budget constraints at all levels of government. In schools, more social workers will be needed to respond to rising student enrollments. The availability of federal, state, and local funding will be a major factor in determining the actual employment growth in schools. Employment of healthcare social workers is expected to grow by 34 percent (Bureau of Labor Statistics 2012). As baby boomers age, they and their families will require help from social workers to find care, which will increase demand for healthcare social workers. Researchers and professionals need to understand career satisfaction within social work not only because more of society's population will need a social worker's assistance but also to reduce burnout. Burnout occurs through low pay, unrecognized professionalism, and work-family conflict. The profession needs to work collaboratively with social workers to build a more supportive work environment and to develop more stress reduction strategies.

South Africa's lowering of standards to enter social work has caused the profession to not become as respected as it is in the United States. The lack of professionalism leads to low pay, which then leads to high burnout. South Africa is at point in their development where social workers are in high demand. Unemployment, high crime rates, and HIV/AIDS are just some of the issues that South Africa is struggling with, and social workers are at the front lines of these issues. Until the South African government recognizes social work as professional, there will continue to be high amounts of burnout and dissatisfaction among social workers.

The cross-cultural analysis allows South Africa to perceive career satisfaction and burnout in a different context, and to look at ways to apply positives from the United States to their own country. Similarly, the United States can apply more models of Ubuntu in the

social work profession to increase levels of career satisfaction and reduce amounts of burnout.

Further research on this study should be completed. This paper only represents ten people's view of social work. Further research should include participants from a diversity of backgrounds—ethnicity, age, religion; also social workers from different fields (medical social workers, clinical social workers, criminal justice social workers, etc.) to gain a better understanding of the broad profession of social work. It would also be sociologically significant if the study displayed both genders' perspective of job satisfaction within the workplace.

Appendix

Participants' Demographic Table

Name	Country	Gender	Age	Ethnicity	Social Work Field
Abraham	South Africa	Male	36	Co-loured	Reoffending Offenders
Janet	South Africa	Female	26	Co-loured	Reoffending Offenders
Kaya	South Africa	Female	32	Co-loured	Reoffending Offenders
Kimberley	South Africa	Female	43	White	Macro Planning
Jacoline	South Africa	Female	27	Co-loured	Couples' Counseling
Amy	United States	Female	32	White	Child Welfare
Michelle	United States	Female	28	Mixed Race	High School Social Worker
Emma	United States	Female	43	White	Child Welfare
Carol	United States	Female	56	White	Child Welfare
Christine	United States	Female	42	Mixed Race	Veterans' Affairs

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The Non-Traditional Aged Student Experience at SSU

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The non-traditional aged student's experience is uniquely structured, with multiple intersecting roles that differ significantly from that of the traditional aged student. The average traditional student who attends a four-year university directly from high school and lives on campus has academia at the center of their world, with intersecting commitments that come with this experience such as sports, clubs, friends, a part-time job, etc. Their family, friends and any other commitments back home are now on the outer layer of their daily sphere. The average non-traditional student has already established a life without academia, and now has to add their educational goals to the already full plate they possess: they must attempt to make education part of the center of their world in addition to their careers/children/family commitments, and somehow through these intersecting roles, make all of them a number one priority.

Being a non-traditional aged student in higher education, I could not imagine the everyday routines and commitments demanded of the corporate world over the years with one or multiple children. Navigating the retail business world is incredibly demanding in itself, and I have watched both parents, and non-parents, with full-time work responsibilities drop their school aspirations immediately due to stress, time, and ultimately burn-out. Managing a retail staff while completing random delegated tasks from upper management (which does not end with the clock-out time punch), attending and prepping material for meetings, commuting 5-6 days a week to the East Bay, traveling (at times out of state) and constantly searching for new ways to exceed previous numbers and creating new goals resulted in 12-hour days on average. My only two days off were consistently dedicated, semester after semester, to attending classes at Santa Rosa Junior College (SRJC). Homework was done in the evenings, and sleep came only when absolutely necessary. Compound this with the failing job market, the cost of living in Sonoma County

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(and California in general), and the ever-increasing expenses of education, (for some, children) the words “stuck” and “overwhelmed” don’t even begin to touch on this experience.

The traditional student’s world is that of an entirely different culture, a unique community that understands its members based on the similar circumstances under which they all live, particularly the residential community. A large part of understanding how the university system works happens at this level, through close association with roommates and neighbors: everyone is experiencing the same life-changing situation at the same time, and there is support in that culture. The non-traditional student is not able to share in that type of culture because they do not live on campus, and based on their different life experiences and intersecting roles, it is harder for them to relate to and spend time with the traditional student. The overall expectation, even with these social barriers in place, is that the non-traditional student must assimilate into the culture of the university and its expectations. A store manager for a company I had previously worked for was a full-time (16+ units and maintaining a 3.5+ GPA) non-traditional aged student at UC Berkeley while managing her location full-time. When I questioned her tactics for success, she admitted that she strategically skipped certain classes to be able to study for others. How could she make the most of her education and immerse herself in the process when she could hardly make time for class?

The university system, particularly Sonoma State University (SSU), caters to the traditional student, with recruitment programs aimed at upper-middle class families who can afford the combined housing and tuition costs, enhancing the already capitalistic system embedded in the bureaucracy of the institution. The majority of programs offered are geared toward the traditional student, leaving non-traditional aged students to utilize resources that do not necessarily meet their specific needs, but result in a take-what-you-can-get scenario. Proper emotional support for any student guarantees their success as well, and when incorporating a multicultural element, the intersectionality results in an even further disconnect. Creating a culture where these attributes can thrive would not only create a more supportive environment for the student who holds a minority status on multiple levels, but also a greater awareness of these issues for

the students of the majority.

The non-traditional aged student of 25 years or older comprises approximately 20% of the CSU undergraduate student body, 963 of whom are currently enrolled at SSU as of Fall 2011 (www.calstate.edu 2011). Although the percentage in comparison to traditional aged students at SSU appears rather small, at 13%, the fact remains that nearly one thousand of us are part of this student population, with as much to offer in life experience and a fresh outlook as what we have yet to learn, and we have chosen SSU as the place to hang our hats and apply our passions.

My interest in this topic stems from my personal experience and the many needs of this ever-increasing student population. I'm not just studying this objectively; I'm living it and feeling it in this shared experience. The culture of academia is completely different from a corporate or business culture, which is what I and so many other non-traditional aged students are accustomed to, and the free-thinking and conceptualizing associated with academia contradicts those rigid guidelines pre-established and internalized as a social assimilation prior to higher education: a gap is created from a lack of academic assimilation and cultural socialization, both beginning at the freshman level. My intent with this research is to draw attention to the current state of support systems available to us at Sonoma State University, and my goal is to work toward a possible solution for better supporting a non-traditional student body at SSU specifically and to influence current and future programs at the state level and beyond by addressing the questions: What types of support play a role in non-traditional students academic achievements, and how can the university system help?

Of the ten peer-reviewed journals I have examined, a similar theme resonates with all of them: the university system overall, although progressing, is not as accommodating as it could be for non-traditional student's financial, social and educational needs (Bowl 2001; Gilardi and Guglielmetti 2011; Houser 2005; Hoyert and O'Dell 2009; Laing, Chow and Robinson 2005; Lake and Pushchak 2007; Ronning 2009; Rosenthal et al 2000; Schuetze and Slowey 2002; Tones et al 2009). The student body is still expected to conform to the outdated form of learning. Since the university population is changing, the way in which the university operates should

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also change (Bowel 2001). One survey revealed an interesting comparison between non-traditional and traditional students and their interactions with their professors. Rosenthal et al used a measurement of pleasant v. unpleasant themes of interaction. They found that “non-traditional students reported fewer helping or accommodating themes” while traditional students reported more belittling themes in their experiences (Rosenthal et al. 2000). This is consistent with Bowl’s discovery of non-traditional students’ frustrations with tutoring sessions, and their self-blame for their inability to understand the instructors’ expectations. Houser’s study shows enough evidence to “warrant instructors rethink their use of these communication behaviors”, since the student undergraduate population makes up approximately 42% of the entire student body (Houser 2005).

These findings lead into the issue of student expectations and the difficulty involved in adjusting to university learning and student life. The current need of the student is to adapt conflicts with personal perceptions of how the college experience will be. The “problem associated with inaccurate prior perceptions is that it contributes to a disengagement from the educational (and social) aspects of university life” (Laing et al 2005). This is why “support systems for part-time or distant students” or students with children is essential (Schuetze and Slowey 2002).

The way students learn must also be taken into consideration. Non-traditional students are found to be focused on the learning aspect of studies rather than the performance aspect. According to Hoyert and O’Dell (2009), non-traditional students bring life experience to the learning table and wish to incorporate their studies into their lives, in addition to their careers. Traditional students tend to focus more on retention for the sake of achieving high grades and completing tasks to proceed to the next level. Also, the non-traditional student’s life expectations outside of school leaves students with the difficulties of “time management, reading and structuring assignments” (Bowel 2001) in the academic portion of their student lives. “Pressure from such external factors represents a well-known risk for drop out from studies among adults” (Ronning 2009). As Gilardi and Guglielmetti (2011) clearly state, “the challenge for non-traditional students lies....in striking a balance between their academic and external commitments that enables

them to reach a level of engagement sufficient to achieve academic success.”

Three studies examined the possibilities for what would be the most helpful in assuring academic success. One study was done using Edinboro University in Pennsylvania and their application of extensive on-line programs for students in rural areas. For these non-traditional students, extreme distance from the university was hindering their academic endeavors. Lake and Pushchak found these programs were serving the students' needs quite well, and actually increased revenue for the institution (Lake and Pushchak 2007). Laing et al found that a negotiation system where students were able to choose alternatives to their academic learning process could “help induct students into the academic discourse of higher education” (Laing et al 2005). A survey was administered during research conducted by Tones et al, and found that students responded positively to suggestions for how the university could adapt to non-traditional students' needs. These included “Staff awareness training,” a “Mature-aged student survival guide,” and “Mature-aged orientation at the start of Orientation Week to assist in forming peer networks/supports amongst mature-aged students” (Tones et al 2009).

What I have found is that very few studies to date have actually been done to search for solutions to the problems they discover. The heads of the CSU system consistently make decisions regarding budgets and programs, but little to no connection is made with the students. Of the studies I have examined that provide proof of issues with options for success, one was conducted outside of California and the other two were outside the United States. Have any of the three proposed resolutions been considered for application to universities within the CSU system with growing populations of returning students? What is SSU doing to accommodate these driven and deserving individuals who choose Sonoma as their Alma mater? The best way to find resolutions will be to utilize a specific mix of methods that will help shed light on the current condition of the non-traditional student experience at SSU.

Methods

Non-traditional students at Sonoma State University are both a sensitive topic to discuss and a challenging group to study. The overall tone that this subject reflects when viewed from the outside is actually nonexistent; nowhere is the NT student truly considered, be it positively or negatively: we are simply not addressed. The tone from the inside is even more revealing. The traditional literature review and interview/survey methods alone are not enough to develop the argument and provide support for the fact that there is a growing problem that needs to be addressed.

When preparing to transfer from SRJC, I was excited and confident in my abilities, ready for this next step in my life. During my first semester here in Spring 2011, I felt lost and alone, incapable of participating in a class discussion because the academic language was completely new to me, and struggled to understand what was expected of me as a student. I felt that I was in over my head, and utilized Counseling and Psychological Services (CAPS) on campus when I began to feel like I wanted out. I had worked full-time while attending SRJC for five years and quitting was never an option for me then, so why now? When I discussed my feelings with different employees of the institution, those employees expressed the same understanding, frustration, and anger that I did. But also, concern for their livelihood, if their names were involved in any way. It quickly became clear that I had touched a raw nerve, and a passion for helping those in my position began to grow. I knew I would have to tread lightly into this territory; therefore these informants will remain anonymous.

An attempt at administering surveys on campus to locate NT students and gather additional information in the hopes of conducting interviews led me nowhere, as the non-traditional student is not easily located on campus. Being one myself, I should have realized sooner that with all the commitments these students are dedicated to outside of academia, they don't spend any precious free moments they may have hanging out in the quad: they don't have time. The only students I have located have been those I share classes with. The conversations we have shared have been reassuring for me personally, as well as for my research, and the extended goals it has

influenced. In addition, I have taken on the role of participant-observer in these settings in an attempt to extract as much information as possible in regards to traditional students' attitudes toward and understanding of NT students. Aliases will be applied when any references to these informants are made, so as not to risk drawing any lines back to staff and faculty that wish to remain nameless.

In addition, I have synthesized an investigative approach with my academic research, combining the extensive literature review above and university specific information, existing in the form of an Ad Hoc Diversity Committee Report on students (SSU 2009), a Student Retention Task Force report (SSU 2009), and information gathered from programs that other universities are utilizing in an effort to support their student populations in an all-encompassing manner. These combined methods provide clear comprehension of the issue and illuminate the need for change.

Discussion

Attitudes, Tone and Observations

The overall tone of this research and findings can be easily summed up with a quote:

...I was in the library the other day, and I saw this old guy at one of the computers, and he had all these books and work spread out, and at first I thought he was like a professor or something, but then I thought if he was, he would just go to his office...what are you even doing here? ("T", 2011)

This excerpt is from a casual conversation I overheard two traditional aged students having in class after completing an assignment. Since I was sitting right next to her she attempted to include me, assuming I was near her age and would side with her point of view. Since most students and faculty assume that I am much younger than 31, it has made gathering information through the participant-observer role rather interesting. Other times, when I have made my age known, the attitude of the individual receiving that fact shifts

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slightly toward that of either stranger, or child-to-authority figure, rather than comrade. I have seen and heard additional reactions toward myself and others on occasion, such as giggling, exasperated looks and sighs, comments under-the-breath (“Um, oookaaay”), but generally full exclusion or disregard is the most common reaction received. It should not be assumed that all traditional students in general reserve an indignant attitude for the NT student or a self-important attitude for themselves and each other. There is also the possibility that a lack of communication, and even avoidance, of NT students is due to an absence of sensitivity preparedness. A deeper look at why people develop and possess these attitudes is necessary for changing them.

The academic assimilation and cultural socialization that assist traditional students does not exist for the NT student. A supportive environment is necessary for success, and when you are a minority in an environment that caters to a certain population, you feel as though you are being swallowed up rather than staying afloat, reacting rather than planning, and are left to your own devices. The NT students I have met are frustrated with the lack of clarity when it comes to navigating the system in terms of assistance and support. Almost all of them rely on faculty for advising beyond their class schedules and graduation requirements, which not only puts more strain on the faculty’s already overflowing plates, but creates a self-inflicted regression away from the social environment of the university because one does not exist for them. When we happen to find each other, we admit our suspicions and relief:

I had a feeling you were older; you had that lost look in your eye, like me (“R”, 2011).

Oh thank God, someone I can talk to! (“H”2011).

For those with a child, or multiple children, the responsibility intensifies, placing their needs first before doing their own homework, interning, applying to grad school, even their own self-care. NT students, especially those mentioned above, confront burnout at much faster rates and to a more intense degree than the average traditional student. SSU once maintained an entire department for return-

ing students, that department's funding was shaved and eventually cut. With the number of NT students consistently growing in higher education, what is SSU doing to support them?

Diversity and Retention

The SSU Senate Ad Hoc Diversity Committee was created in May 2008 "to assess Diversity on campus in terms of race, color, religion, national origin, sex (including sexual harassment and sexual assault), sexual orientation, marital status, pregnancy, age, disability, medical condition and covered veteran's status (as articulated in the University's Non-Discrimination Policy 631). ..The charge to this committee will be to engage in a comprehensive review of the history and current status of Diversity at SSU at all levels, including (but not limited to): curriculum; faculty, staff and student activities for recruitment and retention and graduation or promotion; institutional programs; funding sources, and administrative support. It is also recommended that the committee expand its scope to include socio-economic status (Cabaniss et al 2009).

Sonoma State University's definition of campus diversity clearly includes age as a feature of non-discrimination within their policy. SSU's Diversity home page within www.sonoma.edu acknowledges race and ethnicity as it's core focus, with an additional emphasis on sexuality, and specifically, sexual assault. Of course these are important issues that should continue to be given an immense amount of attention, however no other element of the Ad-Hoc Diversity committee report is actively addressed. Although other NT students like myself have not felt specifically discriminated against, the obvious lack of recognition leads to feelings of unimportance, for NT students and traditional student's level of understanding an acceptance. Why bother if there appears to be no issue?

What the rest of the report reveals coincides with the missing NT piece of Diversity. Efforts to improve the Freshman experience and increase freshman retention rates are discussed at length, which

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is understandable given that they are the majority of the student population, however, the only mention that related whatsoever to NT students could be found in one sentence:

The Retention Task Force should take up the issue of Community College transfer students and how to support them.(Cabaniss et al 2009).

One sentence was also reserved for veterans:

Another area for recruitment which might increase diversity would be for SSU to participate in programs to recruit veterans....(Cabaniss et al 2009).

These are groups to recruit, without examining their student experience. The report goes on to promote Hutchins lower division courses for freshman as a way to increase diversity. Oddly enough, Hutchins is the most well suited path to a Bachelors degree for NT students. It is clear that the entire university system revolves around the freshman/traditional student experience, so rather than attempting to increase its numbers for freshman, it should be viewed instead as an example for an alternative route for NT students. This will be examined further in the next section.

The Student Retention Task Force Report (2009) monitored the retention rates of students from Fall 2004 to Spring 2009. A list of potential factors shows,

Age is likely to not be a factor;... (Bruce et al 2009).

This sounds logical and straightforward, but when read in full with other potential factors in the list, this is the only one that reads significantly differently. All other factors that are thought to not be likely are worded "...unlikely to be a factor..." (2009). This could be an editing issue, but I had to go back and reread it to be absolutely sure of what it said. This is a very long and detailed report that most would only have time to skim through, and skimming, is where the wording is lost. Even though this statement is presented, other mentions include the difficulty of retaining returning students (most dif-

ficult over four years) (2009) and a consideration for monitoring and supporting “older students during their first and second year” (2009). The most illuminating piece of the report, besides the fact that the survey does not include the age bracket for older students in its final analysis (even though it was present on the survey), is the largest mention of NT students:

Validation turns up again and again in the literature on retention and student affairs, especially when describing the struggles of nontraditional students and students at risk for not being retained.....It requires serious introspection, and it requires that many institutions change their traditional approach to student development. Organizing a campus-wide effort does require resources, but not every part of establishing validation at an institution needs to be arduous or costly. Some of Rendón’s (1995) practical suggestions take very few resources—for example, practices such as calling students by name and encouraging faculty to praise students in class (Bruce et al 2009).

Although these practices are discussed in the literature review, SSU already fosters an open door policy and connection to faculty and staff, especially due to its relatively small size and liberal arts education. By analyzing the resources NT students currently utilize in an attempt to find support, and identifying the possibilities for increased satisfaction and success, we can find a solution for NT students at SSU.

Current Utilizations and Programs for Success

According to anonymous informants, most NT students come to Counseling and Psychological Services (CAPS) for support with the assimilation process: they feel alone, not good enough, inadequate, burnt out and/or ready to drop out. The majority of traditional students using CAPS do so for assistance with stress and time management regarding academic requirements.

Educational Opportunity Program (EOP) assists first-gener-

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ation and low-income undergraduates with achievement in higher education. The NoGAP/McNair program provides a similar service by focusing on low-income and first-generation student admittance into graduate programs. Both of these programs provide a necessary service for these students' academic achievement and personal growth, with a transition from similar environments into ones with opportunities not previously available to them. Although many NT students fit into and find a significant amount of help within either of these groups, the overall composition of them is still formed around the traditional student culture of the university because they have not been equipped with the proper tools to accommodate these students' specific and individual needs.

The Hutchins program, as stated earlier, provides a unique method for achieving a Bachelor's degree in Liberal Studies and in addition, if desired, a teaching credential. This program educates on an entirely different framework, using one 10-unit interdisciplinary course each semester leading up to a senior project, and a BA, upon completion. Addition avenues include extension classes and distance learning courses from an accredited California college or university, as well as receiving credit via the College Level Examination Program (CLEP), which allows test completion for fulfilling up to 30-units of general education toward a degree. The aspect of Hutchins that I find most intriguing, is the Saturday B.A. Completion Program, which allows a Liberal Studies major to complete their upper division coursework by attending "...one full Saturday seminar per month on campus, combined with weekly online seminars and ongoing reading and writing assignments" (<http://www.sonoma.edu/exed/libs/> 2012). This coincides with Lake and Pushchak's findings at Edinboro University in Pennsylvania (which also helped create revenue for the school) and Laing et al's assessment of a negation system for students to formulate their own curriculum.

Peer mentor networks are another tool implemented by many universities, with some dedicating an entire department to them within their undergraduate programs and even general education units in the core curriculum, like Cal Poly Pomona. Reed College in Portland, Oregon has an incredibly successful peer mentor program created by a now former student that includes NT, transfer, and international students by pairing them with a mentor best suited to

their needs through a thorough application and evaluative process. Temple University, Allegheny College, Buffalo State University and Cal Poly Pomona all maintain successful peer mentor programs.

SSU also offers certificate programs and Lifetime Learning thorough the Extended Education department, however this only offers an additional option rather than a solution for the student who wishes to complete their BA or BS in anything other than Liberal Studies. For returning students who are completing a degree to enhance their careers, a certificate may not be enough though the traditional route to a degree may require more than is needed. Meeting in the middle is entirely possible given all the effective options already in effect.

Conclusion

Older students return to school for any number of reasons: their kids may be grown, allowing them to focus on themselves for a while: they may have children but their current financial situation insists on higher academic achievement, they may already be well-established in their current career path and are seeking to improve upon their skills, and ones like me, who have been sticking it out for years, waiting to transfer while trying to make ends meet and have finally gotten a step ahead. The lack of academic assimilation and cultural socialization for the non-traditional student presents a significant challenge for academic attainment. Given the successful options present throughout the country, within the California school system itself, and even within Sonoma State University's own walls: we have the power to change the current state of the NT student and improve their chances for success. If Hutchins works so well for a Liberal Studies degree, it would make sense that a similar approach to other majors would present equally successful results. The courses within Hutchins are formed by faculty from different disciplines, and it's negotiation system of CLEP, the Saturday B.A. Program, etc. have all been approved methods of academic achievement: the same could be done for the other schools within SSU.

NT students make up enough of the university population to deserve their own department once again, yet remain small enough to make revisions of the traditional Bachelor's degree framework

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possible. My vision for a Returning Student Department would include all the elements identified and discussed within this paper and more. Peer mentoring would be a key component, providing a link to traditional student life and the workings of the university for the NT student, and exposing the traditional student to the understanding of another diverse culture present within SSU. The Multicultural Center and Diversity would represent NT student life. We would be able to take charge of our academic futures like we already have within our lives up to this point, with educated guidance and mutual understanding. Nearly 1,000 of us at an average of \$3800 total per semester is a significant contribution to go unrecognized as a key component to the functioning of this university system. Let's synthesize our needs within a logical scope of change.

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Cysteine Residues that Mediate Assembly of Multimeric VLR-B Proteins

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Immune responses in living organisms are categorized into two types: A simpler “innate” immune response seen in all living organisms, and a more complex “adaptive” immune response seen only in higher organisms (Herrin, 2008). Adaptive immune systems have highly specialized forms of white blood cells, called lymphocytes. Lymphocytes can be further divided into T and B cell types. T cells originate from the thymus and are capable of recognizing antigens via receptors on the surface of their cells. B cells mature in the bone marrow and differentiate into plasma cells when triggered by a specific antigen. The surfaces of T and B cells are covered in receptor proteins with the capability of binding to foreign molecules. The receptors on each cell are clonal. Although all the receptors on one cell are clonal, different cells are covered in different specificities of receptors (Guo, 2009). This is one characteristic of adaptive immune systems that contribute to immunological memory. Immunological memory gives the lymphocyte cells the ability to recognize foreign molecules very quickly after the cells have previously encountered that specific foreign molecule via prior infection or vaccination.

The adaptive immune response has previously been considered to have arisen in jawed vertebrates; however it has recently been found to exist in the jawless vertebrate lamprey. Lampreys are of evolutionary interest due to their place in the vertebrate lineage. Lampreys are of the oldest lineage of living vertebrates. Although they share similarities with early chordates, they have also developed their own unique characteristics. One of which is a novel adaptive immune response.

Lampreys utilize unique variable lymphocyte receptors (VLRs) in their immune system to combat foreign disease causing molecules. VLRs are assembled from diverse Leucine Rich Repeat

(LRR) cassettes and can be divided into two subtypes, VLR-A and VLR-B (Guo, 2009). VLR-A function analogously to T cells, while VLR-B are similar to B cells. VLR-B is genomically assembled to generate enormous diversity and is secreted as multimeric complexes (Herrin, 2008). Secretion as multimeric complexes is similar to the way in which some antibodies can be secreted by B cells. Antibodies, or Immunoglobulins (Ig), are soluble forms of the B cell antigen receptor. These antibodies can be secreted as multimers such as IgM, which is secreted as a pentamer, much like VLR-B. In VLR-B complex formation, specific amino acid residues are thought to be a key aspect of formation of the multimer.

The amino acid cysteine is capable of forming covalent, disulfide bonds with other cysteine residues. The cysteine-cysteine bonds in the VLR-B protein are thought to cause the protein-protein interaction responsible for formation of the multimeric complex. By mutating each of the seven conserved cysteine residues found in the VLR-B protein to serine residues, we can hopefully prevent formation of the bonds between cysteine residues.

Previous work in the lab accomplished these cysteine-serine mutations through site-directed mutagenesis. A primer is a nucleic acid sequence that acts as a starting point for DNA replication. Seven primer pairs, each containing one of the intended cysteine-serine mutations, were created and then used to create a plasmid with the ability to produce the mutated protein. The plasmids were then introduced into cells via transfection. This allowed for expression of the mutated VLR-B proteins in eukaryotic cells. The proteins were then isolated from the cells and examined by size using non-reducing SDS polyacrylamide gel electrophoreses to determine whether the mutation successfully affected multimer formation.

In this experiment, we will have one untransfected control, one wildtype control, and seven mutant constructs. The interest of this research is to gain a greater understanding of what is responsible for creating the VLR-B multimeric protein complexes in order to have a better understanding of how these unique receptors work.

Methods

Generation of Point Mutation

To generate point mutations, site-directed mutagenesis will be performed. A primer pair is created for each of the seven cysteine-serine mutations. An amplification reaction will be performed containing: pfx buffer, dNTPs, MgSO₄, template, primer 1 and 2, pfx, and water. The conditions that will be used for the primers created are 18 cycles at 95C, 30s; 46C, 1 min; 68C, 6.5 min. The products will then be digested with *dpn1*, which digests all non-mutated DNA, leaving only successfully mutated DNA.

Transfecting Cells and Cell Culture

Two types of transfection will be used in this process. The first is FuGene transfection using 293T cells. The 293T cells will be cultured in HyClone DMEM/High Glucose 10% FBS culture media and incubated at 37C. The second type of transfection that will be used is Electroporation of Jurkat cells. These cells will then be cultured in 10% RPMI and then incubated.

SDS Page Gel Electrophoresis

Non-reducing SDS polyacrylamide gel electrophoresis protocol will be used. The running gel will consist of dH₂O, 1.5M Tris, 10% SDS Stock, Acrylamide/Bis Stock 40%, 10% Ammonium Persulfate, and TeMed. The stacking gel will consist of dH₂O, 1M Tris, 10% SDS Stock, Acrylamide/Bis Stock 40%, 10% Ammonium Persulfate, and TeMed. The gel will be run according to protocol. Cells will then be centrifuged, supernatant will be removed via vacuum, 2x loading buffer will be added to cells, cells will then be boiled and then centrifuged before being loaded into wells. Gel will be run at 180V.

Results

Previous work in the lab has led to successful mutation of six out of the seven cysteine-serine residues. All cysteine residues, excluding number six, have been successfully mutated. So far, it has been found that 2 of these residues, numbers 3 and 4, have an effect on multimeric complex formation. It was found that mutation

of these two cysteine residues decreased the size of multimeric complexes formed. In the future, we plan to test the remaining mutant individually, as well as generate combinations of mutants that may lead to a more complete understanding of the role of cysteine residues in multimer formation.

Discussion

Vertebrate Immune systems have the unique ability to mount specific immune responses to foreign molecules. In lamprey, VLR-B protein is an important aspect of this adaptive immune response. Because of the importance of antibody research, and of the relevance of lamprey immune system from an evolutionary standpoint, it will be useful to gain a greater understanding of the VLR-B protein and its role in the adaptive immune response found in lamprey.

The first step in understanding VLR-B is to break down multimer complex formation. Because disulfide bonds between cysteine residues are thought to be responsible for the stability of the multimeric complex, mutation of one or more of the seven cysteine residues to serines in the VLR-B protein should lead to reduction of complex size.

Using site-directed mutagenesis, it is possible to create mutated VLR-B. This is done by creating a set of primers for each cysteine-serine mutation. Because the primers already contain the mutation, our amplification reaction can be used to generate large numbers of mutated plasmids. The plasmids are then transfected into 293T cells. This is accomplished by introducing the mutated DNA into the 293 T cells by a DNA/lipid complex that allows DNA to enter the cell. Once the cell has taken up the plasmid DNA, it can then begin expressing VLR-B protein. From here, the cells can be lysed and the protein can be analyzed.

After expressing the protein, it is possible to determine whether or not VLR-B multimeric complex formation has been successfully reduced. This is done via gel electrophoresis; the proteins extracted from the cells are separated by size. If the cysteine-serine mutations are indeed responsible for reducing multimer complex formation, we would expect to see a decrease in size of the VLR-B protein. Decrease in size of the multimer could mean that the com-

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plex is either completely or partially reduced in size.

In order to discover the specific impact of cysteine-cysteine bonds between VLR-B proteins, individual mutants of the seven cysteines are analyzed first. Then mutants will be generated in combinations to explore whether or not multiple cysteine residues are responsible for multimer formation.

Six of the seven cysteine residues have been successfully created, and the results have shown that two out of the seven led to a decrease in size of the multimer complex. In the future, we expect to further size reduction when combinations of cysteine residue mutations are generated. By breaking down the VLR-B multimer complex, it will be possible to isolate a single VLR-B protein. This will lead to an increased ability to understand the complexity of these receptors and their role in the lamprey adaptive immune response.

Conclusion

Due to the highly unique nature of the adaptive immune response in lamprey, the structure and function of its VLR are of great interest. The purpose of this research is to analyze multimer complex formation of VLR-B in order to increase understanding of the protein. In the future, we plan to continue this research to successfully elucidate the cysteine residues responsible for multimer formation.

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Trees, Technology and Academia: The Impact of Study Behavior, Technology, and Nature on Student Academic Performance

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As modern society becomes increasingly electronic and urbanized while becoming decreasingly organic, contemporary students of all ages are now facing progressively ubiquitous electronic distractions along with a gradual disappearance of the natural world within which they truly live. According to the Federal Communications Commission, “97 percent of American schools and nearly all public libraries now have basic Internet access” (Federal Communications Commission [FCC], 2010, p. 1). Moreover, the United Nations reports that, “at least 50 percent of the world’s population is living in cities [and] [b]y 2030, that number will jump to 60 percent, with nearly 2 billion new city residents” (The Nature Conservancy, 2008). Consequently, academic performance may begin to suffer when facing the pervasive technological elements of the twenty-first century, be it inescapable wireless Internet or a dominant concrete skyline.

Thus, a systemic investigation is imperative in order to understand the contemporary detriments to student academic performance. By exploring modern student study behaviors, the implementation of electronic technology into academia, and physiological reactions to the natural world, we may yet reveal how to counter the distractive properties of electronic technology and urbanization, and subsequently bolster student performance outcomes.

Student Study Behavior

Gurung, Weidert, and Jeske (2010) discovered that student study behaviors that reinforce critical thinking skills would bolster student exam outcomes while behaviors that detracted from higher-

order thinking would hinder outcomes. Study techniques that were employed by the students (e.g., mnemonics, studying notes, testing knowledge, making up examples and reading the course textbook) were found to have a significant positive correlation with their final exam score; conversely, the techniques that distracted the students from practicing critical thinking (e.g., having music and/or television on in the background, responding to emails or studying in the presence of friends) were shown to have a significant negative correlation with exam scores. Also, notably, the study techniques most predictive of better exam performance were the least used (e.g., testing one's knowledge of the material). Thus, it is *how* a student studies that is more deterministic toward positive academic achievement.

Further, Nonis and Hudson (2010) investigated the relationship between time spent studying and Grade Point Average (GPA), but with a concentration on a third variable: study habits, listed as the ability to concentrate, access to good notes, and proper study time scheduling. The study found that no correlation existed between amount of time studying and GPA, which lends credence to the importance of quality studying time. Regarding study habits, having access to good notes and possessing the ability to concentrate had a significant positive relationship to participants' GPA. Thus, good quality studying, a good set of notes, and maintaining concentration within the study session will certainly boost performance, yet this depends upon the circumstances surrounding the session.

As an alternate perspective, some researchers are investigating the influence of psychological attention disorders on students' academic performance. According to McConaughy et al. (2011), Attention Deficit Hyperactive Disorder (ADHD) includes symptoms of inattention, hyperactivity, and impulsivity. This study predicted that children diagnosed with ADHD had poorer academic performance when compared to a cohort group without any form of attention deficits. The researchers assessed the prevalence of clinical ADHD impairments, participant intelligence, and the behavior of the participants as observed from the perspectives of the teachers and parents. Accordingly, significant differences in academic performance were discovered between the clinically diagnosed children and the control of children without attention deficits. However, this study differs from previous research by recommending intervention

strategies that may help increase the performance of these impaired students, such as school-based interventions mediated by teachers, parents, and peers. One of the most salient points of the study states that effective interventions for treating ADHD in students should include decreasing the main symptoms of such (e.g., medication, etc...) while reinforcing problem areas in academic performance.

Technology and Academia

Due to the increase of electronic technology in modern society, Pierce and Vaca (2008) investigated how electronic technologies such as social networking sites (SNS)(e.g., MySpace, Facebook, etc.), cell phones used for talking during class, text messaging and Instant Messaging (IM) could be distracting and thereby affect students' academic performance. The study found that students who had a MySpace account reported lower grades than those who did not. Moreover, students who used their cell phone for text messaging and a computer for IMing had significantly lower grades than those who did not. Furthermore, students who used such aspects of technology *while studying* reported significantly lower grades than those who did not. Thus student performance decreases as technologies not exclusively intended for academic purposes are used during studying.

Lei (2010) delved further into examining the relationship between technology use and student academic performance (GPA), but with an emphasis on both the quantity and quality of technology usage. *Quantity* refers to the amount of time a student spends using technology, while *quality* refers to the purpose for which it was used (e.g., usage for increasing knowledge about a particular subject, social-communication/entertainment, and other). This study revealed no significant relationship between how long technology was used, either for strict academic purposes or otherwise & GPA. However, a statistically significant negative correlation existed between using technology for entertainment purposes and academic performance. Further, data trends illuminated a weak positive association between technology usage for the purposes of social communication and academic performance, suggesting a link reinforced by the students' ability to contact their teachers electronically should they need help

with schoolwork.

Barak, Lipson, and Lerman (2006) hypothesized that technology has a beneficial influence upon students' active participation in the learning process, though only if used in an academically appropriate manner (e.g., completing in-class work, completing homework assignments, researching relevant topics on the internet, etc.). The study discovered that most students feel generally positive about their experiences with technology usage inside the classroom, to the extent that it allows them an opportunity to engage with the material. However, the technology did not increase students' desire to be active in class. Moreover, even the students themselves voiced an opinion about the risk of being distracted by such easy access to electronic sources of entertainment, a conclusion validated by the researchers own observations.

Nature on Attention and Physiology

As technology becomes increasingly distracting, the pull on human attention becomes increasingly strained. Taylor, Kuo, and Sullivan (2001) reflect on the Jamesian theory of attention, which states that it is divided into voluntary (directed) and involuntary. Directed attention is focused at will, which becomes increasingly problematic in a world dominated by pervasive electronic stimulation. However, involuntary attention is pulled upon by external sources of stimulation.

Similar to ADHD, Attention Deficit Disorder (ADD) is defined as a persistent pattern of inattention, likely due to the overstimulation of directed attention. As such, this study hypothesized that a "green setting" (some place that visually resembled nature) would make ADD symptoms more manageable by allowing the natural world to pull in involuntary attention. The study discovered that play activities coded as "greener", meaning the children were more likely to play within the natural world, significantly increased the children's ability to concentrate on later tasks, which is a direct result of more manageable ADD symptoms. Furthermore, not only were the children actively engaged in their playtime, but the resultant effect of increased task concentration remained into later activities. In fact, one parent noted that his son's symptoms were

“minimal”, noting that his child was “very relaxed” (Taylor et al., 2001, p. 66). These results may be generalized toward creating ADD therapy based within the natural world. Moreover, the therapeutic effects of nature may not only help those diagnosed with ADD, but rather anyone who finds themselves easily distracted or who suffers from attention deficiency.

Further, Taylor and Kuo (2009) performed another investigation in an attempt to isolate the effect of the natural world on the restoration of attention. Using children clinically diagnosed with ADHD, this between-subjects study hypothesized that exposure to nature would produce a meaningful increase attention and the ability to concentrate. This particular study found that children’s ability to concentrate on cognitive-heavy tasks increased only for children who’d taken a walk in a green setting (e.g., a park) when compared to other, more urban settings (e.g., a downtown area or a residential area). As well, the researchers found that the 20-minute walk had the equivalent effect on attention restoration as the peak effect of methylphenidate, a common method of treatment for ADHD symptoms. Further, qualitative analysis revealed that children rated the park as more fun than either of the other two settings.

Tennessen and Cimprich (1995) tested the affect of nature directly upon student performance. Their study hypothesized that students whose dorm rooms had a view of the natural world would be less distracted while studying than those students whose rooms had views obstructed by buildings. The research categorized ‘dorm room view’ in order of obstruction, ranging from “all natural” (a full view of the natural world) to “all built” (a full view of an adjacent building). Interestingly, significant differences of attention test performance were discovered between the students who had a view of nature and the students who did not. Thus, students whose dorms had a partial or full view of nature were better able to concentrate and hold directed attention than those whose dorms had a partial or full view of a built setting. This suggests that exposure to nature can restore the fatigued directed attention of college students, in turn allowing them to focus more intently upon the tasks presented. However, the study is limited by an implication that a view of the natural world somehow has a beneficial effect on student attention performance, instead of listing casual factors.

Ulrich (1981) investigated the physiological and affective influence of nature by comparing the brain wave activity, heart rate, and emotion elicited by different natural and urban settings. The study hypothesized that views of nature (defined as a combination of trees, water, and hills) would elicit different physiological and affective responses than would views of urban settings (defined as including buildings, cars, and structures). The study found that both natural and urban types of settings corresponded to lower levels of attentiveness/interest and alertness, but only the urban slides elicited a statistically significant drop in attentiveness. Further, the nature slides increased feelings of wakeful relaxation. Regarding affective responses, only urban slides significantly increased feelings of fear and sadness. This study implies a link between physiological arousal and emotional response to that of different types of settings. However, only nature settings are shown to cause a significant decrease in sadness and fear, along with an increase in attentiveness.

Summary

Collectively, each of these studies touches on different influences upon academic performance. Concerning study habits, it seems that it is more important for the student to focus on *how* they are studying by examining the context of their behavior. Regarding technology, a strong positive correlation exists between students who use technology in an academically appropriate manner and their grades. It will be important to investigate the specific contexts and locations that might influence appropriate technology usage. As well, using technology for limited purposes, such as only subject-specific investigation, actually hinders student learning. Consequently, it is *how* technology is used that becomes a much greater determinant on overall performance than how long.

However, the addition of technology into a learning environment can be both harmful and beneficial. Future research must take into account the real-world application of technology as a learning enhancement tool, though with the caveat that it must be restrained in some manner in an attempt to decrease the risk of voluntary distraction.

The exposure and interaction with nature has a far-reaching effect on calming and recharging the directed attention of a broad spectrum of people whose concentration is constantly unfocused, such as students and people with ADD. This highlights the importance of making the natural world present in everyday life. Clearly, there is something within *at least* the aesthetic value of nature that has a positive impact on directed attention, if not generalizable to academic performance as a whole. As such, further research should take into account the natural world's ability to affect not only the body, but the mind as well. Nature may increase attention as well as decrease sadness and fear within students, which becomes an advantageous strategy when confronted with the extensive load that often accompanies college work.

Therefore, this study proposes to investigate how student study habits, "greenness" of study setting, and type of technology used will affect academic performance. I hypothesize that students who use study techniques that encourage critical thinking, study within a natural setting, and study with the help of academically-appropriate electronic technological aids will display greater academic achievement and success than those students who use only a combination of two methods or just one.

Methods

Participants

Thirty-seven students were recruited from university courses. The demographics measured for this sample of convenience were Age (17 – 24 years old, $M = 20.05$), Gender (84% Female, 16% Male), and Race/Ethnicity (46% White, 27% Hispanic/Latino, 11% Black/African American, 5% Native Hawaiian/Other Pacific Islander, 3% Asian, 8% Other/Decline to State). Moreover, all of the participants were no higher in education than those pursuing an M.A. or M.S. As compensation for their involvement, the participants were awarded extra credit points based upon their instructor's discretion.

Materials

Written consent form: The consent form included further details of the study, such as a brief background of the researcher,

assurance of complete confidentiality, and resources for psychological assistance should the need arise. Afterward, digital signature and date boxes were provided within which the participants typed the appropriate information.

Study habits measure: The variable Study Habit Type was measured both quantitatively and qualitatively by using a modified version of the survey used in Gurung, Weidert and Jeske (2010). The quantitative section was divided into three sections: 1) Main Location of Studying (e.g. your room, library, etc.); 2) Distracting Study Behaviors (e.g. How often do you study with the TV on? How often do you have music on?); and 3) Proper Study Behaviors (e.g. How often do you read your notes? How often do you review figures and tables in text?). The original Gurung, Weidert and Jeske survey was modified by including a small qualitative section that allowed the participants to list their own unique study habit, one that may not have been included in the quantitative section.

“Greenness” of study setting measure: Participants were asked to rate the “greenness” of their usual study setting by using a measure similar to Tennessen and Cimprich (1995), though with an extra value included to increase the possibility of variability among participants. The original scale was constructed as a 4-point Likert scale, the most natural settings measured as “[Consisting of] trees, grass, bushes, and/or lakes and no evidence of human influence” while the most un-natural settings described as “Views that were completely blocked by another building as well as views of streets and buildings, [with] ...no natural component” (p. 80). The scale used in this study was a 5-point Likert scale with the least “green” setting measured as being dominated by man-made objects, such as walls, furniture, and artificial light, while the most “green” setting would be described as being dominated by natural elements, such as trees, plants, and sunlight.

Academic appropriateness of technology usage: The variable Technology Usage was measured as “academically-appropriate,” keeping in mind the concept of distraction as posited by Pierce and Vaca (2008). Essentially, academic appropriateness of technology usage including websites (e.g. academic journals online, encyclopedic sites), mobile device applications (CourseSmart, Dictionary.com), and devices (Computers, Laptops, Tablets) that are specifical-

ly geared toward promoting scholastic achievement; any other usage during studying was considered a distraction to scholastic endeavors. Based on this definition, participants rated the academic appropriateness of their technology usage during a typical study session. A 5-point Likert scale measured the appropriateness. For example, the least academically appropriate usage of technology was listed as Usage dominated by websites/apps/devices that distract from scholastic endeavors, such as Social Networking Sites, unrelated games, iPods, etc., while the most academically appropriate usage of technology was listed as usage dominated by websites/apps/devices that promote scholastic endeavors, such as academic journals, encyclopedic sites, Tablets, etc. For those students who do not utilize technology while studying, instead remaining to use traditional study items (e.g. only paper, a writing instrument, and a textbook), I included a check box that will allowed the participants to opt-out of answering the technology section.

Demographics and GPA: At the end of the entire survey was a demographics section that included gender, age, and race/ethnicity, as well as box wherein which the participants disclosed their current known GPA.

Procedure

After a short speech about the purpose of the study, students interested in participating in the study listed their email address upon a sign-up sheet. Afterward, each participant was emailed a copy of the Written Consent Form and the Survey (Appendix A & Appendix B, respectively). The participants were instructed to read the Consent Form carefully, sign and date it, then complete the Survey by marking their answers within imbedded drop-down boxes. Once finished with the three main sections, they entered their demographic information. After all of these procedures were completed, the participants submitted their Consent Forms and Surveys via return email. And once the entire study had culminated, the participants' professors were notified of satisfactory participation and asked that the students be awarded due extra credit points.

Results

Study Habits Analysis

The “Distracting Habits” and “Proper Habits” sections of the Survey were each assessed for inter-item reliability, which yielded a Cronbach’s Alpha of .237 and .620, respectively. Afterward, simple descriptive statistical calculations illuminated a trend in study location, such that 70% of participants studied within their rooms, be it a dorm room or bedroom. Otherwise, the participants were equally mixed between studying within their living room or within the university’s library.

Regarding distracting behaviors, descriptive and correlational analyses revealed the nuances of these measures. Only 5% of participants never had the TV on while studying, which leaves the other 95% either having the television on some of the time or more often while studying. The more often the TV is turned on, the more likely students are to take notes from the class book ($r(35) = .360, p < .05$) and the less likely they are to re-write their notes ($r(35) = -.356, p < .05$). 64% of students have music playing while studying, while 36 % do not. 33% of students rarely or never have roommates around when studying, while the rest often do. Moreover, the more often roommates are present while studying, the more often the TV is to be turned on ($r(35) = .396, p < .05$). And 35% of participants are rarely or never responding to Instant Messages or emails while studying, while the rest are. Interestingly, the more often students respond to Instant Messages or emails while studying, the more likely they are to use mnemonic devices ($r(35) = .466, p < .01$)

Concerning proper study habits, descriptive and correlational analyses revealed interesting relationships between both the habits themselves and the habits and GPA. Only 24% of students reviewed class material 4 or more days throughout the week, while others reviewed 3 days or less. 89% percent of students are memorizing term definitions, while very few forgo memorization. Plus, tending significance shows women memorizing definitions more than men ($r(35) = -.315, p = .058$). 75% of students are bolstering their learning by making up examples of class material. 54% of participants read the

class text often, while the rest read sometimes or rarely. Yet, students who more often read the text were more likely to have a higher GPA ($r(35) = -.384, p < .05$). 86% of students read their notes and 35% often re-write them, and the more notes are read, the more likely they are re-written ($r(35) = .505, p < .01$). Plus, students who more often re-wrote their notes were more likely to have a higher GPA ($r(35) = -.336, p < .05$). 32% of students use concept checks, while others rarely do. Almost 60% of students use mnemonic devices while studying, and women statistically more so than men ($r(35) = -.455, p < .01$). 51% of participants reviewed highlighted information, and the more often this happened, the more likely students were to memorize definitions ($r(35) = .501, p < .01$). 68% of students reviewed figures and tables, a more often occurrence of which was strongly correlated with reviewing highlighted information ($r(35) = .738, p < .01$). 78% of students took notes from the book, and 60% studied with a friend often. Plus, the more often friends studied together, the more likely were students to both re-write their notes & use mnemonic devices ($r(35) = .326, p < .05, r(35) = .445, p < .01$). Now, concerning the qualitative section of the survey, some students reported using the class book, flashcards, and study groups combined, listening to classical music due to its calming properties, studying index cards while exercising at the gym, and creating a complete study guide with which to cover all of the material.

“Greenness” of Study Setting Analysis

Most participants coded their study surroundings as mostly or always dominated by man-made structures, with very little presence of the natural world ($M = 1.64$). Accordingly, no statistical significance was found under any analyses using Greenness of study location as an intervening variable.

Academic Appropriateness of Technology Usage Analysis

Most participants coded their technology usage as being moderately academically appropriate, with slightly more entertainment websites/apps/devices used while studying than scholastic websites/apps/devices ($N = 37, M = 2.75$). Further, the more students

used technology in ways that were not academically appropriate, the more likely students were to respond to Instant Messages or emails ($r(35) = .404, p < .05$). However, the more academically appropriate was the students technology usage, the more likely they were to review figures and tables, as well as review highlighted information ($r(35) = -.333, p < .05, r(35) = -.398, p < .05$). No statistically significant correlation was found between academic appropriateness of technology usage and GPA.

Greenness/Technology Usage/GPA Regression Analysis

Though no significant correlation was found between either greenness of study setting or academic appropriateness of technology usage and GPA, liner regression was utilized in order to investigate the possibility of an unseen interaction between each of the variables. However, after standardization and modeling, no significant interaction was discovered.

Table 1					
<i>Linear Regression of Greenness, Technology, and GPA</i>					
	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	T	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
(Constant)	3.342	.093		36.081	.000
Z-score: Greenness of study habit	.075	.093	.149	.800	.430
Z-score: Academic appropriateness of technology usage	-.068	.095	-.133	-.721	.476
ZG/ZA Interaction	.051	.113	.081	.448	.657
a. Dependent Variable: GPA					

Demographics

Participant GPA ranged from 1.5 to 4.0 ($M = 3.38, SD = .51$). However, no significant correlation was found between Race/Ethnicity, Gender, or Age and GPA.

Discussion

It seems fairly reasonable to assume there would be signifi-

cant relationships between items on the Main Location section of the survey and GPA. After all, university libraries are usually packed with students hushed over homework, which corresponds with the expected finding that students who study in locations that promote relative solitude would have higher GPAs. Accordingly, locations that include friends would predictably lead to a greater risk of distraction from studying. However, no significant relationships were discovered between study location and GPA. I imagine this was due to a small range of locations registered by the participants; indeed, most students studied either in the library or within their own rooms. A few studied in the living room, yet this is still under the same roof as their own dorm. All of these locations are typically used among students, and thus variability among the group did not exist.

Concerning the distracting study behaviors, the fact that 95 percent of the participants had the TV on while studying is particularly interesting. Moreover, those students were more apt to take notes from the class text, which is usually used as a supplement to the curriculum by professors, leaving the students possibly more likely to disregard their lecture notes. Plus, this effect may be exacerbated by having friends around, which all but guarantees that the television will be flickering in the background. Moreover, students who are IM/Email savvy seem to prefer mnemonic devices, which lends credit to the efficiency of such memorization techniques; in an increasingly hastened world, students exploit rapid ways not only to communicate, but to study as well.

However, proper study habits yield insight into modern students study behaviors as well. The participants seem to be utilizing traditional study techniques, such as memorizing definitions, reading notes, and using concept checks, yet it was only a couple that showed a positive relationship to academic performance. Re-writing notes had a significant effect on GPA, which may have been due to the constant revision of class material. Plus, reading the class text most likely gave the students multiple perspectives of the material, and thus a broader knowledge base from which to draw upon come exam time. However, an important distinction must here be made: having the TV on does not necessarily imply studying from the class text, as taking notes from a book requires at minimum the highlighting and transcription of important phrases; this may not translate into

comprehending the material. Further, when friends studied together, they were more apt to use the techniques that positively influence GPA, yet the TV might be on in the background. Indeed, further research is needed to fully understand the active and inactive processes during such times of studying.

Now, study habits alone glean some insight into academic performance, but there are of course other factors involved, namely the presence of the natural world in study locations and the academic appropriateness of technology usage. Unfortunately, there was no significant correlation found between nature and GPA. Most students invariably identified with studying in locations that were dominated by man-made structures and objects, such as homes and libraries. Rarely, it seems, do students study class material while exposed to nature, such as a park or atrium. Possible reasons for finding no significance regarding this variable are discussed further on.

Most, if not all, participants used technology to help with studying, yet there were only a few significant effects recorded. Students whose technology usage was less academically appropriate were far more likely to respond to Instant Messages and emails, which tailors to the preference of quick study methodologies. Conversely, students whose technology usage was more academically appropriate seemed to find interest in studying tables and figures, which significantly lead into reviewing highlighted information. Here, I could deduce that such contingencies are indirectly influencing GPA, yet further research is needed to confirm the accuracy of this assumption.

For the sake of understanding any possible interactions between the greenness of study location and technology usage, linear regression was utilized, yet failed to illuminate any relationships. It seems that the natural world may be better suited to recreation than academic pursuits. As well, technology does influence study habits, but further research is required in order to comprehend the magnitude of such an effect.

Conclusion

Limitations and Future Directions

The first and most obvious limitation of this study was the sample size. Due to time constraints, further solicitation of participants was not possible. However, the effect sizes of the significant correlations would be magnified as N increases, which may illuminate relationships otherwise impossible to see. As well, this study cannot causally determine the greatest influence to student GPA. The correlations discovered were strong, though future research will have to become far more intricate when attempting to narrow down the specific predictors of great academic performance. Ideally, individual experimentation of the variables of study habit, greenness of study location, and academic appropriateness of technology usage will yield the most accurate results. From then, we may yet draw specific conclusions about the determinants to high and low GPAs. Afterward, within-subjects, multi-variable studies about the interactions of study habits, location greenness, and technology usage may be possible.

Another limitation presents itself in the form of singular questions when attempting to assess the greenness of study location and academic appropriateness of technology usage. For the purposes of this particular study, a single question for each was sufficient. However, it would be wise for future studies to assess the individual components involved in each variable. For instance, participants might be asked to identify and count the specific elements of nature that are present within their preferred study location. Or perhaps participants' website, application, or device usage while studying could be recorded by sophisticated software; given the subjective nature of the questions, a cleaner, more empiric approach to measuring the academic appropriateness of technology usage may yield increasingly specific results. Such a microscopic examination would further clarify the points of influence upon academic performance. Moreover, detailed experimentation should utilize the inclusion of specific natural elements and/or devices within a study area in order to better predict contextual influences to GPA.

Concerning the natural world explicitly, the future direction of this particular study would focus upon separating macroscopic perspectives of study location and the natural world. If students predominantly study within man-made structures, to what extent do they use the natural world for recreation? If we know that nature

recharges attention span, perhaps students inherently separate work from play, leaving school-work indoors and escaping to the outdoors in order to momentarily flee the pressure of academia. Future research would investigate both the intricacies of study behavior and technology usage, as well as student recreational use of the natural world, and thereby attempt to draw correlations between such variables.

Appendix A

College Students' Study Habits Notice of Written Consent

I am Daniel Mello, an undergraduate psychology researcher facilitating this project under the mentorship of Dr. Elisa Velásquez of the psychology department here at SSU

By entering your name and the date in the boxes below, you are consenting to participate in this study. To ensure complete confidentiality, the entire survey will only be identified by a numeric code and will not be associated with your name. As well, all emails associated with the project will be permanently deleted. Ultimately, my final report will aggregate data from all participants.

Please read the survey questions to ensure you are comfortable disclosing your academic behaviors. Your decision to participate in this study is completely voluntary. Your decision whether or not to participate will not prejudice your future relations with Sonoma State University or the Psychology Department. You are free to discontinue participation at any time or to skip any questions that you do not feel comfortable with.

In the case that any survey question may elicit some issues you want to further discuss or understand with a professional, feel free to use the SSU Counseling and Psychological Services (CAPS) at <http://www.sonoma.edu/counselingctr/> or call them at (707) 664-2153.

If you have any questions about this study or would like to receive a copy of the report, please feel free to contact me (mellod@seawolf.sonoma.edu) or Dr. Velásquez (elisa.velasquez@sonoma.edu), or you may contact the Office of Research and Sponsored Programs at 707-664-2448.

Enter Your Name

Enter Date

Daniel Mello, A.A.
Principal Investigator
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Sonoma State University
Mellod@seawolf.sonoma.edu

Appendix B

COLLEGE STUDENTS' ASSESSMENT SURVEY

Guidelines for completing this survey:

- Click inside the grey box to answer. *All answers will remain completely anonymous.*
- Please be COMPLETELY HONEST when expressing your actual behavior.
- Once completed, save and return email the document to Mellod@seawolf.sonoma.edu

I. STUDY HABITS

Where do you spend most of your time studying?

- 1) Your room (dorm/bedroom)
- 2) A friend's room
- 3) Living room/lounge area
- 4) library
- 5) Somewhere quiet on campus

How often do you do each of the following while you study?

Trees, Technology and Academia

A. Have the TV on?

- 1) All the time 2) Often 3) Sometimes 4) Rarely 5) Never

B. Have music on?

- 1) All the time 2) Often 3) Sometimes 4) Rarely 5) Never

C. Have Roommates/Family/Friends around

- 1) All the time 2) Often 3) Sometimes 4) Rarely 5) Never

D. Respond to Instant Messaging/email on the internet

- 1) All the time 2) Often 3) Sometimes 4) Rarely 5) Never

How often do you do each of the following?

Review the material after class

- 1) All the time 2) Often 3) Sometimes 4) Rarely 5) Never

Memorize definitions through repetition (e.g., studying boldface words, flashcards, etc.)

- 1) All the time 2) Often 3) Sometimes 4) Rarely 5) Never

Make up examples to understand material/incorporate materials into everyday life

- 1) All the time 2) Often 3) Sometimes 4) Rarely 5) Never

Read the text from class

- 1) All the time 2) Often 3) Sometimes 4) Rarely 5) Never

Read your notes

- 1) All the time 2) Often 3) Sometimes 4) Rarely 5) Never

Re-write notes and/or skim notes

- 1) All the time 2) Often 3) Sometimes 4) Rarely 5) Never

Use concept checks/chapter-end-questions to test your knowledge (i.e., not just studying the answers).

- 1) All the time 2) Often 3) Sometimes 4) Rarely 5) Never

Think of mnemonic devices (like remembering OCEAN for per-

sonality traits)

1) All the time 2) Often 3) Sometimes 4) Rarely 5) Never

Review highlighted information from text

1) All the time 2) Often 3) Sometimes 4) Rarely 5) Never

Review figures and tables in text

1) All the time 2) Often 3) Sometimes 4) Rarely 5) Never

Take notes from the book

1) All the time 2) Often 3) Sometimes 4) Rarely 5) Never

Study with a friend (make examples up for terms and have them answer, etc.)

1) All the time 2) Often 3) Sometimes 4) Rarely 5) Never

If your own unique study habit was not listed above, please include it here:

II. “GREENNESS” OF STUDY SETTING

Rate the next question numerically by using the scale directly below it.

To what degree are live elements of the natural world present within the place you usually study? Examples include trees, but not a wooden table; flowers and plants that aren’t plastic; lighting that is directly from the sun.

1	<u>Least Green</u> : Dominated by man-made objects, such as walls, furniture, artificial light.
2	<u>Moderately Green</u> : Few natural elements within a mostly man-made setting.

3	<u>Intermediately Green</u> : Presence of natural elements common within the setting.
4	<u>Predominantly Green</u> : Few man-made objects within a mostly natural setting.
5	<u>Most Green</u> : Dominated by natural elements, such as trees, plants, and sunlight.

III. TYPE OF TECHNOLOGY USAGE DURING STUDY TIME

Rate the next question numerically by using the scale directly below it.

To what degree do you rate your overall usage of technology during a typical study session?

1	<u>Least Appropriate</u> : Usage dominated by websites/apps/devices that mostly distract from scholastic endeavors, such as Social Networking Sites, unrelated games, iPods, etc.
2	<u>Moderately Appropriate</u> : Few scholastic websites/apps & many distracting websites/apps used while studying.
3	<u>Intermediately Appropriate</u> : Both scholastic and distracting sites/apps equally used during studying.
4	<u>Predominantly Appropriate</u> : Few distracting sites/apps & many scholastic sites/apps used while studying.
5	<u>Most Appropriate</u> : Usage dominated by websites/apps/devices that completely advance scholastic endeavors, such as academic journals, encyclopedic sites, Tablets, etc.

Check here if you do not use electronic technology while studying.

DEMOGRAPHICS

1. What is your race/ethnicity/culture?
2. What is your gender?
3. What is your age?
4. What is your GPA?

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Clipping as a Control of the Invasive Yellow Starthistle, *Centaurea Solstitialis*

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Biological invasions are an ongoing ecological problem worldwide. Invasive species have become especially prevalent in California grasslands, where nonnative annuals have largely come to replace perennial grasses and forbs. Yellow starthistle, or *Centaurea solstitialis*, is a common invader of California grasslands and threatens both biological diversity and human interests. Successful restoration of natural systems in the case of a *C. solstitialis* invasion calls for knowledge of how yellow starthistle reacts to different methods of control at different times of its growing season. At Fairfield Osborn Preserve in Rohnert Park, California, we conducted an experiment examining the effects of clipping on the growth of yellow starthistle, and whether clipping at different times of the growing season leads to significantly different measurements of height and dry aboveground biomass. Clipping led to significantly shorter plants at the end of the growing season, although the season in which plants were clipped did not lead to significant differences in height. Clipping only led to reduced aboveground biomass for plants that were clipped in the summer. We still need further information on how seasonal clipping may reduce the reproductive success of yellow starthistle, through its effects on inflorescence development and seed set.

Invasive species are a major threat to ecosystems worldwide (Shimamoto et al. 2011). Wilcove et al. (1998) found that invasive species are the second leading cause of extinction in the United States. Biological invasions in the grasslands of California have transformed systems of native species into systems dominated by exotic grasses and forbs (D'Antonio & Corbin 2004). Biological invasions continue to be of scientific significance because of their threat to native biodiversity and human ecosystem services. There

Invasive Yellow Starthistle

is a continuing need to understand the mechanisms by which ecosystems become impacted by exotic invasive species, control exotic species determined to be invasive, and prevent further invasions from occurring.

Yellow starthistle (*Centaurea solstitialis*) is a highly problematic invader of California grasslands as well as the rest of the United States (Eskandari et al. 2011). It was introduced to North America in the mid-1800s and has come to be a prevalent invader of all 48 contiguous states, California being the most impacted of all (Suszkiw 2004). *C. solstitialis* is a member of the family Asteraceae, and decimates soil moisture with its extensive and demanding root system. In years of even, normal rainfall, yellow starthistle exhausts enough water from the soil to put a system in drought conditions (DiTomaso et al. 2006). This impacts domestic water supply and puts a great deal of stress on fisheries, as streams with low water flow are not suitable for fish migrating to spawning grounds (DiTomaso et al. 2006). Yellow starthistle also has a negative impact on agricultural rangeland. It is toxic to horses and causes a phenomenon called nigropallidal encephalomalacia, or “chewing disease,” upon ingestion, which results in fatality (Uygur 2004, DiTomaso et al. 2006). It also reduces the carrying capacity of rangeland because cows will not graze on the spiny flowering heads (Benefield et al. 1999, DiTomaso et al. 2006). The competitive ability of yellow starthistle also severely impacts native plant abundance and diversity (Benefield et al. 2001).

A number of efforts have been explored to control and reduce the abundance of yellow starthistle. Common control methods include controlled burns, herbicides, mowing, and biocontrol agents (Benefield et al. 2001, Suszkiw 2004, Woods et al. 2009, Woods et al. 2010). There is a continuing need to find alternative methods of control that are less likely to harm other aspects of the natural environment, such as native biodiversity (D’Antonio & Meyerson 2002). We were interested in how clipping yellow starthistle plants at different times during the growing season may affect its growth and success.

Clipping may be an effective method for controlling invasive species, but we must first determine how each species reacts individually to loss of biomass. Some species respond to clipping

negatively and are unable to compensate for loss of biomass (Bi et al. 2004). It is common for many species to respond to mowing, clipping, or grazing by compensating or overcompensating their growth and returning to a normal or larger size (Bee et al. 2007, Kimball & Schiffman 2003). Plants may also compensate by producing more reproductive structures instead of vegetative structures (Pilson & Decker 2002). In addition, we sought to examine the effects of clipping at different times of the growing season because compensation mechanisms have been found to differ between plants of different stages or sizes (Benfield et al. 2001, Rinella & Hileman 2009, Gao et al. 2009).

Our research questions were as follows: 1) Does clipping in general reduce the height and biomass of yellow starthistle plants? 2) Does yellow starthistle respond differently with respect to these variables when it is clipped early or late in the growing season? Significant findings could have implications for management and restoration of systems invaded with yellow starthistle, which would be beneficial for native biodiversity, municipal water supply and agriculture.

Methods

Study System

We conducted our experiment at Fairfield Osborn Preserve, in the Sonoma Mountains of Northern California. The area experiences mild climatic conditions, with hot dry summers and cool, wet winters. The preserve consists of many different types of habitats, including different riparian zones, oak woodlands and forests, ponds, and grasslands. The grasslands of the preserve are thoroughly invaded with Harding grass and yellow starthistle, which grow separately from each other. Yellow starthistle occurs in at least four different grassland areas within the preserve boundaries. It sometimes co-occurs with *Hemizonia congesta*, the Hayfield tarweed, but is dominant in most of the areas in which it grows within the preserve.

Experimental Design

In early April 2011, we set up ten plots at various locations within the boundaries of Fairfield Osborn Preserve in Rohnert Park, California. Plots were set up in areas where yellow starthistle was abundant. (It was not possible to get enough plants in one plot in areas that were less concentrated.) Each plot was set up using a belt transect that was 1 meter in length and 1 meter in width. The transects were used purely for recording the location of the plants chosen for manipulation and were not meant to study the existence of a gradient.

The direction of each transect was randomly determined by blindly throwing a pin flag in a twirling fashion in an area of high yellow starthistle concentration. The direction in which the bottom of the pin flag pointed at landing determined the start of the transect. The transect acted as an X-axis for recording plant positions and consisted of coordinates 0 through 100 (centimeters). We divided these axes into four quadrants: Quadrant I (0-25 cm), Quadrant II (25-50 cm), Quadrant III (50-75 cm), and Quadrant IV (75-100 cm). Each quadrant contained only one plant that was used in the experiment, totaling four subjects per plot. Using a random numbers table, we randomly selected the Y-coordinate and side of the transect for each subject. If a yellow starthistle seedling was not present at the selected coordinate, we used the closest one, and if a plant was not present on one side of the transect, we used the same coordinate for the other side. We recorded the coordinates for each seedling for our own reference.

We also had criteria for selecting which seedlings were suitable for treatment. We only selected seedlings that had two true leaves or more (although by the time we began implementing treatments, seedlings had grown to an average of six true leaves each). This was to ensure that the treatments would not kill our subjects before they were able to successfully establish themselves, since the purpose of the experiment is to obtain information about sites with well-established *C. solstitialis* individuals.

Treatment levels were as follows: No clipping (control), spring clipping, summer clipping, and clipping in both spring and summer. In each plot, we designated one seedling for each treatment level. We determined treatments randomly, but for the last seedling in the plot

we used the only category that was left for that plot instead of using random selection. Immediately after determining treatments, we labeled each of our subjects with a foil tag indicating the plot number, the quadrant number, and the treatment category. This information was also recorded on a data sheet for our records.

To impose our clipping treatments, we returned to the plots in late April (spring clipping) and late July (summer clipping). We clipped our plants at the base of the stem to take nearly all biomass from the plants. At the end of the growing season (early October), we recorded the height of each plant and then harvested all aboveground biomass, which we dried and recorded in the laboratory.

Analyses

We analyzed our data using the SAS program. We performed two two-way ANOVAs—the first using aboveground biomass as the dependent variable and the other using height as the dependent variable. In both tests, the independent variables were clipping (clipped, not clipped), and season of clipping (spring, summer). The plants that died were excluded from the analyses.

Results

The two-way ANOVA for height determined that plants clipped in the spring were significantly shorter than those that were not clipped ($F_{1,22}=8.33$, $p=0.0086$). Plants clipped in the summer were also significantly shorter than those that were not clipped ($F_{1,22}=48.96$, $p<0.0001$). Plants clipped in both spring and summer did not exhibit significant differences from those clipped in either spring or summer, nor did spring and summer clipping differ significantly from each other, although there appeared to be a slight trend with spring-clipped plants being slightly taller than those clipped in the summer ($F_{1,22}=2.88$, $p=0.1035$). In summary, there was no two-way interaction term between clipping and season of clipping.

The two-way ANOVA for aboveground biomass determined that plants clipped in the spring showed no differences from those that were not clipped in spring, summer, both seasons, and those clipped in the summer ($F_{1,21}=0$, $p=0.9869$). Plants clipped in the summer had

Invasive Yellow Starthistle

significantly less aboveground biomass than those not clipped in the summer ($F_{1,21}=5.40$, $p=0.0302$). However, plants clipped in the summer did not exhibit any significant differences from those that were clipped or not clipped in the spring ($F_{1,21}=0.14$, $p=0.7161$). In other words, there was an interaction term between clipping and season in which clipping only led to significantly lower biomass for only summer-clipped plants, and in which clipping had no effect on biomass of spring-clipped plants.

Discussion

In this experiment, we determined that season of clipping did not significantly affect height, though clipping in general led to shorter yellow starthistle plants. We also determined that clipping led to reduced biomass only if it was carried out in the summer as opposed to the spring, and that biomass was not affected by clipping during the spring. This study shows that yellow starthistle generally does not grow back to its previous height after clipping, which contradicts studies that determined it to adequately compensate in such circumstances, such as Callaway et al. (2006). The fact that spring clipping reduced height but not biomass suggests that there was a form of compensation occurring in yellow starthistle that allowed it to grow its biomass back laterally instead of vertically. We noticed while collecting our plants that the plants clipped in the spring grew back with several outward-reaching branches, as opposed to the upright stems our control plants exhibited. Whether or not the branching pattern of the plants is related to their reproductive success needs to be examined further. Benefield et al. (1999) found that the initial branching pattern of yellow starthistle has some influence on whether mowing is a successful mode of control, but we need more information about how its terminal branching pattern is related to its fecundity.

We also need to determine whether clipping or biomass have any affect on inflorescence and seed development. A study by Benefield et al. (2001) found that late season control efforts have the most effective reduction on seed development, with minimal seed production late in the growth stage but early after heads begin developing. This is consistent with our findings of lower biomass for plants

clipped in the summer. It would be helpful to determine a causal or at least truly correlative relationship between these variables.

It may be possible that in order for clipping to be effective, it must take place on a more consistent basis. A study by Shimamoto et al. (2011) found that in order for clipping a different invasive species (also in the Asteraceae family) to be effective, it must take place in time intervals of eight weeks or less. Clipping yellow starthistle may need to take place over several intervals in the growing season as opposed to only two. This information should be explored in the future.

Further research should be conducted on how clipping *C. solstitialis* affects the surrounding species in the area as well. A greenhouse experiment by Callaway et al. (2006) found that when foliage was removed from yellow starthistle, it compensated for the loss of biomass and caused the biomass of surrounding native species to be significantly reduced. However, Maztek & Hill (2012) found that mowing areas invaded by yellow starthistle significantly reduced its seed bank and biomass without negatively affecting native vegetation. It may be useful to conduct a similar experiment again at the preserve to determine if there are any regional differences to how vegetation may respond to such control methods.

In the future, we would like to look into the same treatments using number of inflorescences and/or seeds produced. Since control efforts should focus on reducing the abundance of established plants and the prevention of further establishment, so determining whether clipping is effective in reducing reproduction would be useful for land management and restoration ecology.

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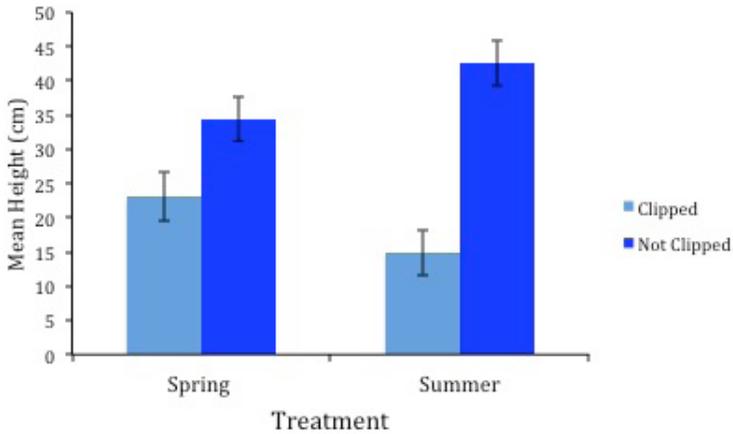


Figure 1. Mean height (± 1 S.E.) of yellow starthistle plants as a function of clipping (clipped or not clipped) and season of clipping (spring or summer).

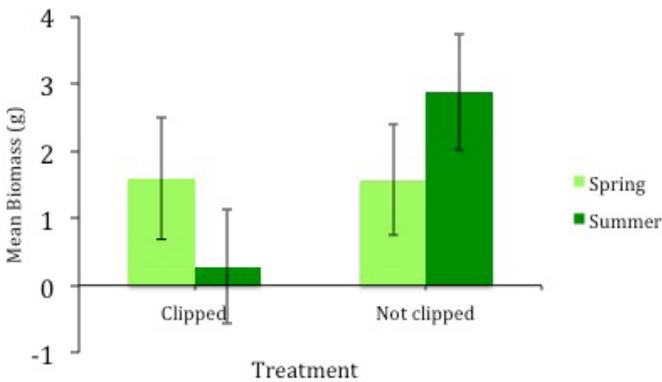


Figure 2. Mean biomass (± 1 S.E.) of yellow starthistle plants as a function of clipping (clipped or not) and season (spring or summer).

Male Reproductive Isolation in Pacific Newts

Mallory Rice, Biology

Research Mentor: Derek Girman, Ph.D.

Chemical cues are often used as a mechanism for reproductive isolation among sympatric species. It allows species to recognize conspecific mates within their environment because sympatric species often have overlapping breeding territory. Many studies have been conducted to exhibit the importance of chemical cues in order to maintain reproductive isolation and prevent hybridization between closely related species. For example, in Tierney and Dunham's study they suggested that crayfishes use chemical cues to preserve reproductive isolation and found that hybridization was uncommon among the species, *Orconectes propinquus* and *Orconectes virilis*, studied. Although the crayfish species studied have been sympatric for a prolonged period of time, they were able to recognize heterospecific and conspecific mate choices via chemical cues within the lab. However, in their study males did not significantly prefer conspecifics over heterospecific mates, while females were able to recognize conspecific and heterospecific mates successfully (1984). This study supports the findings of Harvey's study, yet her study lacks male mate preference data.

The group of Pacific newts provide an opportunity to study reproductive isolation via chemical cues. The three sympatric species, *Taricha torosa torosa*, *Taricha granulosa*, and *Taricha rivularis*, are closely related, yet hybridization does not occur. A past study suggests that reproductive isolation is preserved by a chemical cue males give off that females can distinguish among heterospecific and conspecific males (Harvey 2011). Although thorough research has been conducted on the female reproductive isolation methods among the Pacific newts, research lacks on the male mate preference for reproductive isolation between these sympatric species. This study hopes to further explore how male mate preference plays a role in maintaining reproductive isolation via chemical cues among the Pacific newts.

Methods

Study Sites and Collection

The newts were collected from three sites at the Galbreath Preserve: the Wood Duck Pond, the Seasonal Pond, and the Rancheria Creek. The *T. torosa torosa* and *T. granulosa* were collected from the ponds because they breed in them, while *T. rivularis* were collected from the creek, where it breeds. Adult newts were collected using a long net and scooping up the newts. They were then put into gallon containers filled partially with water. The research was conducted at a shed at the preserve that is located between the research sites. After the experiments were completed, the newts were returned to the ponds or creek that they came from in order to maintain ecosystems.

Experimental Methods

The newts were kept for less than six hours while mate selection trials were performed.

Chemosensory trials were performed using a Y-shaped maze (Figure 1.0). A heterospecific female and conspecific female were placed in separate chambers at the end of the maze. Perforated gates allowed their chemical cues to pass through the water. The male was placed at the head of the maze. The newts stayed in their chambers of the maze for ten minutes to allow the chemical cues to spread throughout the water. The male was then given thirty minutes to swim half way up one of the arms, which was considered his 'choice' of a mate.

Data Collection

After a trial was completed, the size and mass of the newts were recorded. Additionally, the newts' toes were clipped in order to recognize newts that may occur again in future trials. For each trial the date, duration of time, water temperature, air temperature, and mate choice of the male newt were collected.

Results

Preliminary data shows that *T. granulosa* males selected the *T. rivularis* females 60% of the time and the *T. granulosa* females 40% of the time. Although this data is not statistically significant, it is pertinent to note that the *T. granulosa* males chose the heterospecific females more often than females of their own species. More trials will need to be conducted in order to ensure the statistical rigor of these results. Additionally, the *T. granulosa* males selected a mate between the range of 45-89 seconds, even though they were given thirty minutes.

Discussion

Males seem to lack the ability to distinguish species via chemical cues. The inconsistency for the male to choose the same species of female leads us to conclude that females are predominately responsible for determining the species-specific differences with chemical cues among the Pacific newts. Furthermore, the preliminary data suggest that males, unlike females, are not responsible for reproductive isolation in regards to mate choice, it is females that drove this process. This idea is supported by a past study in which the *T. granulosa* females used chemical cues for species recognition (Harvey 2011), whereas in our data the male had no preference in regards to a female mate. Males were unable to discern between heterospecific and conspecific females, while females have demonstrated a significant preference for the conspecific male. It is suggested that males have a strong drive to mate with any female, whereas females are driven to mate with only males of their own species. This supports established theories regarding the impact of sexual selection on mate choice.

In many species, females invest more time and resources in raising their offspring than do males, which suggests that females are more selective about their mate choice to ensure that their offspring will be viable. Additional studies suggest that female preference can also heavily influence evolutionary traits in males, such as the dimorphic dorsal fin in *Xiphophorus birchmanni* (Morris, Robinson, & Tudor 2011). It makes evolutionary sense for females to prefer

Male Reproductive Isolation

males that have desirable traits that can be passed onto offspring because that secures the evolutionary success of the species. Another study involving female preference among sympatric species is Sullivan and Cocroft's study with *Enchenopa binotata*. It was determined that female mate selection was the only significant source of male fitness and that there was no significant evidence that male-male competition contributed to mating success (2010). Therefore, it can be said that female preference is the major significant factor that influences mate selection among many sympatric species, such as Pacific newts.

Our study further supports the sexual selection theory in regards to female preference. Additional research is necessary in order to fully understand the impacts of female preference on the evolution of Pacific newts and more data can be collected in regards to male mate preference via chemical cues in order to make our findings statistically significant.

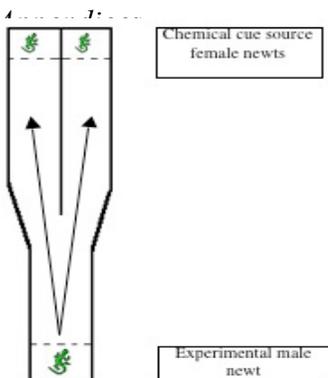
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Wisconsin v. FEC and Citizens United v. FEC:
Effects on the U.S. House Elections of 2010

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The Supreme Court decision *Citizens United v. Federal Election Commission* (2010) dismayed many Americans. One of those who expressed his discontent was President Barack Obama, who said in his 2010 State of the Union Address that “With all due deference to separation of powers, last week the Supreme Court reversed a century of law that I believe will open the floodgates for special interests, including foreign corporations, to spend without limit in our elections.”¹¹ While many clapped, Supreme Court Associate Justice Samuel Alito could be seen mouthing “not true.” The 2007 *Wisconsin Right to Life v. FEC* and 2010 *Citizens United v. FEC* cases of *Wisconsin Right to Life* and *Citizens United* have made it possible for corporations to give without limits and without disclosure under the protection of the First and Fourteenth amendments. This can be demonstrated by the dramatic shift from the primary source of campaign donations originating from disclosed sources with limits established by the McCain-Feingold law of 2002 to new types of campaign donor organizations that can give freely without limits and/or disclosure requirements since 2010. These two Supreme Court rulings gave greater weight to the theory of hegemonic domination of our election system by ruling elites.

This paper will demonstrate the increasing role of money in facilitating the dramatic shift of majority control of the U.S. House of Representatives from Republican to Democratic controlled in 2006 and from Democratic to Republican controlled in 2010. More “outside” money being spent in the Congressional House election in 2010 may have had an effect on the sudden change in the majority party control in 2010. This is illustrated by a study of 15 opposition

¹¹ 2010 State of the Union Address

candidates who won races for open seats in 2010 as a result of having an overall money advantage, and to a lesser extent, an advantage in outside money.

Between 2006 and 2010, the House of Representatives changed majority party control twice, during two mid-term elections. After twelve years of the Republican Party holding the majority of the House, in 2006 the Democrats gained thirty-one seats, which allowed them to become the majority party in the House. Interestingly, this only lasted four years. In 2010, the House of Representatives switched to Republican Party control. There are many factors that could be attributed to these two dramatic changes in majority party control. Some of them could include the discontent of the American citizens with the Bush administration, more specifically the War in Iraq and the slow response to the 2005 Hurricane Katrina disaster. In 2010, the continuing war in Iraq, as well as Afghanistan and the Obama administration's handling of the economy, could have also impacted the outcome of the mid-term election. While these critical issues of the economic meltdown and wars would tend to have an impact in local elections, it is unusual for incumbents to lose re-election as a result of the "incumbent advantage." While money has played an increasingly influential role in elections since the 1896 McKinley campaign, and especially since the 1976 *Buckley v. Valeo* Supreme Court decision, the dramatic turnover of majority party control in 2006 and 2010 may illustrate the accelerating growth of money influence in marginal "open" House races in which no incumbent is in the race. This paper will examine the propensity for the outcome of marginal House races to go to candidates of the opposition party who have a money advantage regardless of party. A lesser, but still important examination will be of the advantage in raising "outside" money from post-*Citizens United* fundraising organizations. In short, having the fundraising advantage, and to a lesser extent in unlimited and undisclosed money, gives a candidate an increasing likelihood of not only winning the seat, but flipping it to the opposition party.

Corporate Personhood

Many Americans are not familiar with the concept of

personhood let alone corporate personhood. Canadian philosopher Charles Taylor explains that a person is...

more than simply a synonym for ‘human being’, ‘person’ figures primarily in moral and legal discourse. A person is a being with *a certain moral status*, or a bearer of rights. But underlying the moral status, as its condition, are *certain capacities*. A person is a being who has a sense of self, has a notion of the future and the past, can hold values, make choices; in short, can adopt life-plans.²²

Explaining the concept of corporate personhood is an even greater challenge. Anne Tucker points out that “corporate personhood is central to the determination of corporations’ claim to First Amendment free speech rights. The Court struggles to appropriately define, or, more accurately, conceptualize corporations for the purpose of extending or denying constitutional rights.”²³

The inconsistency of the Supreme Court to properly define corporate personhood allows for a corporation to be considered a person for certain aspects of law and not a person for other aspects of law such as taxation. There is a significant discrepancy between the Supreme Court’s conceptualization of corporate political speech in the *Citizens United* decision and traditional corporate law principles.

Tucker believes that corporate political speech can be distinguished from individual speech and emphasizes five flaws in considering corporate personhood as equivalent to personal personhood: corporate political speech has an economic motivation, there is no singular corporate voice, the risk of compelled speech, the identity of the corporate speaker matters when regulating corporate speech, and the equalization rationale is not used.⁴ Tucker explains the progression of the views of the court on corporate personhood.

In *Trustees of Dartmouth College v. Woodward* (1819) the court

2 Charles Taylor. “The Concept of a Person”, *Philosophical Papers. Volume 1*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985, 97.

3 Tucker, Anne. 2011. Flawed Assumptions: A Corporate Law Analysis of Free Speech and Corporate Personhood in *Citizens United*. *Case Western Reserve Law Review*. 61(2), 497.

4 Ibid. 499.

ruled, “A corporation is an artificial being, invisible, intangible, and existing only in contemplation of law. Being the mere creature of law, it possesses only those properties which the charter of its creation confers upon it, either expressly, or as incidental to its very existence.”⁵ Nonetheless, the court recognized corporations as having the same rights as natural persons to contract and to enforce contracts. In the *Slaughterhouse Cases* (1873), the Supreme Court stated that Fourteenth Amendment could not protect corporations; however, the 1886 *Santa Clara County v. Southern Pacific Railroad Co.* decision, in which the railroad company sought to evade local property taxes, allowed for corporations to be granted rights such as unreasonable searches protection under the Fourth Amendment, the freedom to counsel under the Sixth Amendment, jury trials in civil cases under the Seventh Amendment, and the freedom of speech under the First Amendment.⁶

Supreme Court Precedent

Melvin I. Urofsky author of *Money and Free Speech: Campaign Finance Reform and the Courts* and Brian Pinaire in his book *The Constitution of Electoral Speech Law* further discusses the cases that led to *Wisconsin Right to Life, Inc. v. Federal Election Commission* (2007) and *Citizen United v. Federal Election Commission* (2010), *Buckley v. Valeo* (1976), *First National Bank of Boston v. Bellotti* (1978), *Austin v. Michigan Chamber of Commerce* (1990), and *McConnell v. Federal Election Commission* (2003).

According to Pinaire, “Buckley is the proper starting point for the consideration of efforts to restrict the flow of money into the electoral speech marketplace.”⁷⁷ Although *Buckley* came 90 years after *Santa Clara*, this ruling allowed for corporations to begin

5 17 U.S. 4(Wheat.) 518 (1819).

6 Tucker, Anne. 2011. Flawed Assumptions: A Corporate Law Analysis of Free Speech and Corporate Personhood in Citizens United. *Case Western Reserve Law Review*,61(2)504.

7 Pinaire , Brian K. *The constitution of electoral speech law: The Supreme Court and freedom of expression in campaigns and election.* Stanford Palo Alto, California: Stanford University Press, 2008. P.60

claiming that campaign contributions were freedom of speech. In *Buckley v. Valeo* (1976), the court upheld campaign contribution limits, but the Court held that First Amendment right to free speech protects political spending. More specifically, the Court upheld the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, which limited individual contributions to “\$1,000 to any single candidate per election, and overall limit of \$25,000 on all donations by any one contributor.”⁸⁸ In addition, the Court sustained disclosure and reporting provisions of FECA. The Court argued “To the extent that large contributions are given to secure a political quid pro quo from current and potential officeholders, the integrity of our system of representative democracy is undermined.”⁹ The Court concluded that large contributions could lead to *quid pro quo* arrangements between the contributor and candidate. However, the Court struck down limits on campaign or political spending. In the per curiam opinion, the Court held that “A restriction on the amount of money a person or group can spend on political communication during a campaign necessarily reduces the quantity of expression by restricting the number of issues discussed, the depth of their exploration, and the size of the audience reached.”¹⁰ The Court protected political spending under the First Amendment grounds.

In *First National Bank of Boston v. Bellotti* (1978), the Court upheld that corporations had First Amendment rights to make contributions to influence the political process. In *Austin v. Michigan Chamber of Commerce* (1990), the Court prohibited corporations from using money from their corporate treasuries to extend support or counter candidates in Michigan elections.¹¹

In *McConnell v. Federal Election Commission* (2003), Republican Senator McConnell argued that the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act of 2002 (BCRA), also known as the McCain-Feingold Act, infringed on individuals freedom of speech. It is relevant to explain the BCRA in more detail. The BCRA of 2002 includes three main provisions to regulate the use of nonfederal or “soft” money.

8 Urofsky, Melvin I. *Money and Free Speech: Campaign Finance Reform and the Courts*. Lawrence, Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 2005. p. 127

9 *Buckley v. Valeo*, 424 U.S. 1, 20 (1976).

10 *Ibid.*

11 *Ibid.*

This refers to the “money raised outside the limits and prohibitions of federal campaign finance law.” The first provision includes the “prohibition [of] national parties from raising or spending nonfederal funds. The second provision requires “state, district and local party committees to fund ‘federal election activities with federal funds (e.g. hard money), and in some cases, with money raised according to new limitations, prohibitions, and reporting requirements (i.e. Levin funds), or with combination of such funds.’”¹² Thirdly, this acts requires “limiting fundraising by federal and nonfederal candidates and officeholders on behalf of party committees, other candidates and nonprofit organizations.”¹³ The Court upheld the first and the second provision on McCain-Feingold.

Finally, in *Wisconsin Right to Life, Inc. v. Federal Election Commission* (2007) the Court argued that the BCRA’s restriction on issue ads within thirty days from primary election and sixty days from general election was unconstitutional. This set the stage for the *Citizens United* ruling to follow in 2010. According to Thom Hartmann, “The Roberts Court ruled that the FEC couldn’t prevent Wisconsin Right to Life from running ads just because it was a corporation.”¹⁴ Restating *Buckley*, the court allowed free speech rights of campaign contributions by corporations.

In *Citizens United v. Federal Election Commission* (2010), a non-profit corporation, Citizens United, sought an injunction against the Federal Election Commission to prevent the application of section 203, 201 and 311 of the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act (BCRA). Section 203 did not allow corporations or unions to fund “electioneering communication” from their treasuries. Section 201 and 311 compel corporations to disclose donors and announce disclaimers when the candidate does not authorize the information. The Court declared Section 203, 201 and 311 unconstitutional. The Court overruled *Austin v. Michigan Chamber of Commerce* (1990) and a portion of *McConnell v. Federal Election Commission* (2003)¹⁵ The Court applied the “strict scrutiny” standard, which indicates that

12 Federal Election Commission, “BCRA Overview.”

13 Ibid.

14 Thom Hartmann, *Unequal Protection*, (San Francisco: Berrett-Koehler Publishers, Inc. , 2010), 371.

15 The Oyez Project at IIT Chicago-Kent College of Law, “Citizens United v. Federal Election Commission.”

any law that deals with a fundamental constitutional right must be “narrowly tailored” and serve a “compelling government interest.” The Court reasoned that while preventing *quid pro quo* corruption in electoral politics is important, the ban on independent political advocacy for corporations and unions infringed on Citizens United’s constitutional right to freedom of speech held by the First Amendment. In the majority opinion, Justice Kennedy stated, “Independent expenditures, including those made by corporations, do not give rise to corruption or the appearance of corruption. That speakers may have influence over or access to elected officials does not mean that those officials are corrupt...the appearance of influence or access will not cause the electorate to lose faith in this democracy.”¹⁶ On the other hand, Justice Stevens argued in his dissenting opinion that corporations’ ability to spend money in elections does not serve a compelling governmental interest. He stated that the Court’s ruling “threatens to undermine the integrity of elected institutions across the Nation. The path it has taken to reach its outcome will, I fear, do damage to this institution.”¹⁶ The case *Wisconsin Right to Life, Inc. v. Federal Election Commission* (2007) and the case *Citizens United v. Federal Election Commission* (2010) severely weaken the BCRA.

Money in Politics: Pluralist v. Elite Theory

Robert A. Dahl discusses the pluralist theory in his book, *Who Governs?* (1961). Dahl argues that in Pluralistic society, many interest groups compete to influence the state and politics in the state. He also argues that the purpose of the government is to act as mediators of those groups. Dahl notes that there may be some inequalities but they tend to even out by the state and the distribution of political resources throughout a population. Dahl studies different groups, including the elite in the city of New Haven, Connecticut. He claims that groups such as “patricians, ex-plebes and entrepreneurs” evolved to a pluralist political system. According to Dahl, power can be distributed by collusion power, meaning that several groups of people can influence the state by voting. He concludes that the elite

¹⁶ Citizens United v. Federal Election Commission, 558 U.S. 08-205 (2010)

are not as powerful as others may think and the diverse groups are in control.

In his book *On Political Equality*, Dahl argues that democracy has required features such as effective participation, equality of voting, gaining enlightened understanding, final control of the agenda, and inclusion. Dahl also makes two arguments. One in which he explores whether political inequality will increase and another one in which he discusses whether it will decrease. Dahl believes that there are six barriers to equality: the distribution of political resources, skills and incentives, irreducible limits on time, the size of political systems, the prevalence of market economies, the existence of international systems that may be important but are not democratic, and the inevitability of severe crises. Dahl argues that income inequality is growing at such a rapid pace that it may allow for other inequalities, thereby blurring the distinction between political governances and the economy. According to Dahl, “as Larry Bartels has shown, across a wide variety of issues: U.S. senators are far more responsive to the preference of their rich constituents than to those of their poor constituents.”¹⁷ Dahl continues to argue “the political struggle might then become so high that too few American citizens would be willing to bear the sacrifices in time and other resources of those in the upper strata, who will more readily act to protect their privileged position.”¹⁸ According to Dahl there is an inverse relation between income inequality and political participation. Income inequality diminishes the participation of citizens in the formal political process because there are higher personal costs for citizens to participate individually in the democratic system and there are fewer resources to pool across the middle and working classes as well as more disparate coalitions. However, he believes that all citizens should strive to achieve equality. In the counter example, he foresees citizens being involved in political action to reduce inequalities.

Dahl argues that the McCain-Feingold Act is a reform that addresses political equality. According to Dahl, McCain-Feingold “place[s] further limits on corporations, unions and the individual

17 Ibid.

18 Robert A. Dahl. *On Political Equality*. New Haven & London: Yale University Press 2006

donor's ability to use their wealth to influence politicians." He recommends that Congress adopt rules constraining 527 political organizations by making them register with the FEC and abide by contribution limits similar to those of political parties."¹⁹ When Dahl wrote *On Political Equality*, McCain-Feingold was still in place. The *Citizens United* case overruled/severely weakened the law making it easier for corporations and unions to spend unlimited and undisclosed money in political campaigns.

C. Wright Mills' *The Power Elite* (1956) explains the role that the power elite plays in the U.S. Mills critiques the pluralist theory of balance, which refers to the competing interest groups working toward achieving a healthy balance between the state and the economy. Mills points out that balance of power is difficult to attain because balance suggests that there is equality of power, which is almost impossible to accomplish. Mills states, "When it is said that a 'balance of power' exists, it may mean that no one interest group can impose its will or its term upon others... 'Balance of power' implies equality of power, and equality of power seems wholly fair and even honorable, but in fact what is one man's honorable balance is often another's unfair imbalance."²⁰ He applies his theory to Congress. Mills believes that congressmen are "the new and old upper classes of local society." He acknowledges the increasingly higher cost of getting elected and staying in office and the politicians' high reliance on mass media. Mills states, "The simple facts of the costs of the modern campaign clearly tie the congressman, if he is not personally well-to do, to the sources of needed contributions, which are, sensibly enough, usually looked upon as investments from which a return is expected."²¹ Mills is acknowledging that when congressmen receive monetary contributions, those who contribute are expected to receive benefits in return, what today we call "pay to play." He further argues that politicians cannot help all interest groups; therefore, "politicians must compromise one interest group by another."

Moreover, Mills discusses corruption and the role of money in elections. He states, "Fifty years ago, the old muckraker image

19 Ibid., 87.

20 Ibid.,100.

21 C. Wright Mills, *The Power Elite*, (New York : Oxford University Press, 1956.), 246.

of the Senator corrupted by money was often true, and money is of course still a factor in politics. But the money that counts now is used mainly to finance elections rather than to pay off politicians directly for their votes and favors.”²² Even though this book was written in 1956, the themes and the concerns about the amount of money spent in elections are still relevant today.

Mills describes five stages in American history that showcase the elite theory. The first stage took place from the Revolution through the administration of John Adams, when all forms of institutions such as the social, political, economic and military were unified. Members of the elite had power over all institutions and could move from one institutional role to another.²³ The second stage occurred during the early nineteenth century. The third stage took place from 1886 to World War I, when the Supreme Court gave the Fourteenth Amendment protection to corporations. According to Mills, “The Supremacy of corporate economic power began, in a formal way, with the Congressional election of 1866, and was consolidated by the Supreme Court decision of 1886 which declared that the Fourteenth Amendment protected corporations.”²⁴ The fourth stage happened from the New Deal until the end of World War II. He gives special emphasis to the fifth stage, in which he explains it has become increasingly difficult to distinguish between state and corporate entities because corporations dominate the state. According to Mills, the heads of corporations also play an important role in American military decisions.

In his book *Democracy of the Few*, Michael Parenti starts off by discussing Americans’ common beliefs about capitalism, including: freedom of choice, wide diversity of ideas and a pluralist government where every significant group has a say. Yet, Parenti argues that this is a myth since the political and economic spheres are not separate, making a balance of power difficult to achieve as long as the economy remains undemocratic. According to Parenti:

Power presumes the ability to manipulate the social

²² Ibid., 251.

²³ Ibid., 251.

²⁴ C. Wright Mills. *The Power Elite*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1956, 246.

environment to one's advantage. Power belongs to those who possess the resources that enable them to shape the political agenda and control the actions and beliefs of others, such as job organizations, technology, publicity, media, social legitimacy, expertise, essential goods and services, and – the ingredient that often determines the availability of these things – money.²⁵

Parenti identifies a direct link between economic inequality and voter participation. The poor and working class turn out to vote at much lower rates than the middle and upper classes. Parenti believes that the U.S. is not doing enough to encourage low-income and minority citizens to register to vote and ultimately vote. He points out that polling locations are remote and are changed frequently, registration forms are difficult to understand, and that most elections happen during a weekday, which makes it more difficult for low-income families and minorities to attend the polls and vote.

Parenti also discusses the role of money in congressional elections. He believes that “elections are individualized district by district contests, fueled more by personalized candidate appeals and image manipulation than by substantive issues.” He argues that money has a big role on congressional campaigns. According to Parenti, “Members of Congress go where the money is, scrambling for congressional committee assignments that deal with issues of greatest interest to big donors.”²⁶ Legislators feel pressured to raise money and are tempted to compromise their positions to get support from PACs. Parenti believes that the Supreme Court rulings, such as *Buckley v. Valeo* (1976), have allowed “wealthy candidates to expend as much as they want of their own money on their own campaign, rich individuals have additional advantage in gaining party nominations. Furthermore, because most PAC contributions go to incumbents, it is more desirable than ever for challengers to have private source of wealth.”²⁷ He strongly believes that the interest

25 Ibid., 271.

26 Michael Parenti, *Democracy for the Few*, (New York: St. Martin's Press Inc., 1995), 5.

27 Ibid., 222.

of corporations are the most represented in Congress, but he also recognizes it is difficult to measure it. He ends his book by calling for a reform in the campaign spending, voters' registration campaign and democratization of the media.

Gary C. Jacobson, in his book *The Politics of Congressional Election*, discusses the role of campaign spending in congressional elections. He looks at all the House races from 1946 and 1998 and he finds that incumbents in general are more likely to win, or what is called the "incumbent advantage." He sees a trend of the incumbent advantage starting in the 1960's. "How well nonincumbent candidates do on election day is directly related to how much campaign money they raise and spend. The precise relationship between campaign spending and election results is difficult to pin down, however, because most candidates and contributors act strategically."²⁸ He further argues that there is a potentially reciprocal connection between money and votes because "money may help bring votes, but the expectation that a candidate can win votes also brings money."²⁹ Jacobson also believes that the amount spent by incumbents is reciprocal to the votes, but this can be seen in a different way. He points out that "the higher the incumbent's expected vote, the less money flows into the campaign," because donors become more confident and may not want to invest so much money in a sure winner. However, incumbents still tend to raise more than their opponents and spend less because they have all the fringe benefits of being the incumbent, such as earned media coverage, name recognition, constituent services and party loyalty.

28 Michael Parenti. *Democracy for the Few*. New York: St. Martin's Press Inc.. 1995, 230.

29 Gary C. Jacobson, *The Politics of Congressional Elections* , San Diego : Longman, 2001, 40.

The cases *Wisconsin Right to Life* (2007) and *Citizens United* (2010) have allowed unprecedented campaign spending with reduced oversight by the Federal Election Commission. This has affected election outcomes as evidenced by the 2010 House election. These two Supreme Court rulings give greater weight to the elite theory of hegemonic domination of our election system by ruling elites.

Methods

To understand the impact of changes brought by *Wisconsin Right to Life* (2007) and *Citizens United* (2010), several data sets were examined. First, this paper examines the aggregate data of types of contributions to Congress for 5 “open” races in 2006 in which no incumbent was in the race and 15 open races in 2010. To understand how the type of contribution played a role in the 2006 and 2010 House election, data pertaining to the open seats that changed parties was collected from a variety of sources such as the Federal Election Commission, the Center of Responsible Politics’ database www.opensecrets.org, www.followthemoney.org, ProPublica and the New York Times. It is important to point out that the Center of Responsible Politics data comes directly from the data reported by the Federal Election Commission, this reduces the chances of possible bias. Because incumbents have the “incumbent advantage” in money and support, it was decided that we will have more significant data on the relation of money and the outcome if we focus our attention on open seats that “flipped,” in order words, seats that change parties.

Dependent Variable: Outcome House 2006 & 2010

Independent Variables: 1) Open Seats that changed parties 2) Party Years in seat, 3) Overall Campaign Spending 4) Outside Money 5) Other Factors.

Outcome House in 2006 & 2010 = indicates the change in the majority of the house in 2006 and 2010.

1) Open seats that changed parties (flipped seats) = those seats that

change parties in 2006 and 2010.

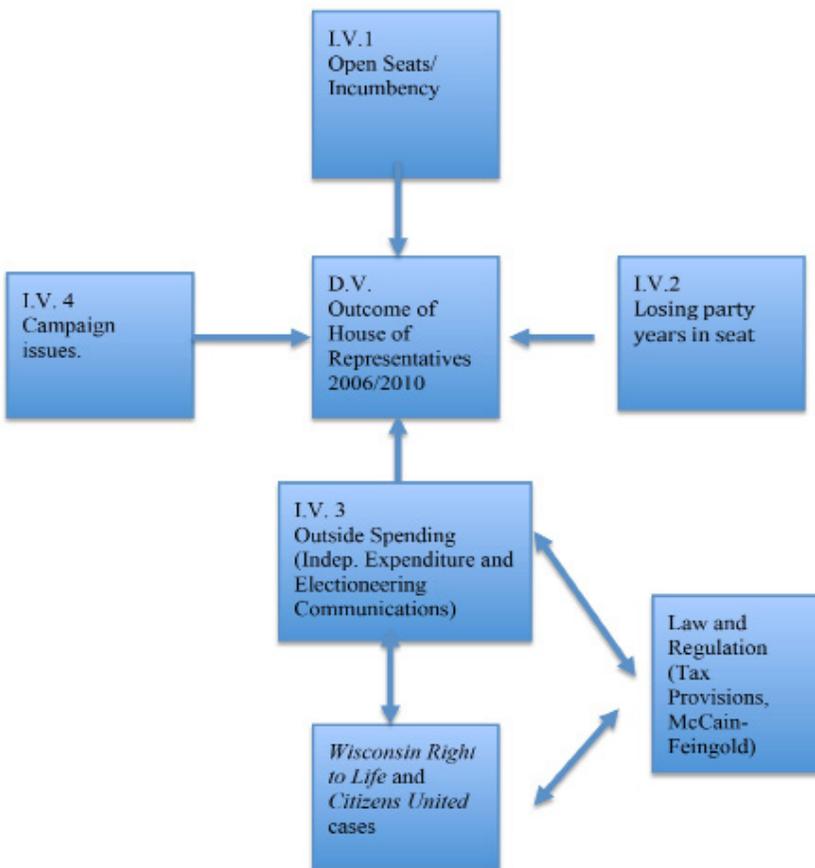
2) *Party years in seat* = indicates the political orientation of the district and how likely the district is to switch parties.

3) *Overall campaign spending* = indicates how much candidates directly raised and spent on their own.

4) *Outside money* = the money invested in independent expenditure and electioneering communications.

5) *Other factors* = includes the War in Iraq and the economy. (This can also be considered “the error.”)

Figure 1
Conceptual Model

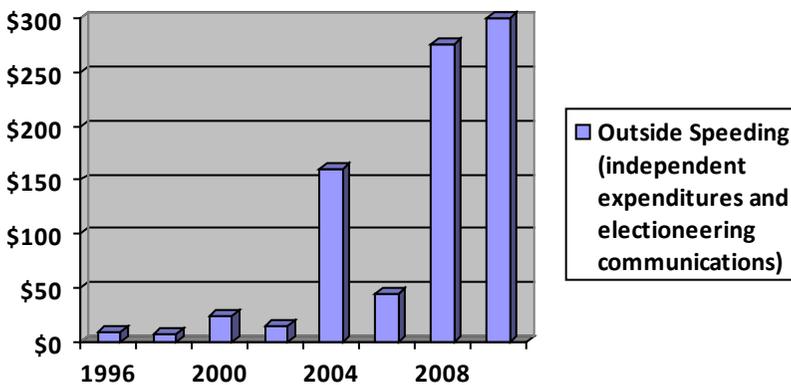


Results

Contribution Group Types Changed

The weakening of McCain-Feingold by *Wisconsin Right to Life, Inc. v. FEC* (2007) and *Citizens United v. FEC* (2010) has resulted in the rise of unprecedented outside spending in the midterm election cycle. Outside spending refers to any money that comes from sources other than political party committees. According to the research made by Center of Responsible Politics, the “outside” spending has risen 338 percent since 2006 (Refer to Figure 2). There has been both an increase in independent expenditures and electioneering communications. Independent expenditures refer to political advertisements that encourage the audience to vote for or against a candidate. On the other hand, electioneering communication refers to broadcast, satellite and cable communication. In 2008, as a result of the *Wisconsin Right to Life* ruling, corporations began to use their treasuries to pay for electioneering communications. Most of the current spending on electioneering communication is done by 501c non-profit groups. In 2008, 501c’s contributed \$78,954,281 (Refer to Figure 3).

*Figure 2: Outside Spending Rises 338% Since 2006
Non-Party Committee Outside Spending*



Source: Center for Responsible Politics, opensecrets.org.

Figure 3: Non-Party Outside Spending by Type of Group

	2004	2006	2008	2010
Corporate Treasury Independent Expenditures	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$51,098
Union Treasury Independent Expenditure	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$10,918,184
	\$0	\$0	\$10,918,184	
Super PAC	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$65,076,957
501c	\$0	\$0	\$78,954,281	\$134,432,526
Other	\$2,464,888	\$242,140	\$935,643	\$3,186,439
527s	\$95,182,796	\$14,542,389	\$46,045,812	\$8,268,160
QNC	\$10,301,865	\$669,120	\$13,937,205	\$7,502,994
PAC	\$59,691,848	\$36,984,002	\$135,922,901	\$61,433,466

Source: Center for Responsible Politics, opensecrets.org.

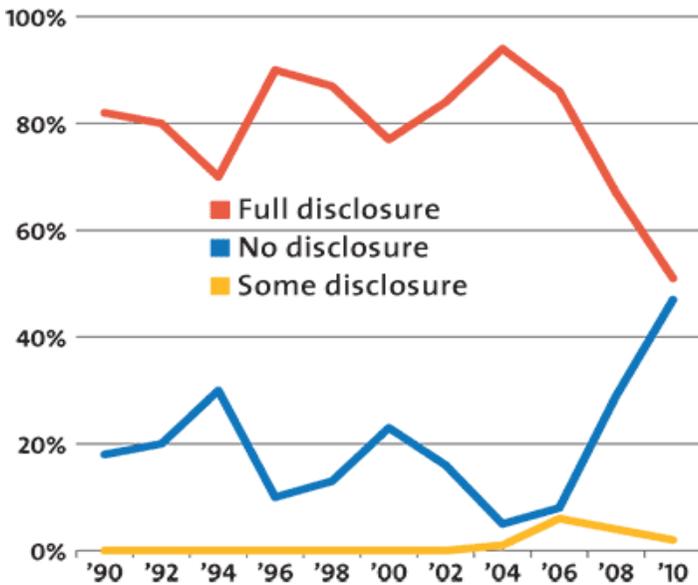
In 2010, the *Citizens United* ruling allowed for the spending of 501c to increase and new types of outside spending groups to emerge: Super PACs. Super PACs are commonly funded by corporations or very rich individuals. In 2010, 501c's independent expenditures increased to \$134,432,526 while Super PACs invested \$65,076,957. According to the Center of Responsible Politics, *Citizens United* allowed for 67% of total independent expenditures in 2010 to come from that "freed" group (Refer to Figure 3).

It is important to make the distinction between contributions and independent expenditures. Contributions happen when money is given directly to a candidate. An independent expenditure is the money spent independently of the candidate's campaign. It can be used for promotional and attack advertisements. In short, the Center of Responsible Politics found that "the percentage of spending coming from groups that do not disclose their donors has risen from 1 percent to 47 percent since 2006. Groups called qualified non-profit corporation (QNC) do not have to disclose their donors if they do not explicitly advocate for the election or defeat of a specific candidate

but only serve to ‘inform’ voters of issues specific to the campaign”³⁰ (Refer to Figure 4). 501c non-profit spending increased from about 0 percent of total spending in 2006 to 42% in 2010. Outside interest groups now spend more on election season political advertising than party committees for the first time in at least two decades (Refer to Figure 3).

Figure 4: Spending by Non Disclosing Groups Rises to 47% of Outside Spending

Non-Party Committee Outside Spending



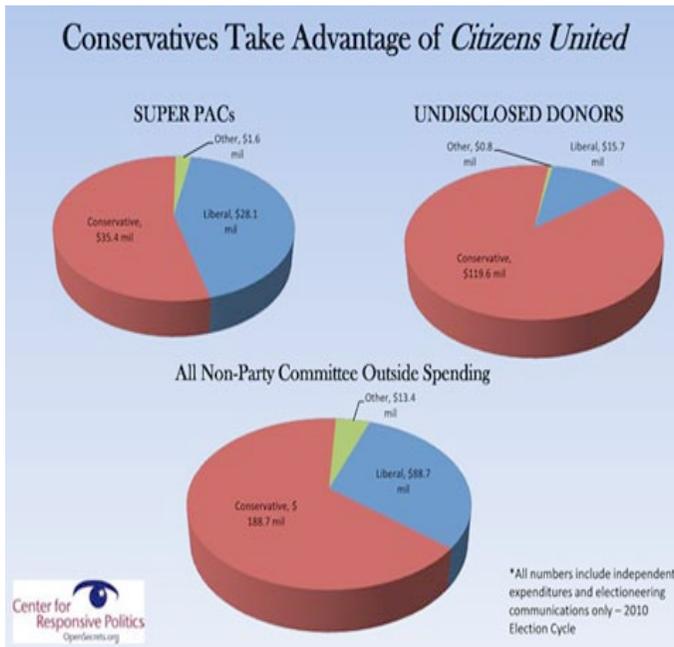
Source: Center for Responsible Politics, *opensecrets.org*.

Another important fact to point out is that Super PACs, which emerged after the 2010 *Citizens United* ruling, may raise and spend unlimited amounts of money as long as they disclose their donors and do not coordinate directly with a candidate’s campaign. The Center of Responsible Politics shows that Super PACs are slightly more likely to support conservatives than liberals. Conservatives received \$35.4 million while liberals received \$28.3 million from Super PACs, a \$7.1 million difference. An overwhelming majority of undisclosed donors gave money to Conservatives. About 89% of the undisclosed money was given to conservatives while 11

³⁰ Ibid., 40.

percent, or \$15.7 million, was given to Liberals. The total amount of outside spending groups in 2010 widely benefited conservatives. Conservatives received \$188.7 million, which is roughly 65 percent of the total outside spending. Liberals received \$88.7 million, which is 30 percent of the total outside spending. Finally, independents received \$13.4 million, which is 5 percent of the total outside spending. (Refer to Figure 5)

Figure 5: Conservatives Take Advantage of Citizens United

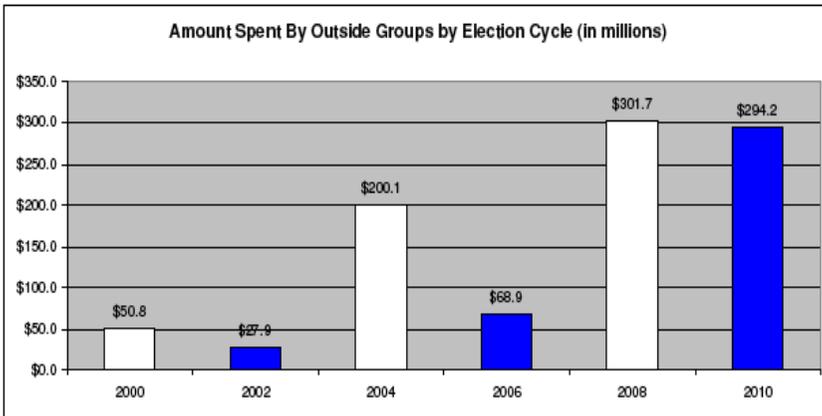


Comparison of Campaign Spending for the 2006 and 2010 Midterm Elections:

In the 2006 elections, contributions from party committees made the largest share of outside spending. In 2010 however, that share was largely reduced by outside spending from non-profit and for-profit corporations. The total amount of outside spending dramatically increased between the 2006 and 2010 midterm elections. In 2006, the outside spending totaled \$68.9 million. In the 2010 midterm election, outside spending totaled \$294.2 million, a

more than 400 percent increase. According to the Public Citizen, “\$228.3 million, or 77.6 percent, was spent by groups that accepted contributions larger than \$5,000 (the maximum a federal political action committee, or PAC, can accept in a single election cycle) or that did not reveal any information about the sources of their money” (Refer to Figure 6).³¹ The top ten outside groups in 2010 election spent \$138,490,394, which is nearly half of the total spent by outside groups. Eight of those groups support Republicans and two of them are large unions, which tend to support Democrats (Refer to Figure 7).

Figure 6: Amount Spent By Outside Groups by Election Cycle (in millions)



Source: Center for Responsive Politics (www.opensecrets.org). Mid-term cycles in blue.

31 Center for Responsible Politics, Accessed March 1, 2012. <http://pay2play.tv/2011/05/07/citizens-united-decision-profoundly-affects-political-landscape/>

*Figure 7:
Top 10 Outside Spending Groups, 2010 Election Cycle*

Group	Amount Spent	Disclosed Funders?
U.S. Chamber of Commerce	\$31,207,114	No
American Crossroads	\$21,553,277	Yes
American Action Network Inc.	\$20,935,958	No
Crossroads Grassroots Policy Strategies	\$16,660,986	No
American Future Fund	\$9,610,700	No
American For Job Security (AJS)	\$9,005,422	No
SEIU COPE	\$8,340,028	Yes
American Fed. of State County And Municipal Employees AFL-CIO	\$7,378,120	No
60 Plus Association	\$7,096,125	
National Rifle Association of Federal America Political Victory Fund	\$6,702,664	Yes
Total	\$6,702,664	

Source: Public Citizen's analysis of Federal Election Commission (FEC) data.

Comparing the Open Seats that Changed Parties:

This study examined the small samples of open seats (those in which no incumbent is running for re-election) in both 2006 and 2010 to identify 3 outcomes :

1. Which candidate had the advantage in overall campaign spending
2. Which candidate had the advantage in outside spending
3. The relationship between victory and the advantage in overall campaign spending and outside spending

Wisconsin v. FEC and Citizens United v. FEC

Table 1.

DIST	PARTY	VOTES	WV	TIME HELD	\$ RAISED	PAC	IND	SELF	OTHER	OUTSIDER	TOTALS	MONA
Arizona 8	Randy Graf	42%	8%	6 years (2006)	\$1,368,136	\$230,654 (17%)	\$1,136,482 (83)	\$0 (0%)	\$1,000 (0%)	\$456,470	\$1,824,606	
	Gabriele Giffords	54%			\$2,583,799	\$624,519 (24%)	\$1,946,560 (75%)	\$0 (0%)	\$12,720 (0%)	\$450,671	\$3,034,470	40%
Colorado 7	Rick O'Donnell	42%	7%	At least 4 years	\$2,818,132	\$661,882 (23%)	\$1,946,220 (69%)	\$0 (0%)	\$210,030 (7%)	\$1,975,887	\$4,794,019	
	Ed Perlmutter	55%			\$2,984,171	\$808,633 (27%)	\$2,112,652 (71%)	\$54,000 (2%)	\$8,886 (0%)	\$1,261,344	\$4,244,515	11%
Iowa 1	Mike Whalen	43%	8%	30 years (1976)	\$2,318,643	\$681,844 (29%)	\$871,812 (38%)	\$552,523 (24%)	\$213,464 (9%)	\$1,415,216	\$3,734,859	
	Bruce Braley	55%			\$2,485,058	732,096 (29%)	\$1,745,707 (70%)	\$0 (0%)	\$6,385 (0%)	\$1,259,797	\$5,814,855	36%
Wisconsin 8	John Gard	49%	2%	2 years (2004)	\$2,831,675	\$992,709 (35%)	\$1,550,620 (55%)	\$0 (0%)	\$288,346 (10%)	\$1,484,160	\$4,315,835	
	Steve Kagen	51%			\$3,220,730	\$316,700 (10%)	\$305,440 (9%)	\$2,551,000 (79%)	\$47,590 (1%)	\$1,648,745	\$4,869,475	11%
Vermont 1	Martin Reardon	45%	8%	15 years Ind sin	\$1,120,132	\$297,806 (26%)	\$472,578 (41%)	\$1,000 (0%)	\$257,748 (23%)	\$971,764	\$2,100,806	
	Peter Welch	53%			\$2,066,308	\$571,539 (28%)	\$1,445,836 (70%)	\$0 (0%)	\$48,933 (2%)	\$495,067	\$2,561,375	17%
Average years losing party held district seat = 28.33 years												
Average outside spending in winners = \$2,504,271												
								OUTSIDER = Outside interest group/contrib to Independent candidates				

Table 2.

Elected Seats without Incumbents 2010 (Q)												
DIST	PARTY	VOTE% MV	TIME/HELD	RAISED	PAC	INDSM	INDBIG	SELF	OTHER	Outside Sped	TOTAL \$	TOL %
Arizona 1	Rick Crawford	57%	8% 19 years (189)	\$1,252,638	\$377,492(30%)	\$105,454 (8%)	\$687,533(55%)	\$62,600(5%)	\$69,614 (6%)	\$2,071,443	\$3,374,081	52%
	Chad Culpey	41%		\$1,601,832	\$480,212(30%)	\$1,025,104(64%)		\$95,101(6%)	\$1,416(0%)	\$1,464,873	\$3,046,705	
Arizona 2	Timothy Griffin	88%	20% 10 years (199)	\$1,865,978	\$472,430(25%)	\$163,347 (9%)	\$1,195,308(64%)	\$3,500(0%)	\$20,992(1%)	\$103,781	\$1,061,350	41%
	Joyce Elliot	18%		\$1,019,594	\$304,718(30%)	\$707,774(69%)		\$1,679(0%)	\$5,421(1%)	\$131,699	\$1,151,293	
Indiana 8	Larry Buckton	57%	19% 4 years (2006)	\$1,043,071	\$453,468(43%)	\$75,383 (7%)	\$631,947 (61%)	\$10,100(1%)	\$72,172(7%)	\$186,900	\$1,229,971	-5%
	Trent Van Haulter	38%		\$762,359	\$333,507 (44%)	\$414,185(54%)		\$413(0%)	\$14,254(2%)	\$50,784	\$1,303,133	
Kansas 3	Kevin Yoder	61%	25% 11 years (1989)	\$1,972,243	\$564,447(29%)	\$93,701 (5%)	\$1,291,314(65%)	\$13(0%)	\$22,769(2%)	\$150,791	\$2,123,054	43%
	Stephano Moore	36%		\$965,853	\$352,850(37%)	\$612,671(63%)		0%	\$330(0%)	\$233,624	\$1,199,477	
Louisiana 3	Jeff Landry	64%	28% 6 years(2004)	\$1,362,286	\$201,900(15%)	\$32,324 (2%)	\$1,084,787(80%)	\$29,178 (2%)	\$14,597 (1%)	\$6,472	\$1,369,258	33%
	Ravi Sanghera	36%		\$828,014	\$93,500(11%)	\$604,226(73%)		\$125,000(1%)	\$5,288(1%)	\$54,000	\$882,014	
Michigan 1	Dan Borenick	52%	11% 78 years (1932)	\$1,379,311	\$501,166(36%)	\$266,176 (19%)	\$431,086 (31%)	\$142,363(10%)	\$38,520(3%)	\$1,911,203	\$3,290,514	80%
	Burt Stupak	41%		\$351,014	\$382,150(69%)	\$51,921 (9%)	\$111,400 (20%)	0%	\$5,544(1%)	\$90,447	\$641,461	
New Hampshire 2	Charles Bass	49%	3% 4 years (2006)	\$1,242,838	\$622,795(50%)	\$54,990 (4%)	\$555,302 (45%)	0%	\$9,751(1%)	\$1,982,221	\$3,224,059	-37%
	Aari McLaine Kew	48%		\$2,506,615	\$302,678(12%)	\$2,191,234(87%)		\$4,800(0%)	\$7,902(0%)	\$2,618,148	\$5,124,763	
New York 29	Tom Reed	56%	12% 2 years (2008)	\$1,082,565	\$352,247(33%)	\$79,127 (7%)	\$485,482 (45%)	\$65,850(6%)	\$98,860(9%)	\$53,616	\$1,126,181	99%
	Matthew Zeiler	44%		\$457,738	\$108,500(24%)	\$342,089(75%)		\$0	\$7,149(2%)	\$3,988	\$461,726	
Pennsylvania 7	Pat McCann	55%	11% 4 years (2006)	\$3,031,925	\$878,645(29%)	\$140,639 (5%)	\$2,002,940(66%)	0%	\$9,601(0%)	\$1,113,067	\$4,144,892	-3%
	Bryan Lentz	44%		\$1,608,458	\$333,811(21%)	\$1,062,413(64%)		\$0	\$0	\$2,498,495	\$4,157,033	
Tennessee 6	Diana Black	67%	38% 28 years (1982)	\$2,231,011	\$390,601(17%)	\$62,222 (3%)	\$631,777 (28%)	\$1,153,448(5%)	\$9,064(0%)	\$1,4317	\$2,252,828	90%
	Brent Carter	29%		\$215,355	\$8192(4%)	\$175,486(82%)		\$27,015 (10%)	\$8,441(4%)	\$0	\$215,355	

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Tennessee 8	Stephen Fincher	59%	20%	36 years (1974)	\$2,724,526	\$519,033 (19%)	\$1,600,653 (60%)	\$1,976,132 (73%)	\$0	\$68,708 (3%)	\$194,493	\$2,919,019	-10%
	Roy Heron	39%			\$2,103,121	\$408,650 (19%)	\$1,676,151 (80%)		\$0	\$18,320 (1%)	\$1,169,829	\$3,272,950	
Washington 3	Jaimie Bruner	63%	16%	12 years (1998)	\$1,557,221	\$551,882 (35%)	\$961,921 (62%)		\$0	\$43,417 (3%)	\$2,165,553	\$3,722,774	-5%
	Dennis Heck	47%			\$1,988,495	\$522,449 (26%)	\$1,077,486 (54%)		\$350,000 (18%)	\$38,561 (2%)	\$2,007,930	\$3,996,425	
West Virginia 1	David McKinley	50%	0%	42 years (1968)	\$1,783,039	\$307,886 (17%)	\$656,136 (37%)		\$810,614 (45%)	\$8,403 (0%)	\$1,273,061	\$3,056,100	-10%
	Michael Oliverio	50%			\$1,449,376	\$265,325 (18%)	\$1,171,316 (81%)		\$0 (0%)	\$12,735 (1%)	\$1,972,486	\$3,421,862	
Wisconsin 7	Sean Duffy	52%	8%	42 years (1969)	\$1,977,172	\$480,545 (24%)	\$1,481,134 (75%)		\$0	\$15,493 (1%)	\$1,856,637	\$3,813,809	16%
	Julie Lassa	44%			\$1,271,594	\$503,417 (40%)	\$765,046 (60%)		\$0	\$3,132 (0%)	\$1,946,306	\$3,217,900	
Delaware 1	Glen Unruhart	35%		18 years (1992)	\$1,369,932	\$15,855 (1%)	\$346,119 (25%)		\$1,000,000 (73%)	\$7,958 (1%)	\$0	\$1,369,932	
	John Carney	63%	28%		\$2,138,565	\$661,671 (31%)	\$1,468,816 (69%)		\$0	\$8,079 (0%)	\$146,106	\$2,284,671	40%
Average outside spending in winner = \$837,437													
Average years losing party held district seat = 28.33 years													
60% of those who had the money total money advantage won the vote.													

In 2006, only five open seats changed party control, all to the Democrats. Four (80 percent) of the victors had an overall campaign spending advantage and only two (40 percent) had the outside spending advantage. The average overall campaign spending advantage was \$3.9 million and the average outside spending advantage was \$2.5 million.

By contrast, in 2010 fifteen seats changed party control, with all but one going to Republicans. Nine (60 percent) had the overall campaign spending advantage and five (33 percent) had the outside spending advantage. The average overall campaign spending advantage was \$2.4 million and the average outside spending advantage was \$860,000.

While these results would not appear to show any advantage to the candidate with either the overall campaign spending advantage or the outside spending advantage, it should be noted that the small sample size resulted in a wide distribution between the outliers, thereby distorting the averages. For example, three victors with the outside spending advantage raised \$15,000, \$44,000 and \$146,000, compared to the other two victors who both raised about \$2 million.

While these results would not appear to show any advantage to the candidate with either the overall campaign spending advantage or the outside spending advantage there are many unknowns. Since much of 501c money is electioneering communication, it may be difficult to precisely detail how much actually was spent on behalf of a particular candidate. This money also has a spin off effect to benefit all members of the same party, since most spending is on issues rather than candidates.

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Table 3.

	2010	2008	2006	2004
	(no of districts = 113)	(no of districts = 98)	(no of districts = 74)	(no of districts = 43)
	Number of Candidates	Number of Candidates	Number of Candidates	Number of Candidates
	Median Disbursements	Median Disbursements	Median Disbursements	Median Disbursements
Republican Challengers who Won	52	4	0	3
Democratic Incumbents who Lost	52	4	0	3
Democratic Challengers who Won	2	14	21	2
Republican Incumbents who Lost	2	14	21	2
Republican Open Winners	29	15	13	20
Democratic Open Losers	29	15	13	18
Democratic Open Winners	7	19	16	13
Republican Open Losers	7	19	16	13
Districts where incumbents lost primaries				
Republican Winners	5	2	1	0
Democratic Losers	5	2	1	0
Democratic Winners*	1	2	4	2
Republican Losers	1	2	4	2
*Includes districts in which the Republican incumbent withdrew from the race prior to the general election.				
	2010	2008	2006	2004
	Median Disbursements	Median Disbursements	Median Disbursements	Median Disbursements
Dem Incumbents who Won	\$2,126,966	\$2,271,368	\$1,939,901	\$1,856,496
Rep Challengers who Lost	\$1,110,162	\$1,411,648	\$1,988,652	\$1,083,072
Dem Incumbents who Lost	\$2,308,400	\$2,072,969	0	\$2,002,565
Rep Challengers who Won	\$1,456,176	\$1,459,352	0	\$1,534,870
Dem Open who Lost	\$1,760,662	\$1,880,819	6	\$1,572,625
Rep Open who Lost	\$1,023,668	\$1,643,315	6	\$1,571,757
Rep Open who Won	\$1,534,650	\$1,828,700	8	\$1,135,292
Dem Open who Lost	\$1,629,783	\$1,716,013	8	\$802,316
Rep Incumbents who Won	\$2,553,936	\$1,714,048	34	\$2,262,210
Dem Challengers who Lost	\$2,935,351	\$1,131,664	34	\$1,066,766
Rep Incumbents who Lost	\$2,576,326	\$2,269,431	18	\$2,206,400
Dem Challengers who Won	\$2,387,323	\$1,990,736	18	\$1,727,446

Also, drilling deeper into the FEC data of the overall outcomes tells a different story. In 2006 the Democrats won all 21 races in which the incumbent lost. The number of open seats won by the Republicans (13) and Democrats (16) was fairly equal, although the Democrats took control. However, this changed dramatically in 2010 when Republicans won 52 of the 54 races in which incumbents lost. The number of open seats won by Republicans (29) eclipsed the number won by Democrats (7). Republican wins in open seats doubled between these two midterms, 40 percent in 2006 and 80 percent in 2010. Republican upsets of incumbents increased even more dramatically from 0 percent in 2006 to 96 percent in 2010 (Refer to Appendix A, Table 3).

Overall campaign spending also shows a significant increase in the Republican fundraising advantage between 2006 and 2010 House races for overall campaign spending not including outside spending. While the Democrats overall campaign spending increased about 25 percent, Republicans increased by about 33 percent. However, incumbent Democrats overall campaign spending nearly doubled while incumbent Republicans declined by about 30 percent. Clearly these curious results indicate that there is a significant unknown that cannot be explained in the FEC election reporting data.

Clearly there is a discrepancy between the sample in this study and the total sample of races in which incumbents lost and the outcomes for all open seats and not just those that changed parties, as were analyzed in this study. Overall, the data did not show a difference in outside spending in the elections compared. But we do see a correlation between total amount of money raised and collected on the margin of victory in both elections.

Discussion

The aggregate data provides a picture where Republicans have an advantage in outside spending money, and only a few groups contribute most of the outside money. Applying elite theory to this comparison leads to the conclusion that opposition candidates that have more money, and to a lesser extent, more outside money supporting their campaign, have a greater likelihood to win the

election and flip a seat to their party.

One of the purposes of *Buckley v. Valeo* and the McCain-Feingold law was to combat the corruption from large unlimited individual financial contributions to local, state and nation parties, which recycled the money to key elections while evading the modest FEC regulations. However, the cases *Wisconsin Right to Life* and *Citizens United* have led to the formation of types of campaign donor organizations, many of which are able to receive unlimited donations from undisclosed donors and use the money however they wish with little to no public reporting or transparency. The fact that we are not able to track the donors could lead to further abuses of moneyed interests to increase efforts to buy elections in our political system. Recent news reports are documenting that even the modest distinction between “communications” and “electioneering” 501c organizations and Super PACs with a candidate’s campaign organization are blurred as these organizations find ways to skirt the unenforced buffer zones between them. As a result it is becoming nearly impossible to distinguish what wealthy elites and their corporations spend on independent expenditures and electioneering communications and impossible for shareholders, voters and government to know the extent of their giving. This could allow for higher influence of corporations without the public finding out who is contributing the vast majority of outside spending. The fact that the cost of running and winning an election is growing exponentially in our privately financed election system already compromises a Congressmen’s position. It is well documented that we have a “pay to play” political system in which members of Congress pass laws, carve out loopholes and exemptions, and provide subsidies and earmarks that favor corporations so they can get support from them at election time.

Moreover, public opinion about corporations having more power in the election may result in: 1) American citizens becoming discouraged about the fairness of the voting process and reducing their participation in the voting and political process, 2) voting for more marginal candidates so long as they are not incumbents, and 3) taking action outside the accepted political process which would create political instability and conflict.

Examining the outcomes of this study of the growing

influence of money, and to a lesser extent outside money, on the outcome of the 2010 midterm election, political theorist Michael Parenti would argue that money is becoming a stronger indicator of elite class hegemony. While money has long played a central role in elites' use of the political process to protect their class interests, the period of the 1930-40s and 1960-70s saw the period of the greatest reduction of elite class power in both the political and economic system as a result of compromises made during these two periods of political conflict, instability and insurgency. However, since the 1970s elites have used more of their economic power to reverse and strip away the modest limits on their ability to exploit workers and accumulate wealth, as many laws, reforms, regulations and social welfare programs are defunded, turned against their original intent, co-opted and repealed. Unleashing the role of money in the political process is one of the central outcomes of the shifting of power back to elites. The outcome has been not merely the opening of the campaign cash spigot but to place more business friendly members into Congress, the executive branch and the federal courts. *Wisconsin Right to Life* and *Citizens United* are two illustrations of the success of this strategy as the US Supreme Court increasingly rules more favorably towards elite class interests in business related cases.³²

Conclusion

This paper is an attempt to begin to understand the emerging role of *Wisconsin Right to Life v. FEC* (2007), and *Citizens United v. FEC* (2010) cases on our pay to play federal election system. It is noticed that the data collected by the FEC is incomplete, the organizations taking advantage of the cases appear rapidly, almost weekly, in the darkness of obscurity, with lack of transparency. Candidates themselves are devising new means to evade even the modicum of limits on 501Cs and Super PACs. No study can be complete until rules that effectively monitor the size and scope of "outside money" and Super PACs spending are put in place.

32 12 Months After: The Effects of Citizens United and the Integrity of the Legislative Process." January 2011.

This paper is limited to studying only the effect of “outside” money on open seats in the House and is unavoidably limited in scope and outcomes. As discussed above, this study assumes the incumbent advantage is a constant, since incumbents win 97 percent of all races. As a result, the strongest effect of all money, and to a lesser degree outside money, can be seen in open races in which the incumbent advantage is not present. Yet, even here it can be assumed that the incumbent advantage translates into a “party advantage” as most races are determined by the party in the primary rather than the general election due to gerrymandering of safe seats to protect the incumbent and the party.

What this study finds is that the party advantage continued to play a determining role in the 2006 election since the Democrats flipped the House while winning only 5 open seats. However, in the 2010 election the number of open seats that flipped to the Republicans increased by 300 percent to 15 (Refer to Appendix A: Table 1 and 2). This dramatic reversal of fortunes is not entirely born out by the outside money advantage for all the winning challengers but it exists for the majority. While this study had a small sample size, this result seems to show a strong relationship between raising more outside money and not only winning a seat, but flipping it for the opposition party. This seems to be a confirmation of what elite theorists would say is nearly forty years of efforts to shift the balance of power even further to the ruling class. Money may not just be a major determinant of the outcome of a House election, but outside unlimited and undisclosed money may be a deterrent for any member of the House to vote against any elite class interest for fear of finding themselves swamped by an opponent funded by shadowy outside money. The 15 races in the 2010 midterm appear to show that this is beginning to have an effect in the majority of all open races.

Because these cases are fairly recent, it is difficult to say with complete certainty what the affect of *Wisconsin Right to Life* and *Citizens United* on US House elections are at this time. Certainly more work is needed to continue to measure these affects, but in order to do that the Federal Election Commission needs to make its collection and reporting of all money spent by candidates and outside spending groups in federal elections thorough, transparent and easier to access.

Appendix B

Hard Money: A political contribution that is regulated under federal law. Only funds used for express advocacy are regulated. To raise these funds, candidates, political parties, and organizations must abide by restrictions on the sources and sizes of their contributions. A helpful way to remember this term is, “Hard money is hard to raise.”

Soft Money: Technically, this term applies to any political contribution that is not regulated under federal law. The typical usage, however, limits the term to unregulated contributions to political parties. Federal law allows political parties to raise money in any amount and from any source so long as these funds are not used for express advocacy. Soft money is supposed to be spent on “party building” activities, which include voter registration drives, voter education drives

(Campaigns to educate voters on the importance of an issue). The use of soft money has vastly expanded in recent years. Political parties formerly educated voters by distributing flyers throughout neighborhoods. Now, parties spend millions on television advertisements. Political fundraisers and candidates, of course, treasure soft money because there are no limits as to how much or from whom these funds can be raised.

Independent Expenditure: political advertisement that expressly calls for the election or defeat of a candidate — includes mailings, radio ads, television ads, billboards and other media.

Electioneering Communication: a broadcast, cable or satellite communication that mentions a candidate’s name within 30 days of a primary election and 60 days of a general election — were popular by ‘527’ groups in 2004 but now are mostly used by 501c non-profit groups

Super PAC: A political group that can raise unlimited amounts of money from any source as long as the donors are disclosed and the money is only spent on independent expenditures — came about in 2010 for the first time in part from the Citizens United ruling. Examples: American Crossroads, America’s Families First Action Fund

501c Groups: Non-profit organization registered under the IRS tax

code 501c. Certain kinds of these groups — most notably, 501c(4), 501c(5) and 501c(6) organizations — may spend unlimited amounts of money on electioneering communications and independent expenditures. They do not have to reveal their donors. Influencing elections cannot, however, be their primary purpose. They cannot donate to political campaign committees or party committees. Examples: U.S. Chamber of Commerce, American Action Network, Crossroads Grassroots Policy Strategies, League of Conservation Voters, Vote-Vets.org

527 Groups: Political groups registered under tax code 527. They may raise unlimited amounts of money from individuals and corporations and could spend unlimited amounts of money on what are generally electioneering communications, although during the 2010 cycle, they began spending some money on independent expenditures. The groups can also use the money on get-out-the-vote drives, polling, fund-raising and other political activities. These groups cannot donate to political campaign committees or party committees and have to disclose all donors and expenditures to the IRS. Examples:

QNC (Qualified Non-Profit Corporations): Qualified non-profit corporations are ideological 501c(4) groups permitted to raise unlimited amounts of money from individuals and to spend that money on independent expenditures and electioneering communications. They cannot accept money from corporations or unions, have significant business income, or have electioneering as their major purpose. They are not required to disclose their donors unless the donor specifically earmarks their contribution for electioneering. Examples: Defenders of Wildlife, Planned Parenthood, Environment America, Humane Society of the US

PAC (Political Action Committee): Political committees that can donate up to \$5,000 per election to a candidate's campaign committee, spend unlimited amounts of money on independent expenditures. They can only accept contributions of \$5,000 or less from individuals or other PACs and must disclose all donors and expenditures to the FEC. Companies cannot donate to a PAC but their employees can donate to a PAC. Examples, AT&T (PAC), American Bankers Association, Laborers Union, Boeing (PAC)

Citizens United v. Federal Election Commission (2010): A Supreme Court case that ruled in a 5-4 decision to allow corporations and unions to use their general treasuries to pay for political advertisements that expressly call for the election of defeat of a candidate, also known as an independent expenditure.

Federal Election Commission v. Wisconsin Right to Life (2007) – A Supreme Court case that ruled in a 5-4 ‘as-applied’ decision to allow corporate and union treasury money to be used in electioneering communications. This law went into effect December 26th, 2007.

McCain-Feingold Act of 2002: Named after sponsors Russell Feingold (D-Wis.) and John McCain (R-Ariz.), it required the disclosure of electioneering communications and banned corporate and union treasury money in political advertisements leading up to an election and banned unlimited “soft money” donations to national political party committees.

Source: Center of Responsible Politics.

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An Examination of Instructor Teaching Styles and Student Learning Modalities at SSU

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By the time most students get to college they have experienced classes where the way the teacher taught a lesson was engaging for the whole class, and experienced classes where the lessons were taught in a way that did not seem to make sense to them or their peers around them. By the time most students get to college they have found a certain sense of competency with particular types of assignments and have come to the realization that what might be easiest or make most sense to them may not hold true for their peers. Teachers have their own teaching style and utilize different learning modalities just as students have their own ways they prefer to process through information. Both of these aspects of a classroom are centered on the way students learn and how teachers teach. People typically learn through seeing, hearing, and doing things in order to gain an understanding and knowledge of nearly anything. It is acknowledged that people can learn through different styles and modes, which will be discussed later on. For this research I propose the thought that how well students do in their classes is in direct relation to the way teachers teach their classes. When a student's learning style is met and in a sense "matches" a teacher's learning modality for any given class they will do better overall than a student whose learning style that is not met or matched. We hope to examine the teacher's learning modalities and student's learning modalities at Sonoma State University.

This study is hoping to show the type of relationships between the various students' learning styles and teachers' learning modality. We believe that the more a student's main learning preference is matched by a teacher's learning modality the better the student will do in the class. We also hypothesize that we will find less teacher learning modalities matching the kinesthetic

learning preference, thus leading to students with a main kinesthetic learning preference earning lower overall scores in the class. We hypothesize a positive relationship between main learning preference, assignment teaching mode relevancy score/value, and student grade/score for that assignment, such that the closer a main learning style is matched by an assignment the better the student will do. Overall, we hypothesize that the closer a student's learning style preference is matched by the teacher's learning modality, the better the student will do in the class. We also hypothesize that by matching each learning style preference to the best of a teacher's abilities through their teaching modality the better the class will do as a whole.

The topic of learning styles and learning modalities is somewhat controversial, particularly amongst teachers and in the realm of educational psychology. Yet the value in knowing how a student learns and how a teacher teaches is difficult to argue against. Thus the purpose of my research will be to help further prove the value of students being in a classroom that incorporates their learning styles, especially at the college level. While in college I have had many conversations about the way a teacher teaches and whether or not it would be in a manner that made most sense to me. It was not just me asking these questions about how certain teachers taught, but a majority of my peers were interested in the same information. Summer 2011 I worked at a summer camp called Super Camp, which is an academic, leadership, personal betterment camp for junior high and high schoolers, ran by the Quantum Learning Network. Super Camp does a piece/lesson called "How Are You Smart?" where we have the campers figure out, as Super Camp calls it, their learning modality (in this research this will be referred to as a learning style). The campers do this by filling out a short survey which their answers correspond with a learning modality (learning style for this research proposal) combination. When I personally filled out this survey I could not believe how well it categorized the ways in which I learn best. Since finding out the ways in which I learn best, especially when it comes to how I best interpret and retain information, I have tried to find teachers on my college campus that may best teach to my learning style. Now looking back at the classes where the teachers

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really taught in the way(s) in which I learn best, I believe there to be a difference in how well I did in those classes compared with the classes I took that did not match my learning style well. It really was not just happenstance that in my classes where teachers used Powerpoint and wrote on the board, I understood the information better and did better overall in the class. I recognize the unlikelyhood of being able to label college classes with a teachers learning modality, but it is my hope to demonstrate a significant relationship between students' learning style and teachers' learning modalities to show that the way students learn, and the way teachers teach, does impact how students do overall in a class.

Keywords

learning style, learning style preference, visual learning preference, auditory learning preference, kinesthetic learning preference, learning modalities, teaching mode, visual teaching mode, auditory teaching mode, kinesthetic teaching mode.

Learning style refers to the way in which a student can best and prefers to learn. This is a combination of 3 modality categories: visual, auditory, kinesthetic. This term is nonspecific and therefore refers to all six possible learning style preferences.

Learning style preference is the specific learning style by which a student best and prefers to learn. Students can have one or more learning style preferences, though typically a student will still have one individual style as their most preferred way to learn. The way the letters are ordered in a learning style preference denotes the strength of the preference. The first letter is the most preferred way to learn, the second letter is the second most preferred and the third is the third most preferred (not least). In this study we will be working with three separate learning preferences, thusly six possible learning style preferences. For example a VAK learning style preference shows that the person most prefers and learns best from a visual "lesson", then an auditory "lesson", and then a kinesthetic "lesson".

There are 3 learning preferences: visual, auditory, and kinesthetic. Students with a main visual learning preference prefer learning to happen through seeing and reading. The students with this preference tend to really like to read information either through

text or charts.

Students with a main auditory learning preference prefer learning to happen by listening and speaking. Typically auditory learning preference students find reading out loud and talking about what they are learning to be very beneficial.

Students with a kinesthetic learning preference prefer to learn through touching, doing, and moving. Kinesthetic learners really like hands on activities and having the freedom to move around.

Learning modalities are the three ways (visually, auditorily, and kinesthetically) information and lessons can be taught and presented by a teacher. Ideally teachers would teach information in a manner that incorporates all three modalities, thus teaching to all students. When students learn something in a manner that incorporates all three modalities the information is “learned better”.

Teaching modes are the way in which a lesson or information is presented to students by a teacher. A teaching mode can be found by looking at what resources are used, what activities are done, what tasks are done, what assignments are given, the structure of the class time, how information is relayed to the students, and what types of discussions are had. Each learning preference has a corresponding teaching mode. Visual teaching modes can be when teachers present information through charts, videos, Powerpoint presentations, content heavy handouts, and anything else that is “eye catching.” Auditory teaching modes can be when teachers use techniques like briefly verbally explaining the lesson before starting, the Socratic method, debriefing, group brainstorming, and any other ways to get students to listen and speak up. Kinesthetic teaching modes can be when teachers orchestrate hands on and body engaging activities such as lab work, skits, or any other type of activity that allows students to incorporate their body into the learning. This teaching also includes giving students stretch breaks, because many students with a kinesthetic learning preference can be “jitter bugs,” thus providing an opportunity for them to move around some can actually help them better focus during a lesson.

It is important to note that there are many learning style models that look at different ways people learn, VAK (the collective term when referring to visual, auditory, and kinesthetic as a unit) focuses on peoples way of learning through their senses. VAK is

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based off of the VARK learning style model which looks at the way people learn through visual, aural, read/write, and kinesthetic styles (Fleming, 2001). The “VARK is in the category of instructional preference because it deals with perceptual modes. It is focused on the different ways that we take in and give out information” (Fleming, 2001). In this article, when it comes to breakdowns of how many people have a particular style preference, Fleming (2001) only “reports that about 41% of the population who have taken the instrument online have single style preferences, 27% two preferences, 9% three, and 21% have a preference for all four styles”. The significance of this data shows that though a majority of people hold a singular main preference many do have multiple preferences, which means that people are not necessarily set in stone about the way they need to learn but can be more fluid in nature. According to the article, “Using Learning Style Instruments to Enhance Student Learning,” Fleming “presents the results of research that indicate higher student performance in courses when faculty match learning activities with students’ learning styles as determined by the VARK instrument”(Hawk & Shah, 2007). It is these findings that fuel our research for this study. From my personal experience with Quantum Learning Network and their teachings, I have chosen to go with their modified version of the VARK, the VAK, which combines the R (read/write) with the V(visual) and labels A as audio not aural. This provides a more streamlined and simple version of Flemings VARK. “Using Learning Style Instruments to Enhance Student Learning,” is an article that summarized five of the key learning style modes, including VARK, and researched their differences, similarities, validity, reliability and use. The more important finding in this article is the implications for the use of learning style modes by faculty/teachers/professors.

It was found that to be significant in that faculty are likely to reach only some of the students in a given course if they assume that all students learn the same way or that one teaching approach will connect with all students. The apparent conclusion is that faculty who are consciously aware of their students’ learning styles as well as their own are in a position to make more informed choices in course material, design, and learning processes to

broaden the opportunities for effective learning in their courses. We believe that a use of a variety of teaching and learning approaches has the potential to enhance the learning and performance for a wider range of adult students in a course and to expand the learning approaches with which adult students are comfortable and capable of learning (Hawk & Shah, 2007).

This resonates and supports exactly what our main hypothesis for this study is by concluding that teachers tend to teach towards one particular style and should expand their use of a variety of learning style modes in order to effectively reach all of their students.

Much of the literature on student learning styles and teacher learning modalities is based around the VARK. We fully accept and acknowledge the use of the VARK but chose to use a simplified version, VAK, to make our study more focused. Currently many of the studies regarding the VARK regard either Grad School level participants or online courses, by using a predominately first-time college student course we hope to show a use for the VAK at an undergraduate level.

Methods

The population we hope to study in this research project will be incoming first-time college students in at least two English 101 courses in the fall of 2012. Newly incoming first-time college students at Sonoma State University take this Standard English 101 course, thus providing a diverse but similar population. Looking at the intersection of teacher learning modalities and student learning styles creates a tangled web of constructs which can only be untangled by clear data collection and analysis. The data collected from the teachers will be mainly qualitatively collected but coded in a way that makes it more quantitative in nature. By this it is meant that syllabi will have their contents rated on various scales regarding how each assignment, essay, project, or exam, exemplifies one or more of the different teaching modes and how strong it exemplifies those teaching modes. It would also be ideal to look at either a detailed typical lesson plan or observe the class being studied to further understand the types of exchanges going

Instructor Teaching Styles

on from teacher to student and student to student, and discussion prevalence, type, and participation level. This information could and would also be obtained through forced choice surveys regarding the personal exchanges, discussion details, lesson presentation style, frequency of various teaching modes, and how both the student and teacher view the effect of those things on themselves. To further grasp how much of each learning modality is being used in a teacher's curriculum there is possible value in finding out how the teacher goes about planning out and creating the structure, content, and delivery of their overall class and if they actively try to include all three modalities, what they know about learning styles and learning modalities, and their view points of learning styles and learning modalities. As for students, the key part of data from them will be their learning style preference-which will be obtained through a forced choice survey, and not only their overall grade but also their grades on assignments, tests, projects, and essays. This data will provide their learning style preference, which will later be correlated with the classes learning modality and also correlated with their success overall and on specific items. Once all of the data is collected it would be interesting to survey the students, and after giving them a brief explanation of learning styles and learning modalities and the correlation to academic success, see if they would choose to take a class that closely matched their learning style preference or taught a significant amount of the lessons in a mode they most preferred. Also student information regarding race, ethnicity, socioeconomic class, home location, gender, age, and ability would be collected to see if there is any correlation between that data and learning style preference. Students and teachers will both be aware of the subject matter being researched and consent to being studied.

Possible Areas for Further Study

I would like to recognize the fact that a valid or reliable pedagogy of a learning style or learning-style-mode-specific-pedagogy has yet to be found. Thus far in my research I have found that in the field of Educational Psychology learning styles are not highly valued or respected. Yet I believe more research, in different

levels and types of education, needs to be done before writing off learning styles, especially the VAK model. Once a person knows how they learn best they can become empowered to extend and supplement their learning from a classroom if they are not reaching their full potential. Also teachers have a responsibility to present information to students in a way that makes sense to the students; knowledge and use of learning styles can be that key. With this in mind there could be a possible relevancy to focus more on the way teachers teach their lessons and if they are working to include all learning modalities. There may also be some importance in looking at the way in which students study and if that may compensate for a deficit of a student's learning style not being met in a class. There might be a need to reevaluate our combination of the visual and read/write part of the VARK due to the similarities of the two especially in a college level class.

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Voting Behavior: A Closer Look at the Latino Electorate

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As seen in the last two Presidential elections (2004 and 2008), Hispanics/Latinos have been amongst the top minority groups to be targeted by candidates and political parties, given that they are an emerging political force in U.S. politics. The Latino population has grown rapidly over the past several years, and this has fueled a rapid growth in the number of Latinos eligible to vote (Lopez 2011). According to Pew Hispanic Center estimates, more than 21.7 million Hispanics are eligible to participate in the 2012 national election—the most ever, and up by more than 2 million since 2008, when 19.5 million Latinos were eligible to vote (Lopez 2011).

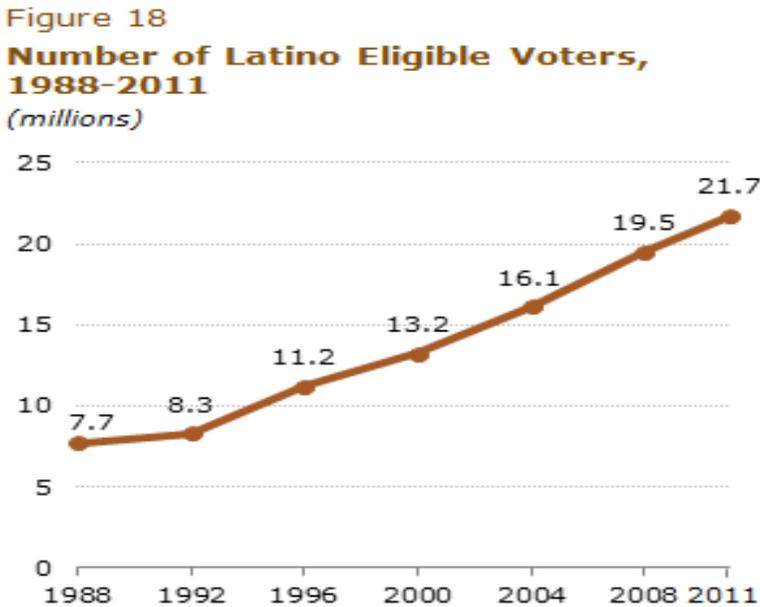
Since the Latino population is one of the largest minority groups within the United States, much research has been conducted analyzing Latino voting behavior at the state-by-state level. Associate Political Science Professor at the University of Washington, Matt A. Barreto, researched the question as to whether or not ethnicity impacts or mobilizes Latino voting behavior (Barreto 2007). Barreto was able to conclude through his study that shared ethnicity of a candidate increases Latino voter turnout, and that Latinos are more likely to vote in favor of Latino candidates at the county level (Barreto 2007). Previous studies have suggested that minority communities are more likely to be involved in elections when a minority candidate is likely to win. Barreto's study showed that Latinos voted at a higher rate for the co-ethnic candidate than they did for other racial candidates (Barreto 2007). His research adds to our understanding of voting behavior by demonstrating that ethnicity plays a key role in determining the outcomes of elections.

In like manner, research has been conducted regarding how informed the Latino electorate is when it comes to Presidential elections and issue voting. According to past research, policy issues have

played an important role on voting behavior amongst the politically knowledgeable Latino electorate, while symbolism and long-standing partisan preferences mattered most to the uninformed Latino electorate (Nicholson 2006). Past research regarding the level of how informed the Latino electorate is, and how their political knowledge influences the way they vote is important because levels of political knowledge are critical in affecting the quality and quantity of political participation (Nicholson 2006). Knowing how informed minority groups are when it comes to elections is important because lack of political information among minority groups undermines the quality and level of their engagement in the political system and their ability to select a candidate that will match the policy preferences that will benefit their minority group (Nicholson 2006).

Latino Electorate and Presidential Elections

During the 2004 Presidential election, only 18% of the entire Latino population voted, compared to the 51% of all whites that voted and 39% of all blacks that voted (Passel 2005). State exit polls suggest that religion may have played a role in President Bush's greater success with Latino voters in 2004 compared to 2000 (Passel 2005). The 2004 Presidential election focused around a set of moral issues such as gay marriage, abortion, and national security. These political issues benefited Bush in the sense that his stances on these issues matched up with the same moral concerns of Catholicism, which is the religion a majority of the Latino population identifies with (Abrajano 2008). National security issues and "moral values" dominated Latino vote choice for the 2004 Presidential election. During this election the combined concern for moral values and national security weighed more heavily in Latinos' vote decisions than did domestic policy issues such as health care and education (Abrajano 2008). Contrary to the 2004 national election, in the 2008 national election, Latinos voted more heavily for the democratic candidate, Barack Obama, than they did for the Republican candidate, John McCain, with a 67% versus 31% gap (Lopez 2008). Latino voter participation levels also increased for the 2008 national election, with the voter turnout rate rising 2.7 percentage points, from 47.2% in 2004 to 49.9% in 2008 (Lopez 2009).



Source: Pew Research Center tabulations from the Current Population Survey, November Supplements, 1988-2008; for 2011, tabulations from the November Current Population Survey

2012 Presidential Election

According to the Pew Research Center, rapid population growth for the Latino Community has fueled growth in the number of Latinos eligible to vote (Lopez 2011). Currently more than 21.7 million Hispanics are eligible to participate in the 2012 Presidential election. The number of eligible voters is up by more than 2 million since 2008, when only 19.5 million Latinos were eligible to vote (Lopez 2011).

Table 3

Top Issues for Latinos in 2012

(% who say issue is "extremely important")

	Latino registered voters		All Latinos
Jobs	50	Education	48
Education	49	Jobs	47
Health care	45	Health care	40
Taxes	34	Immigration	34
Federal budget deficit	34	Taxes	30
Immigration	33	Federal budget deficit	29

Notes: N=557 for registered voters; N=1,220 for all Latinos. Responses of "Don't know" and "Refused" are not shown.

Source: Pew Hispanic Center, 2011 National Survey of Latinos

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Purpose

In the face of substantial growth of the Latino population in the United States, now the nation's largest minority group, their influence and importance during Presidential election years has become more and more significant. Most research on Latino voting behavior has found that as a group, Latinos vote at lower rates than other racial and ethnic groups in the United States. Latinos are the nation's largest and fastest growing minority group; at 46 million strong, they make up about 15% of the U.S. population (Taylor 2007). Their electoral influence continues to be underrepresented, however, by the fact that many are ineligible to vote, either because they are not citizens or not yet 18 years old. In knowing this, it is important to understand what factors created the increases in Latino voter turnout over the past few Presidential elections. According to the Pew Hispanic Research Center, the number of eligible voters increased from 2004 to 2008 (Lopez 2009).

Case Study: Latino Electorate and the 2012 Presidential Election

My research project will focus on the voting behavior of the Latino electorate during the 2012 Presidential election. I plan to analyze why certain political issues were more or less of importance for the Latino electorate during the 2004, 2008 and 2012 national

elections. I am interested in seeing if the same nature of political issues held the same significance in 2012 for the Latino electorate as in past elections. I will measure ‘moral issues’ as being issues that are related to the private sector, while ‘domestic issues’ will be measured as issues pertaining to the public sector of the economy, such as taxes and education.

My case study will solely focus on the Latino electorate population. The main points my case study will aim in describing are as follows: 1) Political issues Latinos cared the most about during the 2012 election, 2) The presidential candidate/party that won the majority of the Latino support, 3) The total number of Latinos that voted compared to the number of eligible Latino voters, and 4) Whether or not Barack Obama obtained the same amount of support from the Latino electorate as in the 2008 Presidential election. Whilst my case study on the 2012 Latino electorate will not answer a research question completely, it will give some indications and allow further elaboration and hypothesis creation on Latino voting behavior.

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