

University of Southern California

CITATIONS



The USC McNair Undergraduate Scholars Research Journal

Volume VII: Fall 2011



**THE RONALD E. MCNAIR
POST-BACCALAUREATE ACHIEVEMENT PROGRAM**

CITATIONS



The USC McNair Scholars Research Journal

THE RONALD E. MCNAIR POST-BACCALAUREATE ACHIEVEMENT PROGRAM VOLUME VII FALL 2011

Manuscripts are accepted from McNair Scholars participating in the program at the University of Southern California, Los Angeles, California 90089, (213) 740-8702.

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While the McNair Program editors have made every effort to assure a high degree of accuracy, rigor and quality in the content of this journal, the interpretations and conclusions found within each essay are those of the author's alone and not the McNair Program. Any errors or omissions are strictly the responsibility of each author. Also, please note that the works represented in the journal are from undergraduates learning to conduct and write about research.

A MESSAGE FROM THE USC MCNAIR SCHOLARS PROGRAM

The Ronald E. McNair Post-Baccalaureate Achievement Program is a federally funded initiative that provides research and graduate preparation opportunities to a select group of first-generation college students, populations from low-income backgrounds, and ethnic minorities underrepresented in higher education. A primary objective of the McNair Program is to provide academically talented students from these backgrounds effective preparation for research experiences and graduate study, particularly for doctoral-level studies. The ultimate goal of the program is to diversify the graduate-level student body and the professoriate through placement of McNair alumni in faculty positions. Currently, McNair programs exist at over 200 colleges and universities nationwide.

Annually, the USC McNair Program receives a record number of applications from a highly competitive pool of faculty-nominated USC undergraduates representing an astoundingly diverse cross-section of majors, graduate school plans, and research interests. Applications are reviewed by a committee comprised of faculty, deans, provosts, staff and students. The program selects between 20 and 26 students annually. Throughout the Spring Semester, the new McNair Scholars begin preparing for graduate school, receive research training and instruction on developing research proposals, and acquire professional development. The Spring program prepares students for the intense Summer Research Institute (SRI), where students implement their research projects under the guidance of faculty mentors, refine their writing and professional skill sets, and continue preparing for graduate school. Scholars present their scholarship orally at a university-sponsored symposium attended by faculty, other students, and staff. Students also receive competitive scholarships and grants. A select group presents their research at national-level conferences. The USC Office of Undergraduate Programs administers the program with funding from a grant awarded by the U.S. Department of Education, Office of Postsecondary Education

USC has been a proud member of the McNair community since 1996, having served more than 300 students to date. More than 180 have gone on to post-baccalaureate study. Nearly 80 have earned master's or other professional degrees, and to date nearly 30 have earned the Ph.D. or other professional doctorate. Around Sixty-five McNair alumni are currently enrolled in post baccalaureate study. Many of the degrees earned and programs McNair scholars pursue include the nation's most selective institutions.

This fifth edition of the McNair Undergraduate Research Journal, "Citations," showcases the accomplishments of scholars from the 2009-2010 USC McNair Scholars cohort and reflects work from a variety of academic disciplines. These Scholars have taken on very challenging topics and employed a variety of research methodologies. In the process of conducting research and publishing findings, these Scholars have formed valuable relationships with faculty and advanced graduate student mentors.

Join the USC McNair Staff in congratulating the Scholars on their outstanding undergraduate achievements, research pursuits, and graduate school preparation. We extend our best wishes to this cohort of Scholars as they seek the full membership they have worked hard for and deserve in the academic community and professional sectors.

FIGHT ON!

The USC McNair Staff

FIGHT ON!

The USC McNair Staff

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A Qualitative Study of Supplement use among Young Hispanic/Latina Women Enrolled in a Fitness Center

Regular physical activity with resistance training has many benefits, including improved cardiovascular health and prevention against obesity. Bicultural populations, such as the Hispanic/Latino(a) communities, may be more susceptible to societal and/or cultural pressures. For example, the perceptions of nutritional supplements and physical activity routines may be influenced by a variety of factors such as social support and the media. The purpose of this study is to explore factors that may influence protein supplement use. Data on eight women were collected through face-to-face interviews at one Los Angeles area gym. The interviewer asked questions about protein supplement use and exercise habits. All of the participants took a protein supplement regularly. Most participants claimed that it was to aid with post-workout recovery and was essential for their fitness and health goals. They mentioned using the internet as an informational tool to learn about protein supplements. In terms of exercise habits, most participants were self-motivated to exercise for a variety of reasons ranging from health-related to appearance. All subjects preferred to exercise alone at the gym and stated that resistance training was their primary focus when working out. These Hispanic/Latino women did appear to have an understanding of the benefits of protein supplements and were able to apply that knowledge well to their diet and exercise regimen. The data collected from these interviews will be used to design a larger study of protein supplement use among Hispanic/Latino women.



Michelle Franco

*Bachelor of Arts in
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*Fashioning Identities: African American
Gang Dress Practices and the Performance
of Gang Identity*

What does it mean to be dressed like a “gang member”? This research examines the relationship between perceived African American gang dress practices and the formation of self and group identity. Fashioning their identities to move between boundaries in their larger social world, gang members strategically perform their identity through dress. Through semi-structured interviews with members of predominant gangs in Los Angeles County, this study explores the ways that gang members convey their gang identity to different audiences. For family and friends, gang members use dress as a symbol of belonging; for members of the opposite gang, they use dress as a means for trickery and survival; for police and members of the larger society, gang members use dress defiantly. This research suggests a new model for how gang identity relates to dress, redefining what it means to be dressed as a “gang member.”



Luis Garcia Rico

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Department of History, and American Studies & Ethnicity*

Learning the Terrain: A Study of Catholic Religiosity and Latino Immigrant Political Socialization

This project studies the influence of Catholic religiosity on the political socialization of Latino immigrants in Los Angeles. Using data from semi-structured interviews with Mexican and Central American immigrants who self-identified as consistent religious participants, this study explores how the interplay of political and religious socialization in the country of origin and re-socialization in the United States affects overall partisanship, political knowledge, and convictions. I find that home country politics and religiosity tend to remain salient in an immigrant's politics, while re-socialization only serves to develop existing convictions; supporting the "life cycle" theory of political socialization. Additionally, Catholic religiosity appears to be correlated with political views supporting community and respect for humanity, although it is not necessarily a catalyst for any particular forms of participation in and of itself.



Bryson Gauff

*Bachelor of Science in Biomedical Engineering
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Department of
Biokinesiology & Physical Therapy*

*A Biomechanics Study on the Variability
of Lower Extremity Joint Angles in the
Sagittal Plane*

The purpose of this study is to explore what factors may moderate the gender differences that exist in lower extremity joint kinematics during drop landings from 36-cm heights. In the design of this study, participants completed four trials at the drop height. The subjects included 65 female participants (height = 157.1 ± 11.4 cm, mass = 50.798 ± 12.730 kg) and 59 male participants (165.2 ± 16.0 cm, 58.316 ± 17.410 kg). Results show that there is a significant negative correlation between female height and hip flexion angle. In addition, there is a significant gender difference in peak hip flexion angle. Also, there is significant difference between shorter and taller females in peak hip flexion and peak knee flexion angles; shorter females reported higher peak angles in both measures. No significant correlations or between group differences for shorter and taller males were found. BMI was found to be the most prevalent factor in describing the gender difference in hip flexion angles. In conclusion, the existence of a gender difference and a group difference for females makes tall females the most at risk group. BMI plays the largest role in explaining the between gender difference. Ground reaction force measurements are needed to make conclusions about true injury frequency.



Reza Ghassemi

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*Transitioning to Integrated Project
Delivery: Strategies to Overcome Barriers*

Integrated Project Delivery (IPD) is a new delivery method gaining momentum in the construction industry. IPD demands that parties from multiple disciplines work together and share information to maximize project results. This integrated approach requires additional effort and presents several new challenges. These challenges include distribution of risks and rewards, insurance and liability allocation, cultural change, and technology limitations. Using semi-structured interviews with leading architectural, engineering, and construction (AEC) professionals, this study describes how successful projects have overcome the most prevalent barriers to implementing IPD. The findings reveal that successful IPD projects are achieved through the proper selection and involvement of all the main players as well as these main players having the required trust in each other. Moreover, successful IPD projects utilized contracts that clearly highlighted financial incentives that motivated participants to assume a stronger role in maximizing project results. This research adds another dimension to the body of knowledge that exists in applying IPD by highlighting the common barriers that currently exist in implementing IPD. Also, it provides guidelines and recommendations for practitioners to overcome these barriers.



Bernadette Gholami

*Bachelor of Arts in Sociology
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of Social Work*

*The Effects of the Juvenile Justice System on
the Lives of Latinas in Los Angeles County*

This study examines Latino female youth and their experiences in the juvenile justice system. It critically analyses their experiences and how time spent in the system affected their lives. With an increasing number of female youth being sent into detention centers and camps, it is important to find out whether they are receiving adequate help and treatment while in detention. Many studies discuss female detention centers and camps as lacking resources and having inadequate programs. This research takes a qualitative approach including interviewing Latinas who have been in a detention center or camp, about how their experiences while in camp affected their lives after release. In analyzing one respondent's interview it was revealed that there was a sense of "more of the same" in her life including during detention. A lack of difference in the way she saw life while in detention and while outside, caused an apathetic view of the system. In order to help young Latinas, such as her, it is necessary for the juvenile justice system to change its approach to female delinquents. They must offer more diverse programs, specifically gender-specific programs, and strengths-based programs to help these young women re-enter society as productive citizens.



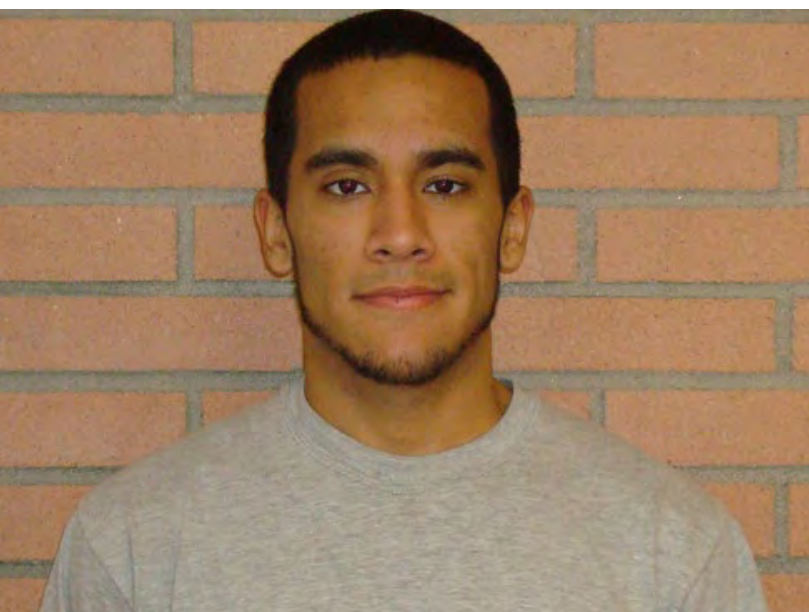
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*Bachelor of Arts in Sociology, Philosophy,
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*Faculty Advisor: Paul Lichterman, Ph.D.,
Department of Sociology*

*Drawing Boundaries with Language:
Religious Pluralism and the Evangelical
Christian Identity*

In the last fifty years there has been a dramatic influx of different religious practices in the United States. As a result of this religious pluralism, Americans have developed a norm of civility and openness towards individual religious affiliation. At a secular university campus, where the expectation of religious equality is institutionally enforced, this culture is an established norm. In prior studies, religious pluralism was seen to encourage Evangelical Christians to create a subculture through which they alienate themselves from society, becoming embattled with all non-Christians. This study investigates what this boundary negotiation looks like at a secular university in southern California, where evangelical students mediate between the norm of religious equality present in the academic environment, and the norm of religious exclusivism inherent in their religious tradition. Using ethnography and participant observation with a framework of boundary formation, the researcher observed a chapter of the Inter-Varsity Christian Fellowship over a six-month period. Observations suggest that the culture of pluralism leads these evangelical students to employ inclusive language when considering other students, creating weaker group boundaries. In contrast to previous findings, evangelicals at this secular university do not create a strong subcultural identity, but rather use inclusive or exclusive language depending on the setting and on the presence of experts.



John Hernandez

*Bachelor of Arts in Economics
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*The Political Economic Responses to a Global
Market Crisis in Latin America*

The 2008 global recession and its economic effects on Peru and Colombia have demonstrated the instability behind the global market. The length of the crisis and the recovery process has persuaded us to analyze the policy responses to the market shock. In order to give a background to governmental responses we decided the best frame of reference was a comparative study with the Great Depression. We hypothesized a large discrepancy between economic policy responses across time periods only to be surprised in some respects while satisfied in others. We compare various policy trends using online databases to create a qualitative understanding of the main damages caused by the crises along with highlighting the most effective responses.



Erika Humphries

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*Barriers Associated with Mothers Entering
Post-Secondary Education Programs:
Mitigating the Barriers*

Prior research on mothers entering post-secondary education has demonstrated that investing heavily in education will promote an increase in skilled labor in the American economy and enrich individual lives, communities, and the lives of future generations. However, there is a lack of research regarding the challenges and barriers associated with entering higher education institutions among this population. A greater understanding of this special population is required, especially as government programs dedicate more money to their cause. This study uses mixed-methods to investigate the perceptual differences between mothers who attended and others who did not matriculate, their perceived identity conflicts, self-esteem, self-efficacy, financial well-being, attitude toward education, and social support. Preliminary findings showed significant differences on perceived identity conflict between mothers who attended college and mothers who did not. College educated mothers reported higher perceived identity conflict than non-college educated mothers. Such findings demonstrate the need for further research in order to mitigate barriers associated with entering and completing post-secondary education programs as described by mothers who attended college and mothers who did not.



Gina Jaqua

Bachelor of Science in Health Promotion & Disease Prevention, and minor in Natural Science

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Demographic and Behavioral Factors Associated with African American's Preference for Menthol Cigarettes and Preferred Methods of Cessation

African Americans have a high rate of menthol cigarette use and an associated high prevalence of heart disease and lung cancer. Many variables may contribute to the high rates of menthol use, such as social networks, culture, socio-economic status, education, and differences between genders. The purpose of this research project is to determine which factors influence menthol cigarette use in the African American population as well as to determine preferred methods of cessation. The sample size of this study is N=70. Data were collected from African American males and females, ages 18 and over, who were recruited primarily through eight churches in the greater Los Angeles area as well as through social network websites. This study presents preliminary data and identifies the associated factors that influence African Americans' preferences for menthol: 1) the flavor and the taste of menthol is appealing, and 2) there is a misconception of the health consequences associated with menthol tobacco smoke. Among the respondents who are interested in quitting, 70% of women and 22% of men are willing to speak to a professional counselor for low or no cost about ways to increase their motivation, setting a quitting plan, and finding ways to avoid triggers that cause them to smoke. As tobacco smoke is the leading most preventable cause of death in the United States, these results could provide knowledge to design and deliver more effective menthol smoking prevention and cessation programs for African Americans.



Monika Langarica

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*School Counselors and Policy Mediation:
Understanding and Affecting Urban
Student Outcomes*

Within the past few decades, the educational climate in the United States has shifted. According to nationally recognized leaders, one of the main purposes of the American educational pipeline has now become to fulfill American interests nationally and abroad. Based on the literature, this shift in climate has rendered a myriad of academic and disciplinary policies implemented on national and local levels to maximize the potential benefits of the educational system. Simultaneously, a shift in outcomes has occurred. Thus, achievement gaps are widening between students in urban settings— primarily students of color—and other students. Because of the required training and the responsibilities they are given once they begin working at urban high schools, it is important to study the roles of high school counselors in mediating academic and disciplinary policies in order to understand how they can best affect favorable student outcomes. Utilizing interviews with urban school counselors, this study assesses urban counselor perceptions of the adequacy of counselor preparation, as well as the role of counselors in mediating school policies and ultimately, in determining student outcomes. The findings, in conversation with existing literature, support the idea that urban high school counselors have the potential to maximize their roles in mediating academic and disciplinary policies, which in turn and according to scholars, can guide student outcomes. Such insight is necessary for the drafting of future policies and requirements for urban counselor training.



Daija Lewis

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of American Studies & Ethnicity*

*The Melodies of the Black Soul in Mixed
America: Attitudes Toward Rhythm & Blues,
Hip Hop, and Black Culture*

Popular music has a direct influence on popular culture, and it contributes to the ways in which people think and feel about the world around them. This study examines the differences between racial groups regarding their attitudes toward popular music performed by Black artists and inferences about the Black community. Utilizing a survey comparing Hip Hop to R&B based on four snippets of Hip Hop and R&B tracks that were at the top of the summer 2010 Billboard charts, results demonstrate that non-Black listeners understand and enjoy popular songs differently from Black listeners. Previous literature indicates that Hip Hop and R&B are deeply rooted in American history and have served as reflections of Black life. Modern forms of these two genres have audiences from a wide range of ethnic backgrounds, and whether music performed by Black artists is genuinely evident of Black reality, marketed as fictional and exaggerated perpetuations of Black culture, or consisting of varying combinations, onlookers learn from what they hear and see is popular. Participants indicated their emotions toward the given songs and their belief in stereotypical ideas about Black people as suggested in the songs, and were free to elaborate on how music and artists affect their perspective towards the Black race. Music has the power to validate the common understanding of what is significant within Black culture and what it means to be Black, and these findings demand further investigation into the effect of Black American music on racially diverse audiences.



Cymone Lonon

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*Employers' Perceptions of Undergraduate
Interdisciplinary Degree Programs*

The number of interdisciplinary Bachelor's degrees conferred grew from approximately 6,300 in 1970 to approximately 33,700 in 2007 (NCES, 2008). Undergraduate students across the nation are finding interdisciplinary degree programs more appealing to their educational pursuits. However, employers have yet to formally agree with this widespread demand. As students receive their education in order to have a competitive stance upon entering the workforce, it is important for students to know whether or not attaining an interdisciplinary degree gives them that competitive edge. The primary objective of this study is to offer students insight by getting employer feedback on interdisciplinary versus traditional Bachelor's degrees. Yet, in attaining employers' perceptions it also aims to see if job organization is reforming in reaction to the development of undergraduate interdisciplinary programs. A benchmarking protocol was formed to conduct a comparative study on twelve universities' undergraduate interdisciplinary degree programs. A survey was also used to establish university-affiliated employers' satisfaction with job applicants holding an interdisciplinary Bachelor's degree. Based on the literature we expected to find employers are more satisfied with job applicants holding an interdisciplinary versus a traditional Bachelor's degree and as a result job organization is becoming more specialized. Still, other factors related to job organization outweighed the importance of expert human capital.



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*The Theory of Emergence: Racial Segregation
Patterns in the City of Los Angeles (1900's-
2010)*

Los Angeles has always been unique among American cities. It is a multiethnic metropolis and destination for immigrants seeking a better life in the United States. Its demographic characteristics and sociopolitical history provide an optimal location for studying cases of racial and ethnic segregation. The primary racial and ethnic minorities in Los Angeles are comprised of Asian Americans, African Americans, and Latinos. The majority initially used legal means, particularly the passage of legislation and local ordinances, to contain the perceived threat posed by each group. By the late twentieth century, most of the legislation used to segregate and discriminate against certain ethnic and racial groups had been repealed, and court decisions and new laws, such as the Fair Housing Act and the Civil Rights Act, had been implemented to protect their rights. However, despite these apparent victories, segregation persists, suggesting that while legal moments may have instigated segregation, other forces are maintaining it. This phenomenon of persistent segregation can be explained in part by the theory of emergence (Lewes, 1875), first applied to the phenomenon of segregation in the work of Thomas Schelling (1960).



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*Migrant Educational Policies Among
Organisation for Economic Co-Operation
and Development (OECD) Countries*

Migrant children often face many disadvantages when it comes to receiving a quality education as compared to their native peers. Statistics from several countries in the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development show that migrant students tend to have weaker outcomes in education at all levels and are more prone to dropping out before completing secondary school. Their educational outcomes are closely tied to socio-economic factors and language barriers that are targeted in several migrant education policies. The effectiveness of these policies and their importance are only beginning to be understood. The success of the children of immigrants and their successful integration into the labor market is a social and economic necessity to the host country. Therefore, the many disadvantages that migrant children face during their education pose a major challenge not only to the students, but also to the society that would see greater economic growth and social progress if these individuals were given the opportunity to fully develop their potential. This study focuses on the similarities and differences of migrant education policy in several OECD countries, specifically policies aimed at improving access and their effect on the goal of improving education outcomes and narrowing the achievement gap.



Vladimir Medenica

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*Posting Political Participation:
Young Voter Political Engagement on Social
Networking Sites*

The recent popularity of social networking sites (e.g. Facebook, Twitter, MySpace) alters how younger populations communicate and engage with politicians and politics. The shift of young Americans to these interactive spaces from traditional broadcast media like radio and television necessitates a better understanding of online campaigning methods. Existing literature focuses on various forms of youth political mobilization but does not focus on social networking sites—a realm that is dominated by a younger demographic. Eighty-four percent of young voters have a social networking profile but youth election turnout is under 50%. This study examines the political engagement, attitudes, and behaviors of 18-30 year-old Americans on social networking sites using an online survey. Contrary to the belief that individuals who are politically engaged offline will be more engaged online (Wang, 2007), this study finds that individuals who are more politically active online will be less active offline and vice versa. Online campaigning and voter turnout among young voters are powerful variables that have influenced the results of the 2004 and the 2008 presidential elections through fundraising and grassroots movements. This study provides information that can aid politicians in courting and securing the historically desirable, but ephemeral, youth vote.



Victor Paredes-Colonia

Bachelor of Arts in Economics & International Relations

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China's Courtship of Chile: Implications for the Sino-Latin American-U.S. Triangle

China's reform and opening has successfully pushed China forward as a world power during the past two decades. Aside from China's annual average 10% growth rate, President Hu Jintao's official visit to Latin America in 2004 in which he signed multiple economic and political accords with different Latin American countries, signaled to the world China's emergence as a global actor. The United States has long dominated Latin America. These actions, on the part of China, constitute a new chapter in China's relations with the Western Hemisphere. This research contributes to the overall understanding of the Sino-Latin American-U.S. triangle. It is an in-depth analysis of Sino-Chilean relations, emphasizing the economic and political relations between the two countries before and after the signing of the China-Chile 2006 Free Trade Agreement (FTA). The data is supplemented by a comparison of U.S. Chilean relations in order to evaluate the implications of Sino-Latin American relations. Four major trends emerge out of this relationship: 1) Sino-Chilean relations contribute to a positive trend in Sino-Latin American relations overall; 2) Chile serves as a model for Latin American countries to establish economic and political relations with large powers and to exploit the dynamic gains from trade; 3) Chile's diversification of trade and adoption of trade policies with China demonstrates a decline of U.S. prominence in Latin America; 4) China's presence in Latin America, while still in its infancy, may pose a significant threat to U.S. interests. Finally, this study suggests a new U.S. economic and political policy framework in the Western Hemisphere that takes into account the China factor.



Michael Randolph

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*Think for Yourself: The Effects of Personality
Types on Business Team Decision Making*

According to Carl Jung (1921), business team members have individual cognitive judgment preferences for either Thinking or Feeling. However, the business arena is thought to be driven by a Thinker's preference towards objective profit rationale (Simon, 1979). Groupthink is a common phenomenon that might occur when the team makes decisions with a narrow set of viewpoints (Janis, 1972). Prior literature suggests that heterogeneous groups lend themselves to better quality decision making to avoid groupthink (Maier, 1930). As a result, business programs and corporations alike have made efforts to create diverse teams. However, there is still debate over how to create suitably diverse teams. This study analyzes the influence of Thinking and Feeling rationality preferences on team decision making. To collect data for the pilot study, we videotaped and observed the behavior of university students in a business simulation. Participants were separated into teams and were asked to collectively discuss and come to a consensus on a company issue. The participants were then surveyed about their personal decision making preferences and experiences in the simulation. The study suggests that personal judgment preferences are key components to forming diverse teams that ensure that business decisions are not continuously based on objective profit-driven ideas. By promoting and creating teams based on cognitive judgment preferences, business programs may make students aware of varying decision making processes that will be essential upon entering the industry.



Karolyn Sanchez

Bachelor of Arts in Sociology and minor in Criminology Forensics

Faculty Advisor: Veronica Terriquez, Ph.D., Department of Sociology, and American Studies & Ethnicity

Social Workers Experiences of Cultural Competence in Education, Training, and in the Field

This study addresses the failure of previous research to qualitatively explore social workers' perspective of cultural competence in respect to education and training. In social work, culturally competent practice is responsive to the needs of diverse populations and promotes effective work in cross-cultural situations. Ten semi-structured interviews were conducted with social workers from the Department of Children and Family Services (DCFS) and Saint John's Child and Family Development Center (CDFC) to understand themes in their attitudes towards cultural competence and the methods they use to cater to diverse populations. Variations among social workers' perspectives are highlighted and the definition of cultural competence is explored in detail. Specific attention is given to workers' personal views of cultural competence and how this translates into techniques that are applied when working with multi-cultural clients. Finally, suggestions are made on how to accurately reflect the needs and attitudes of social workers in education and training. Findings are significant for educators, policy makers, patients, and field workers who are in constant contact with the dynamics of social work and cultural competence.



Vanessa Sanchez-Gonzales

*Bachelor of Arts in Psychology
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Department of Sociology*

*Expressed, Externalized, and Internalized
Identities of Spanish Caribbeans and Afro-
Latin Americans in Los Angeles*

Individuals of Spanish Caribbean and Latin American descent in Los Angeles face the challenges of having a multi-racial and multi-ethnic identity. With the absence of any large Caribbean or Afro-Latino community in Los Angeles, these persons associate themselves with the racial and ethnic groups that are most present and accepted there. However, those who have a strong internal sense of identity, influenced from their immediate family, prefer to align their personal identity with their ancestry and ethnic origins. The majority of individuals who have ethnic origins in the Spanish Caribbean and Latin America do not identify with the racial groups defined by the federal government. They do not think of their race in terms of black and white, but rather in terms of an ethnolinguistic identity, as Hispanic or Latino. Using questions from the 2010 census long form and in-depth interviews of multi-ethnic and multi-racial persons in Los Angeles, this study explores the ways in which an individual's expressed identity is influenced by their internalized identity and externalized identity. Findings reveal that although externalized identity has an influence on one's expressed identity, the internalized identity takes greater precedence when a person expresses their identity to others.



Erica Silva

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*Is Now the Time? Examining the
Naturalization Process through Citizenship
Assistance Workshops*

In response to the 2006 pro-immigrant marches and growing anti-immigrant legislation emerging across the nation, the National Association of Latino Elected and Appointed Officials (NALEO) created the Ya Es Hora ¡Ciudadanía! (It's Time for Citizenship) campaign in an effort to increase naturalization rates among the Latino community. This research addresses the effectiveness of NALEO's citizenship assistance workshops and what role they play in an individual's propensity to apply for citizenship. Prior research has explored immigrant reasons for naturalization and the political mobilization of newly naturalized citizens. Although naturalization rates are up to 118% in Los Angeles, no study has evaluated the effectiveness of these workshops on an individual's propensity to apply for naturalization. Using a pre and post survey, this study analyzes the change in attitudes among workshop participants in California and Texas. The survey explores immigrant perceived barriers towards USCIS procedures, the role of support networks in applying for citizenship, and the workshops' affect on an individual's emotions towards the application process. This research is the first step in evaluating citizenship assistance workshops, and provides recommendations to increase workshop effectiveness in an effort to help immigrants attain their legal and political rights as American citizens.

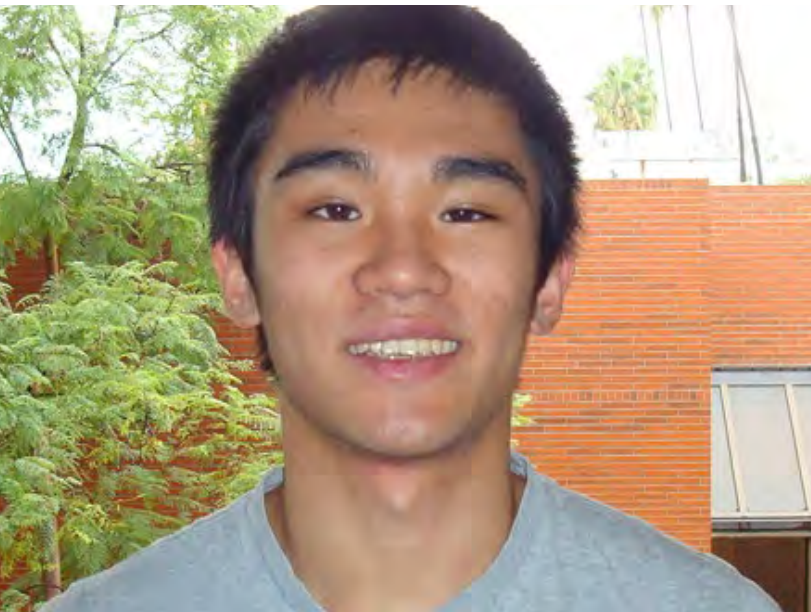


Julian Tarula

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*Representing America: Addressing the Affects
of Descriptive Representation on Political
Participation*

This study examines the demographic characteristics of elected officials' affect on political participation of registered voters. Analysis focuses on the affects of descriptive representation. According to the literature descriptive representation increases political participation; however, these studies are highly localized and only sample Black and Latino populations. This study expands this area of research using data from the 2008 Collaborative Multi-Racial Political Study (CMPS) – a nationwide multi-racial and multilingual survey of registered voters, which provides a representative sample of registered voters from all racial/ethnic groups. Sociopolitical attitudes, political activity and demographic information are supplemented with each respondent's elected official's demographics. Accounting for known predictors of political participation, descriptive representation has varying effects on different forms of participatory acts for Whites, Blacks and Asians but no effects for Latinos. The effects seen, however, were minimal. By studying factors that contribute to an individual's propensity to participate in political acts, mobilization factors and strategies can be identified to increase American political participation.



Jonathan Truong

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*Resisting the Growth Machine: Esperanza
Community Housing Corporation and the
L.A. Live CBA*

Political economists frame the city as a growth machine in which land is treated as a commodity by elites to increase population and revenue. The coalition of growth proponents includes government officials and developers who control land use and the price of housing. This pursuit of growth, once away from the urban core and now towards it, has led to increased rents and displacement of low-income residents in the central business districts of many cities. In 2001, community residents and organizations in the South Los Angeles central business districts signed a landmark contract with the developers of the multi-million dollar Staples Center Los Angeles Live expansion project. This research is a case-study of Esperanza Community Housing Corporation and its role in resisting the effects of growth in South Los Angeles. It provides scholars, government officials, developers, and activists insight for future community benefits negotiations on affordable housing and an on-the-ground perspective of the growth machine.



Kim Vu

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*The Role of Calpain in
Neuroblastoma Metastasis*

Neuroblastoma is one of the most common tumors that develop in children, and by the time this disease is diagnosed, 70% of the patients already have neuroblastoma metastasis in other parts of their bodies, usually the bone marrow. Children are vulnerable to metastatic cancers due to active bone tissues and abundant growth factors that promote cell growth and proliferation. Consequently, multiple forms and combinations of treatments are used to treat this type of cancer, including radiation and chemotherapy. There is activation of the brain-derived neurotrophic factor (BDNF) receptor for the tyrosine kinase (TrkB) neurotrophin by the amplified MYCN gene, which is expressed in many patients. This has been shown to inhibit apoptosis initiated by chemotherapy, therefore making neuroblastoma cell lines resistant to chemotherapy, a feature indicating a poor prognosis for these patients. BDNF has recently been shown to activate calpain through MAP Kinase-mediated phosphorylation, resulting in actin polymerization, increased cell motility, and possibly increased metastatic behavior; interestingly, calpain inhibitors prevent the effect of BDNF on actin polymerization. This study tested the hypothesis that high calpain activity resulting from TrkB stimulation correlates with increased chemoresistance in a neuroblastoma cell line. Quantitative analysis of immunoblots was used to determine the effects of BDNF and interleukin-6 (IL-6) on the TrkB, ERK, and calpain pathways in a human neuroblastoma cell line. If this hypothesis is correct, incorporating calpain inhibitors in cancer treatment could improve patient recovery.



Roland (Tony) Zapata

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A Growing Concern in Higher Education: The Latino Gender Gap

Female college students have been outpacing males in matriculation, retention, and graduation for the last two decades (Chronicle of Higher Education, 2009). This gender gap has led to critical discussions on methods to increase gender equity without favoring a marginalized community and infracting on equality for female students. A recent surge of empirical studies have focused on Latino males in various stages of the educational pipeline (Strayhorn, 2010), however research is sparse when compared to other male populations (Lumina Foundation, 2009; Saenz & Ponjuan, 2009). This qualitative study examines social capital and influence of Latino males participating in two state college access initiatives. By critically examining state policies, the proposed outcomes help to understand how these programs infuse various forms of social and cultural capital to increase college access and equity for Latino males.

A BIOMECHANICS STUDY ON THE VARIABILITY OF LOWER EXTREMITY JOINT ANGLES IN THE SAGITTAL PLANE



BRYSON GAUFF

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The purpose of this study is to explore what factors may moderate the gender differences that exist in lower extremity joint kinematics during drop landings from 36-cm heights. In the design of this study, participants completed four trials at the drop height. The subjects included 65 female participants (height = 157.1 ± 11.4 cm, mass = 50.798 ± 12.730 kg) and 59 male participants (165.2 ± 16.0 cm, 58.316 ± 17.410 kg). Results show that there is a significant negative correlation between female height and hip flexion angle. In addition, there is a significant gender difference in peak hip flexion angle. Also, there is significant difference between shorter and taller females in peak hip flexion and peak knee flexion angles; shorter females reported higher peak angles in both measures. No significant correlations or between group differences for shorter and taller males were found. BMI was found to be the most prevalent factor in describing the gender difference in hip flexion angles. In conclusion, the existence of a gender difference and a group difference for females makes tall females the most at risk group. BMI plays the largest role in explaining the between gender difference. Ground reaction force measurements are needed to make conclusions about true injury frequency.

INTRODUCTION

Landing from a jump is much more complicated than many people anticipate. For example, a basketball player landing after going up for a rebound, or a volleyball player jumping and landing after attempting a spike, each landing engages the muscles and joints of the lower body. Much of the research focuses on the forces exerted on the hips, knees, and ankles, the frequency of injury from these landings, and gender differences in landing techniques. There is a general consensus that for court sports, females take smaller angles of hip and knee flexion upon landing. It is also agreed upon that erect landing postures are associated with a higher risk of injury. There are situations where a person must engage in some athletic behavior, specifically a drop. Having some knowledge of a proper landing technique could mean the difference between a safe landing and injury. Furthermore, the effect of moderating factors, like anthropometric measures (height and weight) or knowledge of the task, on performance of the landing task has yet to be investigated. This study seeks to identify other factors that may account for the gender differences seen in landing preferences.

This study is framed by two research questions.

- What kinematic differences exist between genders?
- What moderating factors may explain the gender differences in observed lower body kinematics during a drop landing?

There is a well established and well documented gender difference in the landing preferences. The first research question is asked to ensure the dataset does align with the general consensus before any other analysis is done. The second question is the main focus of this current study. By identifying moderating factors, improvements may be made to landing training that will hopefully lead to a reduction in injuries and in the gap of injury frequency.

The hip and knee flexion angles at the focus of this study are measured as defined in the medial sagittal plane. This is the anatomical plane obtained if the body is split down the center between the eyes. By convention, zero degrees at the hip and knee corresponds to an erect, standing posture with the trunk and entire leg in a straight line (Decker, et al., 2003). A smaller angle of hip flexion is associated with a more erect posture; whereas a

larger angle of hip flexion has the trunk closer to the thighs. A smaller angle of knee flexion is associated with a straight leg; a larger angle of knee flexion has the gluteus closer to the heels. Another term that needs definition is kinesiology knowledge. This term, from exercise science, refers to the familiarity a person has with their body and how this familiarity manifests itself in task performance.

Three research hypotheses were tested.

1. Males will land with greater hip and knee flexion than females.
2. Anthropometrics will predict hip and knee flexion angles.
3. Assuming kinesiology knowledge increases with age, age will predict hip and knee flexion.

LITERATURE REVIEW

There is a general consensus that landing in a more erect posture is associated with a higher risk of non-contact lower extremity injury. These smaller angles of flexion in the sagittal plane require quicker and stronger activation of stabilizing muscles. In the case of the knee, overexertion of the quadriceps stresses the tibia and fibula of the lower leg, which can strain ligaments. In a research article by Pollard, Sigward, and Powers (2010), a group of female soccer players completed a drop landing task. Joint kinematics in the sagittal and frontal planes were recorded, along with ground reaction forces at landing. It was found that athletes that landed with limited range of motion in the sagittal plane had higher moments in the frontal plane (more torques on the joints). Also, smaller angles of flexion came with greater ground reaction forces at landing. These forces coupled with increasing torques, are a pattern for injury. However, this study only looked at female athletes, so there is no chance for gender comparisons.

The gender difference in landing kinematics has received more attention as the difference in injury rates have increased. Female athletes are more likely to suffer from a traumatic lower body injury, like an ACL tear, than their male counterparts when completing a landing. Various studies state that this rate of injury can range from three to four times more likely (Salci et

al., 2004) to up to eight times more likely (Lephart et al., 2002). As was mentioned earlier, smaller angles of flexion are associated with a higher risk of injury. So do female athletes always take smaller angles than their male counterparts? In a research study by Lephart, et al., (2002), the kinetics and kinematics of female Division I volleyball, soccer, and basketball players were compared to those of male recreational athletes. In this research design, it is not unreasonable to assume that the female athletes would take safer landings than the male recreational athletes due to their training. But the results of this study proved otherwise. Females had significantly less knee flexion at landing than males. A study of male and female recreational athletes by Decker, et al. (2003) further supported claims that females land in patterns that have a higher risk of injury. At initial ground contact, females came in more erect than males. Also, males exhibit more knee flexion. These differences in kinematic technique mean that males dissipate the energy from the landing over a greater range of motion, which puts less stress on ligaments, bones, and muscles. Another interesting result from this study is that females had significantly higher joint velocities than males. This means that a female's lower body is moving faster at contact, giving her musculature more work to stabilize safely.

However, not all biomechanics studies have results that support the claim that females will land in a more erect posture than males. The study of Kernozek, et al. looked at the gender differences in landing from a 60 cm drop. There were no significant differences in the hip and knee flexion angles at initial contact. This study is of special note because it kept the landing technique of both groups constant. Rather than letting subjects land in their "natural" or self-preferred landing method, participants were required to complete a forefoot-to-rearfoot landing. If controlling for landing technique results in no gender difference, perhaps the difference in injury is due to landing style.

In a research study by Cortes, et al. (2007), males and females completed a drop-jump landing task, with the aim of assessing kinematic landing patterns between genders. An additional wrinkle in the design was to analyze these differences by landing technique. The participants completed the task using a forefoot landing style and then a rearfoot landing style. Similar to the results of Kernozek, et al., there were no gender differences

in hip or knee flexion for either landing technique. Once again, when controlling for landing style, gender differences do not appear. These results suggest landing style as one of the moderating factors that may explain the kinematic differences in landings. It may not be solely gender based.

All these results combine to frame this current study. In the studies where there was a focus on the frequency of injury (McNitt-Gray, 1993; Pollard et al., 2010), only one gender was studied. Any analysis of injury would benefit from comparison of the genders. Studies that attempt to identify different factors that may explain the gender difference are the starting point of this study's analyses. Several studies (McNitt-Gray, 1993; Lephart, et al., 2002; Decker, et al., 2003; Seegmiller and McCaw, 2003; Kernozek, et al., 2005; Yu, et al., 2005) focused on biomechanic factors. These factors included joint kinematics, ground reaction forces and energy absorption. Other studies (Bobbert, et al., 1986; Kovacs, et al., 1999; Salci, et al., 2004; Cortes, et al., 2007) focused on the effect of landing styles. There exists a gap in focusing on the participants themselves. Anthropometric measures, like height and weight, will vary greatly across the participant pool, but should be the focus of analysis.

RESEARCH DESIGN

Fifty-nine male (age, 14.8 (SD, 3.3 years); height, 165.2 (SD, 16.0 cm); mass, 58.3 (SD, 17.4 kg); BMI, 20.3 (SD, 3.2)) and sixty-nine female (age, 14.1 (SD, 3.5 years); height, 157.1 (SD, 11.4 cm); mass, 50.8 (SD, 12.7 kg); BMI, 20.8 (SD, 3.2)) club-level and collegiate soccer athletes participated in this study. All subjects reported no history of orthopedic injury to the lower extremity joints.

All testing took place at the Musculoskeletal Biomechanics Research Laboratory at the University of Southern California. Prior to participation, the testing procedures were explained to each subject and/or guardian. Participants then signed a human participant's consent form approved by the Institutional Review Board of the University of Southern California Health Sciences Campus. After consenting to participate, participant age, height and weight were recorded.

These measures were used to calculate body mass index (BMI) as a point of further analysis. Leg dominance was established before testing; this will be determined by asking each subject which leg they would use to kick a ball.

Subjects were fitted with custom spandex shorts, with cut-outs for the greater trochanters and anterior superior iliac spine (ASIS) markers, and that allow the top of the pelvis, thigh, and lower leg to be exposed. Reflective tracking markers were secured on the surface of the subject's thigh, lower leg, and heel counter of the shoe. Further, tracking markers were placed on each ASIS marker and iliac crest as well as on the L5/S1 joint. Once the markers are placed, a standing trial was captured. The tracking markers remained on the participant throughout the entire data collection session. The foot markers were placed on the shoes. Motion markers were fixed with adhesive collars and reinforced by tape.

Two practice trials allowed the participants to become familiar with the instrumentation and procedures.

Subjects then performed a jumping/landing task. The task consisted of dropping from a 36 cm platform in front of two AMTI force plates (Model #OR6-6-1, Newton, MA) and then jumping up and as high as possible. The subjects were instructed to fold their arms across their chest and to land as naturally as possible. Participants were not instructed to use a particular landing style.

Visual3D™ software (C-Motion, Inc., Rockville, MD, USA) was used to quantify hip and knee motion in the sagittal, frontal and transverse planes. In Visual3D™, all lower extremity segments will be modeled as a frustra of cones while the pelvis will be modeled as an ellipsoid. Vicon Workstation software (Vicon, Oxford Metrics LTD. Oxford, England) will be used to digitize the kinematic data. The local coordinate systems of the pelvis, thigh, leg and foot will be derived from the standing calibration trial. In addition, the segment ends will be identified from the standing calibration trial in order to locate the segment origins. In order to facilitate comparisons between genders and groups, all kinetic data will be normalized to body mass.

All statistical analysis was done using IBM Statistical Program for Social Sciences 18.0 for Windows package program. The mean and standard deviation were calculated for all variables.

A 2 x 2 (group x joint) mixed factor ANOVA was computed from the trial means for contact position (Decker et al., 2003). Pearson correlations were run between anthropometrics and joint angles for each group. Linear regression was used to analyze the predictive value of moderating factors.

RESULTS

Hip and knee flexion angles of female soccer players were less than that of males for the landing task. A statistically significant difference was found for hip flexion ($F(1,122) = 13.358, p < 0.001$). There was no significant difference between groups for average knee flexion. Groups showed statistically significant difference in terms of height and mass ($p < 0.05$), but in body mass index (BMI) scores. Group means and standard deviations for average hip and knee flexion angles are given in Table 1.

	Hip flexion	Knee flexion
Male	87.3 (18.3)*	94.5 (15.9)
Female	76.4 (17.1)	91.7 (12.2)

* $p < 0.001$.

Correlation analyses revealed a negative correlation between average hip flexion angle and height, weight, and BMI ($r = -0.27, -0.36, \text{ and } -0.37$, respectively) for females only. None of the anthropometric measures correlated with either of the joint angles for males. Table 2 gives correlation coefficients and p values for all relationships for both groups.

Measurements	Male		Female	
	r	p	r	p
Hip flexion - height	-0.083	0.531	-0.271	0.032
Hip flexion - weight	-0.053	0.694	-0.359	0.004
Hip flexion - BMI	-0.019	0.887	-0.369	0.003
Knee flexion - height	-0.135	0.308	-0.112	0.383
Knee flexion - weight	-0.084	0.530	-0.204	0.108
Knee flexion - BMI	-0.019	0.890	-0.235	0.064

Regression analyses demonstrated that, for females, body mass index accounts for an additional 5.4 percent of the variance in hip flexion angle after accounting for height and weight. However, for females, age does not have any predicative effect on either hip or knee flexion after accounting for height, weight, and BMI. Age does have an effect that is approaching significance for both hip ($B = 0.525, p = 0.092$) and knee ($B =$

0.531, $p = 0.085$) flexion for males.

DISCUSSION

Court athletes receive much of the attention in biomechanics studies (Bobbert, et al., 1986; Lephart, et al., 2002; Salci, et al., 2004) concerned with landing kinematics. Given the amount of jumping and landing these athletes must endure in their training, practice and competition, it makes sense that they would receive this attention. Also, the high joint velocities (McNitt-Gray, 1993) and impact forces (Seegmiller and McCaw, 2003) that gymnasts experience makes them another population of interest. The soccer athletes of this current study, in spite of their training, may be the perfect participant population. Soccer players share characteristics with other athletes but may not have the same familiarity with the drop landing task as basketball or volleyball players.

This current study sought to identify moderating factors that would explain the gender difference in drop landing kinematics. Participants completed four drop landing task trials using a self-preferred landing style. Peak angles of hip and knee flexion in the sagittal plane were recorded for each trial. Analysis was run on the averages of these peak angles. The results of this study reveal that females land with significantly smaller angles of hip flexion than males. Females also took smaller angles of knee flexion, but this result was not significant. These results support the first research hypothesis. It is interesting that there was a significant difference for only hip flexion and not for knee flexion. Prior literature reports significant differences for both joint angles. The reason for this difference still remains unknown.

There is plenty of information regarding the gender differences in muscular strength and how these differences affect landing performance. The extensor muscles of the hips and knees are used to stabilize the lower body after ground contact. The stronger muscles of males allow them to land with a greater range of motion (Decker, et al., 2003) and with greater angles of flexion. But the burdens of the muscle sets are not equal. As McNitt-Gray put forward in her study of male gymnasts, knee extensor muscles experience larger demands than the hips (1993).

This means that the quadriceps are extremely important for a safe landing. The “stiffer” landings of female athletes put an even greater demand on the quadriceps when they are already nearing peak activity. For this study, there was no electromyography, so there is no data on the electrical activity of these muscles. However, musculoskeletal differences cannot tell the whole story.

Another significant result of this study is the correlations between hip flexion angle and female anthropometrics. These correlations were all negative, which means that as a female participant gets taller and heavier; her hip flexion angle gets smaller. This result might be a product of the sport that the participant plays. Since the subjects are soccer players, it is reasonable that taller and heavier females would exhibit riskier landing positions. If this study looked at court sport athletes, it would make sense that these bigger athletes would land with greater flexion angles. This difference in familiarity of task goes back to the idea of kinesiological knowledge. Although the soccer players are indeed athletes, there is less jumping and landing required of them when compared to court sport athletes. Taking this into consideration, the lack of a significant gender difference in average knee flexion is understandable.

The other result of the analysis was the predictive value of age for both angles of flexion for males only. Although these results were only approaching significance, it creates another avenue for future research. This result also poses a challenge. What about getting older helps account for variability in males' landing kinematics? Going back to the third hypothesis, assuming that a person's kinesiological knowledge increases with age, an increase in age should result in greater security when performing a task. And these results only showed up for males, but both groups will have kinesiological knowledge. The age of male participants ranged from nine to twenty-two years old, a spread of thirteen years; female participants ranged from nine to twenty-one years old, a spread of twelve years. There is not any noteworthy difference in ages for each group. Perhaps males have more ambient life training than females, meaning they would have greater kinesiological knowledge than females at the same age.

CONCLUSION

The major limitation of this study was all analysis was done on a pre-existing dataset. I had no control over the individual factors that were selected and recorded. But since the protocol for the study that provided this dataset had basic anthropometric and kinematic measures, initial analysis was possible. Also, there is no force plate data included in my analysis, which is commonplace in other biomechanics studies on landing. Since this is only a pilot study, the inclusion of these ground reaction force measures offers a great starting point for further research. Knowing the energetics of the athletes' landings would give another point for analysis. It is possible that the gender differences may not exist in energetics, or that energetics will have different moderating factors for each gender than kinematics.

Future research on the gender differences in landing kinematics would benefit from exploring the effect of fear. In a February 2001 Gallup poll, 42 percent of American females reported having a fear of heights, compared to 25 percent of males (Gallup, C.N.N., U.S.A., 2001). Although a drop of 36 cm hardly seems like it would elicit a real fear response, studying this effect could add to knowledge about how psychology can affect physiology. As was brought up earlier, training could have an effect that needs investigation. One challenge, however, would be finding a way to quantify life training and how this training may affect task performance.

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DRAWING BOUNDARIES WITH LANGUAGE: RELIGIOUS PLURALISM AND THE EVANGELICAL CHRISTIAN IDENTITY



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In the last fifty years there has been a dramatic influx of different religious practices in the United States. As a result of this religious pluralism, Americans have developed a norm of civility and openness towards individual religious affiliation. At a secular university campus, where the expectation of religious equality is institutionally enforced, this culture is an established norm. In prior studies, religious pluralism was seen to encourage Evangelical Christians to create a subculture through which they alienate themselves from society, becoming embattled with all non-Christians. This study investigates what this boundary negotiation looks like at a secular university in southern California, where evangelical students mediate between the norm of religious equality present in the academic environment, and the norm of religious exclusivism inherent in their religious tradition. Using ethnography and participant observation with a framework of boundary formation, the researcher observed a chapter of the Inter-Varsity Christian Fellowship over a six-month period. Observations suggest that the culture of pluralism leads these evangelical students to employ inclusive language when considering other students, creating weaker group boundaries. In contrast to previous findings, evangelicals at this secular university do not create a strong subcultural identity, but rather use inclusive or exclusive language depending on the setting and on the presence of experts.

NEGOTIATING BOUNDARIES AT A SECULAR UNIVERSITY: RELIGIOUS PLURALISM AND THE EVANGELICAL CHRISTIAN IDENTITY

The question of whether religious pluralism, or an increasing number of religions, has a direct affect on the number of devoutly religious individuals has been debated since the late 1960's, and is yet to find any resolution. The champion of the secularization thesis, claiming that pluralism decreases the plausibility of any one religion, was Peter Berger in 1969. Since then history has revealed that the relationship between these factors is not that simple. Some argue that religious pluralism has led to a "spiritual marketplace" (Roof 1999), where individuals choose from a variety of religions and are thus more involved in that decision. The problem remains as to how religious groups define the nature of their own identity in the face of competing groups, and within an institutionally secular environment. For Evangelical Christians, their ability to relate to other religious doctrines is complicated by their dogma of necessary proselytizing. They must maintain stability within a secular environment while simultaneously convincing people to accept Christian truth. At a secular university campus, this condition is complicated by the salient norm of religious equality. Students are expected to believe in at least the right of individuals to choose their own religion, if not the possibility of truth in any given one. This complicates the way in which these students are able to proselytize, both by creating a difficulty in how they conceive of themselves in relation to others, and in how they are able to speak to others about their beliefs. Understanding how these college proselytizers deal with pluralism allows us to see how pluralism might be dealt with more generally by exclusive religions, and by religious groups as a whole.

Some scholars have argued that Evangelical Christians within pluralism create an identity as a "subgroup" of society (Smith, 1998), which differentiates them from the rest by allowing them a kind of "fortress" (Bramadat, 2000). They survive within this environment by creating a stronger group identity by identifying themselves as different from the norm. They thus become "embattled" (Smith, 1998) with the rest of society, believing that those outside their walls are enemies of their ideals. The group is made stronger by this embattlement as

it allows the members to believe they are cultural rebels, with a special insight on the truth. The unique case of college students at secular universities allows us to better understand how this behavior is affected by an increasing norm of religious equality. The subgroup identity will need to be somewhat breached when these students have to accept both their roles as Evangelical Christians and as students, specifically when they proselytize to other students. The boundaries of their religious faith have to be renegotiated in light of their constant interaction with pluralism.

To investigate the way in which college students proselytize in this environment of religious pluralism I have spent six months with the Inter-Varsity Trojan Christian Fellowship (IVCF), an Evangelical Christian fellowship at the University of Southern California. The following report will consider my observations throughout that time in attending their weekly and biweekly events. IVCF is a nondenominational Christian organization dedicated to proselytizing at secular universities, and thus serves well to consider the question of boundaries before pluralism. I focused on how the group conceptualized itself as a group and negotiated what their group means as reflected in their use of language.

RELIGIOUS PLURALISM IN THE UNITED STATES

The rise of the global economy and the major shifts in immigration patterns since 1965 have situated the United States in a kind of "new pluralism," where interactions with people of different religious backgrounds are not only possible, but in most cases necessary (Wuthnow 2005; Hutchison 2003). Peter Berger (1969) was the first to address the situation of religious diversity in his classic work, *The Sacred Canopy*, where he suggested that religious pluralism reduces religious vitality through its effect on plausibility; the more equally plausible religious truths, the less likely that any one is true. This secularization thesis was challenged by Finke and Stark with their religious economies model, which posits that religious pluralism acts like a catalyst for increased religiosity, since it creates an environment of competition (Finke 1988). This model was a result of the apparently contradictory findings suggesting that the United States has high levels of religious pluralism, while at the same time maintaining one of the highest rates of church attendance,

(Warner 1993; Iannaccone 1991). The debate has continued to a standstill, with support for both sides continuing to pile up, leaving the possibility of reconciliation seemingly further and further away. (Voas 2002; Chaves 2001). The trend though, is occurring, and its effect seems to be different for different groups. Research attempting to understand the trend should thus focus on identifying its effect on particular instances, for particular groups.

More recently, in the past twenty years or so, there has been a further change in what this pluralism looks like in the United States. Although still a Christian nation, there has been an increase in what Hout and Fischer (2009) call “unchurched believers,” or religious people who do not consider themselves part of any one denomination or attend church regularly. The growth seems to come from the parents of the generation Wuthnow called “emerging adults” (2007), who themselves were raised without strict religious practices and focused on instilling the idea of personal choice in their children, instead of religious dogma (Hout and Fischer 2009). This change has led to more people in the United States ascribing to non-denominational or “generic Christian” categories, or to self-identify as “Born Again” or “Evangelical” rather than with any denomination, when asked of their religious belief (Kosmin and Keysar 2008). There has also been an enormous growth of “nones,” those with no religious preference, are agnostic, or atheist, from 8.2% in 1990 to 15.0% in 2008 (Kosmin and Keysar 2008). The consequences of these trends is a less-Christian nation than before, or at least one where the religious are becoming more ambiguous in their beliefs, focusing more on the individual and accepting the value of choice between any religious practice.

RELIGION AT A SECULAR UNIVERSITY

Studies have consistently found that 30-40 percent of emerging adults disaffiliate with religion (Wuthnow 2007; Brinkerhoff and Mackie 1993; Sandomirsky and Wilson 1990; Hunsberger and Brown 1984). No religious group seems to be immune (Albrecht, Cornwall, and Cunningham 1998; Hoge 1981), including exclusive Christians, such as Presbyterians (Hoge, Johnson, and Luidens 1993). These results lead us to believe that, as Caplovitz and Sherrow (1977) argued, the

university environment is “a breeding ground for apostasy,” or the abandonment of religious belief. Although some disagree with the claim (Uecker 2007), the evidence remains that students are in a kind of “liminal state” (Dutton 2008) within a rite of passage toward a successful adult life.

Dutton (2008) argues that students are in a time of reinterpretation and reformation of identities, qualifying the old ones or adding the new as the socialization moves forth. In the case of evangelical Christians, Hammond and Hunter (1984) found that secular universities seem to solidify their worldview, or the relationship between their religious beliefs and political and social behaviors, more so than evangelicals at denominational universities. This is likely because students at secular universities are challenged often and are forced to develop rational explanations for their beliefs. Furthermore, as a minority religion they are prone to attracting more devoted members, although fewer members overall (Hammond and Hunter 1984).

The transformation that comes from a university education creates in the evangelical university student, that does not become an apostate, a strong evangelical identity, presumably embattled with the rest of society. For the secular university student at a campus in southern California, this adaptation to pluralism is complicated by the “culture of pluralism” of the region, which enforces a norm of civility that requires religions to accept the legitimacy of alternative spiritual choices (Roof 2007). Roof argues that this is the case because of the history of cultures coming into contact with each other, and because of the hypermodernity that characterizes southern California. The evangelical fellowship thus has to socialize these particular students in such a way as to have them able to interact in their daily lives as students within this culture of acceptance. Yet they have to do this while enforcing exclusive dogmas of evangelical Christianity, including the personal relationship with Jesus Christ and the necessity of absolving the “Great Commission,” or God’s decree to spread the gospel to all nations.

Necessitating proselytizing on a secular university campus for students, as is the case for evangelical Christian fellowships, complicates how they would identify boundaries differentiating themselves from other students. As college proselytizers, these students would be in constant contact

with non-believers, while they are imbedded into a system of academia that encourages questioning of their own beliefs. College proselytizers thus have constant contact with the secular world from which they would usually detract. A contact hypothesis would suggest that this constant interaction would lead the proselytizers to be more accepting of others' beliefs. Yet for an evangelical who believes his truth is the only truth, being more accepting of others' beliefs is intrinsically difficult. Alternatively, adopting C. Smith's (1998) subgroup identity theory would suggest that increased interaction with out-group members would necessitate stronger boundaries between them, as a strong religion is only so to the extent it distinguishes itself from the outside world.

EXCLUSIVE CHRISTIANITY IN PLURALISM

Within the context of pluralism, certain religious traditions tend to allow for individuals to be more "inclusive," where they acknowledge other religious truths as valid, while others are more "exclusive," where the members consider their own religion as the only possible truth. Stark and Finke (2000) hypothesized that the higher a religion's tension is with its surroundings, the more exclusive, extensive, and expensive the level of commitment required by the members would be. Thus, religious traditions that are embattled because of ideology appear to be "stronger" religions, as C. Smith found (1998), since the members of it attend religious services more often, and believe more strongly in the core beliefs of their tradition than members of other religions (Smith 1998). Similarly, B. Smith (2010) found that people belonging to different religious traditions have different attitudes toward the validity of other religious traditions. Evangelical Christians, as exclusive religious practitioners, tend to be against values of religious pluralism, including the acknowledgement of other religious truths as valid (Merino 2010; Smith 2010).

Evangelicalism maintains its position as an exclusive religion by enforcing exclusive group bonds, whereby individuals are in constant interaction with members of their own group, and through theological assumptions of the superiority of Christianity (Wuthnow 2005). In regard to the former point, the contact theory has been corroborated by several studies showing

that contact with people of different religious backgrounds is positively associated with tolerance of religious pluralism (Merino 2010). By having little contact with people outside of their own religious tradition, Evangelical Christians are able to maintain their attitudes against religious pluralism (Wuthnow 2005; C. Smith 1998). In terms of their theological assumptions, Evangelical Christians believe in Jesus Christ as the only way of attaining salvation, thus labeling all other religious truths incorrect due to their lack of a personal relationship with the deity (Wuthnow 2005; Smith 1998).

C. Smith (1998) suggests that evidence of evangelicalism gaining strength implores us to suggest a new framework from which to look at pluralism. He sets forth to answer this need through the subcultural identity theory of religious strength, which argues that a stronger religion is so because it is embattled with the rest of society. The stronger religion creates high boundaries from which it rejects others and maintains a unique distinction from them, allowing members of the group to feel more secure and thence become more involved in the tradition. The tension that grows from limited engagement with the rest of society strengthens the posited superior position of the evangelical. Although insightful, C. Smith's (1998) subcultural identity theory lacks precision in defining how the implied high boundaries are negotiated in situations of high pluralism. C. Smith (1998) does not tell us how the high boundaries are created, or what these boundaries look like, only that they exist. This is partly due to his survey methodology, as behavior is difficult to consider with it, and thus an observational study would supplant the missing information.

ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK: SOCIAL IDENTITY AND SYMBOLIC BOUNDARIES

The use of social identity to understand our human condition is a cornerstone of social science investigation, especially in research on culture. Understanding our multi-dimensional identities, both individual and collective, allows us to understand what it means to be a social being (Ashmore, Richard D., Kay Deaux, and Tracy McLaughlin-Volpe 2004; Jenkins 1996; Goffman 1959). Goffman's dramaturgical approach (1959) transformed the conversation on identity to include

this aspect of a multi-dimensional being with contradictory identity frameworks, even if these are within a single group. The representation of the self before the public is the negotiation between these contradictory identities. Groups have similar negotiations, including certain customary understandings of what it means for a person to be a good member, and an understanding of who is not part of the group. These “group-building customs” (Lichterman 2005) are used to describe to the individual and to the group what actions and ideas are acceptable for members of the group to ascribe to.

The study of group formation through the social identity of groups has been considered in social science as the relationship between the group, other groups, and the rest of society (Lamont and Molnar 2002). This relationship is often referred to as a group’s “boundaries.” The study of group formation and “boundaries” is an important aspect of many social science research, including racial and ethnic identity, multiculturalism, social and collective identity, cultural membership, immigration, and scientific controversies among many others. These fields adopt a framework of symbolic boundaries, which allows them to consider the set of beliefs or maps that a group holds in common through which the members can know how to relate to other groups and to society as a whole (Lichterman 2005; Lamont and Thèvenot 2000; Lamont 1999). The framework of symbolic boundaries has further allowed for a more uniform sociology of culture, allowing for better cross-study comparisons (Lamont and Thèvenot 2000). Symbolic boundaries have been used to study the local culture of individual groups in an attempt to understand how the group creates itself within a larger context. Sociologist Penny Edgell Becker (1999) has, for instance, utilized the framework of group customs to describe different models congregations use to define “who we are” and “how we do things here.” Paul Lichterman (2005) has adopted the framework to understand how religiously based civic organizations are able to relate to each other and bridge differences.

THE INTER-VARSITY TROJAN CHRISTIAN FELLOWSHIP

The Inter-Varsity Trojan Christian Fellowship (TCF) at the University of Southern California is a chapter of the

international Christian organization, Inter-Varsity Christian Fellowship (IVCF), with 840 chapters throughout universities in the United States and in 150 countries around the world. Along with Campus Crusade for Christ (CRU), IVCF is one of the most often studied Christian university organizations (Dutton 2008; Bramadat 2000). Studies on the organization often use a pseudonym to refer to it, yet my choice to use the name is based on the belief that this organization has certain customs particular to it that should be analyzed as such throughout studies by different scholars. IVCF is officially a non-denominational fellowship, and thus accepts members from various denominational backgrounds. This was true of TCF as several denominations were represented, including a few Catholics. The fellowship itself is generally assumed by its members to be more aligned with the Southern Baptists. Most members seemed to agree with beliefs upheld by evangelical Protestantism, including a strong belief in a personal relationship with Jesus Christ as the only mode toward salvation, and an emphasis on “witness,” or proselytizing. The mission statement, or “vision,” of IVCF is often expressed throughout meetings, especially by the staff leaders of the group, and represents these tenants well: “Our vision is to see students and faculty transformed, campuses renewed, and world changers developed” (intervarsity.org). There is an emphasis on the individual in this process, as the student is molded by the organization to become an adult who contributes to the “kingdom of God.” The organization further emphasizes its role as a “safe haven” from secularization, giving Christian students a place where they can interact with other Christian students.

TCF is a student group with hired staff representatives from the national IVCF organization. During the time I spent with them there was one paid staff member and one volunteer staff. Other leadership responsibilities were left to students, including positions like worship teams and event masters of ceremony. Students taking on these responsibilities are referred to as “leaders” and meet often with the staff members to discuss topics of organizational structure and maintenance. The paid staff was responsible for mediation between the national organization and the university chapter, as well as maintaining the organization in managerial terms. The paid staff also led workshops, especially during sessions devoted to proselytizing

techniques. The volunteer staff helped the paid staff wherever it was needed, and led bible studies and workshops outside of official TCF time. Leaders of other IVCF chapters, both local and national, often supplanted these two leaders by leading lectures and discussions. These guest speakers usually presented during events meant to reach out to prospective Christians.

METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

I conducted 4 months of close participant observation during the spring semester of 2010, followed by an intensive weeklong conference at Catalina Island, and sporadic summer events throughout the summer of 2010. During the time I spent with the group, I attended five field sites, including the conference at Catalina Island. The main event used by the organization to reach out to non-Christians was labeled “Encounter”. This event was held twice in the semester and included “worship” or singing Christian songs as a group, a guest lecturer, and an “altar call” where audience members were encouraged to testify either becoming Christian or testify to seek out more knowledge by attending events. The altar call also included several points for members, such as committing to go to more events or committing to focus more on proselytizing. The topics at the meetings I went to were (1) dealing with stress and (2) seeing signs from God. These topics were structured to begin a conversation with non-Christians in a non-threatening way. The second-most important meetings I attended were labeled Overflow, where the group got together to discuss ways in which they are and should be reaching out to the campus and other people. These meetings included a testimonial period where members were encouraged to stand up before the rest of the organization and talk about some occurrence in the last two weeks that they attributed to God’s influence, specifically focusing on their progress in proselytizing. The meetings also included prayer time, worship, and a brief lecture by the staff leader. I also attended a weekly bible study with sophomores, entitled “Sophomore Dinner,” which was held at the apartment of any participant who volunteered it that week. The final field site I attended throughout the semester was “Monday Night Prayer,” a weekly prayer meeting held next to the campus symbol. These meetings were intended for prayer both for the organization and

for the university as a whole. Throughout my time with the group I attended most of their meetings and stayed afterwards for any social events. I also attended some non-TCF related events with a few members, including going to a Sunday service and sporadic social events like going out to dinner.

I began my research following the principles set forth by Glaser and Strauss (1967), entering the field with as few preconceptions as possible, and seeking any information that related to the question of how these college proselytizers dealt with other groups (e.g. other students, non-students, other Christians, institutions). Using the constant-comparative method (Glaser and Strauss 1967) I identified categories from sets of patterns and qualified these constantly as I retrieved more data. I analyzed the data by comparing it to what C. Smith (1998) found, assuming that there was more to the prospect of embattlement than he suggested. I opted to tell the members of the group of my researcher role, letting a member know during the first or second conversation I had with him. I further chose to become an “insider” (Taylor and Bogdan 1998), whereby I became recognized as a member of the group. I refrained from commenting too often, maintaining my level of participation at slightly more than the least participatory member of the group. When asked to address the group, as in prayer or comment in the discussion, I molded my answers to fit the kind of language used by the members. I further made my affiliation to Catholicism known, which had less of an effect than expected, as there were already a few Catholic members.

University students are in constant contact with religious pluralism. They are embedded in a system of institutionalized rationality and secularization, and, in the case of southern California, in contact with people of different backgrounds. They are also in a particularly vulnerable stage in life, as they attempt to define who they are and will be as adults (Dutton 2008; Wuthnow 2005). Using this group thus allowed me to better understand how conservative Christianity is affected by a conflicting identity as the students accept religious pluralism and, at the same time, the superiority of their own subgroup. I looked specifically at how they talked about people who they wanted to proselytize, or had begun the process with. By identifying the verbal strategies they employed in these situations I built theories of how they

negotiated their boundaries before pluralism. The studies by C. Smith (1998) and Wuthnow (2005) were used as comparative frameworks, allowing me to consider the extent to which this group was embattled with society, and how pluralism was dealt with more generally. Any names that appear throughout the report are pseudonyms used to protect the identity of students at the organization.

THE PROBLEM OF BOUNDARY FORMATION IN PLURALISM: STUDENT OR EVANGELICAL?

The different roles TCF members have to take on as evangelicals and as secular university students often cause problems in how they consider themselves in relation to others and in relation to their group. Oftentimes this leads to one identity overcoming the other, depending on which is salient at the time. When then evangelical identity is salient, as was in the majority of the time I was with them, it can create a sense of embattlement with the university, yet does not always. This trend is not addressed in C. Smith's (1998) work, and provides a necessary qualification of it that takes into account the situational nature of the feeling of embattlement.

CHRISTIANITY AND SECULAR UNIVERSITY STUDENT AS CONTRADICTING IDENTITIES

TCF is considered a safe haven from the mundane life of a college student. This is often emphasized in relation to the importance students give to homework, tests, grades, and the like, as they believe the focus should be on God instead of these problems. In this way the student identity is subjugated to that of the evangelical, but in practical terms it seems most members still put a great deal of importance on student work. This is apparent in the conversations that happen after events, as members report to each other the outcome of tests, talk to each other about frustrations with professors, or about frustrations with their workload.

While TCF members consider themselves students of the university, they sometimes bring up comments about the secular nature of it and its hostility toward them as a subgroup. This is in line with what C. Smith (1998) argued as the subgroup theory of identity, since they believe they are embattled with the system around them. These conversations though are rare and

usually come up at the beckon of the staff leaders. For instance, during a conversation about ensuring a place in which to hold an event, the staff leader sympathized with a problem of identifying a location that a student leader brought up by saying "it is difficult to carve out a space for God" on our campus. It seems that TCF members will agree to such comments only superficially, as they themselves talk about such problems in mundane terms, such as the student government being too bureaucratic.

The problem of embattlement seems to come from the students only in relation to academic theories or trends of academic teaching that leave out God. One member, for example, suggested in prayer that USC and academia as a whole are aligned to "secular humanism," which he described as individual relativism. Another suggested that as he studies science he finds himself falling into the trap of beginning to admire "the creation and not the creator." He answered his own problem by suggesting, "they say that science explains the how and God explains the why," but seemed unsatisfied with this conclusion. Finally, another said that philosophy classes at USC tend to focus on the self, and as the course goes forth he begins to agree with some of these theories, which he knows by theology to be incorrect. These problems are posed in situations that do not necessarily focus on answering them, but instead they are only in the form of complaints, personal issues the individual has to work through, or in prayer asking God for guidance or strength to work through them. They do not seek in any way to challenge the structure, and do not necessarily blame it for how it is structured, but instead argue for personal coping. As we saw earlier, these conversations happen between individuals, and at the group level are distorted by the staff leaders to emphasize individual targets, professors and classmates, as hostile. As one speaker exemplified, "even though kings and leaders have power, even though professors have power, Jesus has more."

CHRISTIANITY AND SECULAR UNIVERSITY STUDENT AS COMPLIMENTARY IDENTITIES

In some cases the Christian and secular university student identities compliment each other, often by Christianity making the student life easier to cope with. This situation usually appears in conversations between small groups, or in conversations

between two people. During one of these conversations I was talking to a senior student leader who suggested that it is easy to talk to students about spirituality because students are at a “stage in life where you are open to new experiences, where you are seeking new things.” He argued that a college student is at a point in life where he begins to make important individual decisions, and that by the fact that he is a student he is willing to learn and consider his options. This complimentary relationship between student and evangelical is also apparent in how TCF members talk about God’s role in their academic career. One girl, for example, said that she is “not worthy of good grades,” but that God gives them to her anyway, and that sometimes she forgets to “trust God to take care of the little things.” This suggests that this group believes God is above all school-related activity, but that God still has some interest in them getting through. Another individual said at a small group meeting that he at times tries to focus on prayer instead of his studies, as he believes God will take care of the mundane. He told a story of a time when he did this for a physics final and ended up doing very well on the test. In the same breath, though, he suggested that not studying at all, not working hard, is not good because working hard glorifies God.

VERBAL STRATEGIES FOR BOUNDARY FORMATION

In my observations I found two general ways in which TCF used language to identify their relationship to others. These were not mutually exclusive or collectively exhaustive, yet are theoretically helpful to identify. In TCF the participants often vary between talking about individuals being the same and evangelical Christians being different or better than non-Christians. TCF at USC forces students to adopt a dual identity, that is special to the secular environment, thus resulting in increased inclusionary ideology and language. Across observations, we see a greater emphasis on inclusionary language and this may be a coping strategy to deal with the dual identity and the fact that they must hide their evangelical mission. This is particularly important since by practicing this language they prepare themselves to defend their actions in relation to the fellow members of their student identity. In these examples a

pattern forms of boundary formation where the concepts used are either constant or contingent. The former are those that take the boundary as inherent, and cannot be changed by any human agent. The latter are boundaries that are formed through agency. The Christian is either active in creating the boundary on principles of their own activity, or passive in creating the boundary based on the perceived actions or beliefs of the non-Christian. The strategies used, both inclusive and exclusive, are used in the umbrella of evangelicalism. Thus even though inclusive language was used, it was inclusion in terms of evangelical theology, not general inclusion. The strategies used were therefore such as Jesus loves everyone, and thus it is inclusion but a kind of evangelical inclusion, which is still somewhat exclusive. Throughout my analysis I will talk about inclusion and exclusion without continuous reference to this point, although it should be kept in mind as an important characteristic of these strategies.

LANGUAGE OF INCLUSION

In the context of pluralism, TCF members speak of other groups as similar to themselves. They accept that regardless of people’s beliefs and their relationship to Jesus Christ, there is a basic and innate similarity between all people. They do not believe that by being Christians they have an “easier journey” or that they have a special connection to God unavailable to others. They use language of love, likening it to the love Jesus Christ has for everyone, to talk about unconditional acceptance of all groups. During one meeting I attended, the group got together to talk about how to improve the organization for the next semester. Several of the ideas were based on this idea of inclusion through love. One woman, for example, suggested that TCF should grow into the face of how “USC is known for the Christians who just love everyone.” At another point, a member organized a mixer with the Lesbian Gay Bisexual and Transgender (LGBT) organization, and said, “wouldn’t it be great to show all those people who think that Christians usually hate this group, that we love them, just like Jesus said we should love everyone.” This inclusion through love is a theme taken on by both members and staff, although the students bring it up more often. Love is a method of expanding boundaries, reducing the differences between TCF and the rest of society in the face of their similar

relationship to God's love. Yet this love is directive. TCF members love everyone because God loves everyone. Christians and non-Christians are not inherently the same, but instead become so by the active work of the Christian. This strategy is undoubtedly inclusive, expanding the boundaries of TCF, yet it is so not by design, but instead only through member's efforts. The members of TCF become the compassionate ones that love even though love is not required. They love all groups, and by that remain still a group in themselves. This kind of inclusion can be termed "contingent" and "active" inclusion, as the members consider their boundaries expanded only after they act toward this end, in this case by actively loving all people and showing this to the public eye.

Another common theme in their use of inclusion is in how they talk about everyone being on a "spiritual journey." This suggests that they believe Christians and non-Christians are on the same path toward salvation, although non-Christians are considered to be further behind along this path. As the staff leader often says in encouraging prospective members to attend more events, "you should join us regardless of where you're at on your spiritual journey." They further believe that this path is characterized by the necessity of asking questions about spirituality, and then actively seeking for the answers to these questions. They believe that the individual is in charge of going along his spiritual journey, but can be helped along the way by others who are further ahead. They therefore believe that they have the obligation to make themselves available to those further behind in the journey by being able to answer questions, create a safe environment for seeking out answers, and inviting them to events that will inspire them to answer these. This inclusion is so only to the extent that the out-group is active in bridging the differences, as he should recognize that he is on this journey and thus accept the Christian as his equal. This inclusion can therefore be called "contingent," as it is not inherently inclusive, and "passive," as the Christian cannot beget the inclusion.

A third manifestation of inclusive language is through equality by imperfection. As Evangelical Christians usually accept, TCF members believe that they are imperfect, just as everyone else is. By accepting that they themselves are imperfect and claiming at the same time that others are also imperfect, they

create a superordinate identity bridging the differences between Christians and non-Christians. This belief would lead them to be less willing to criticize non-Christians and their actions. As one girl put it in reference to fraternity and sorority organizations, "we really need to consider the value of that stigma [against those who like to party] and that in truth we are all in sin, so how can we reject this sin when we are all broken anyway." This kind of language implies a more complete unification of groups, beyond what we saw in the language of love and in the language of the spiritual journey. Here the characteristic shared between all groups that make them similar is imbedded in them without requiring agency, neither by Christian nor non-Christian, this kind of inclusion will be termed "constant."

LANGUAGE OF EXCLUSION

The language of exclusion was found to differ, as it did for inclusive, along the categories of constant versus contingent strategies. A theme found in terms of the first was in how they describe "the world around us is evil," or "the world sucks," and further describing it as "a world that's hurt." This is a similar type of boundary language as we saw used in inclusivity through imperfection. They speak of the exclusion in this sense as constant, inherent in the world itself, with no active agents starting or able to stop the process. For the latter strategy, the contingent, TCF members referenced situations like persecution, whereby exclusion was created by the non-Christian as he persecutes the Christian, thus a passive strategy as we have defined it above. The active contingent was found when the staff leader or guest speakers would say things like, "although Christianity is not visible, it should be," suggesting that the students make known to people they meet that they are Christian by their actions being different than the norm.

Exclusive language was observed in critiques of the secular university. During a prayer session for example, one individual talked about how academia is controlled by ideas of "secular humanism," saying that this kind of relativity cannot exist since God's truth is not relative. In another case, an individual spoke to me about courses he has taken in the philosophy department, saying that he has disliked these because they taught him theories that were "oriented to the self", and he

found himself agreeing with some of them. Another individual also suggested to me that he had trouble studying science as an evangelical as he sometimes believed that he is “worshipping the creation instead of the creator,” but also suggested that “they say that science explains the how and God explains the why.” The students thus bring up the topic of exclusion by criticizing the ideological structure of different aspects of the academe. By targeting the institution they are therefore creating exclusivity constant, where they have little power to control the situation yet are not being targeted by any outside agent. It is part of the system itself.

VERBAL STRATEGIES BY SPACE AND TIME

The verbal strategies used were dependant on the space and time in which the boundary negotiation was occurring. Some settings were more open to inclusive language, some to exclusive, while the types of inclusive and exclusive language, constant or contingent, also varied. In settings where students were speaking to each other, bible studies and sporadic conversations between few people, there was little boundary manipulation overall. There was often constant inclusive language, whereby the members identified their boundaries before pluralism as basically non-existent. They talked to each other like students and mentioned little about their evangelical affiliation. The only contingent custom drawn from was active and inclusive. This shows that when the evangelical identity was made salient, through conversations during prayer or bible study, students maintained inclusive language, yet only through their agency. Students identified their group as inclusive only because they are creating the inclusion. Inclusive language was overall seen to characterize most students’ speech throughout the school year. As their student identity was made more salient through upcoming exams, the boundaries they formed became even more inclusive, maintaining that their evangelical identity does not differentiate them from the non-evangelical student.

Most cases of exclusive language happened in very particular settings. When students brought up the conversations regarding exclusion in relation to the university, it was in the context of prayer meetings where individuals met at the central university symbol to pray for the campus. It is not surprising that

exclusive language would come up in this setting as the university campus becomes more salient and the main task is to intercede for an imperfect university campus. Exclusive language was also very apparent in conversations both at the individual and leader level at the Summer Conference at Catalina Island. The language used to describe the relationship between those going to proselytize to LGBT and the targets was, for example, altered from language of “love,” to characterizing LGBT as a “hostile environment” that is “not friendly.” At another point during the conference a few members got together and discussed theological issues they had been trying to work through. The conversation conclusion was exemplary of the shift from the perspective that was observed throughout the regular year. In a very quiet conversation late at night between the few members left after a long bible study Jon uttered, “In a very real sense, only Christians are alive, and our non-Christian friends are dead... Life is in Christ and death is gain.” His friend, Mark, then went on to say that “they’re living in a kind of hell... [they’re] spiritually dead.” On this occasion, Jon was referring to life being in Jesus Christ and all else as pale in comparison. Mark was referencing the idea that without living by Jesus Christ, his friends have no purpose or meaning to their life. These examples show that this group still has boundaries and can be considered exclusive, yet the conversations came up in the context of a Christian conference. The separation from pluralism and immersion into a physical subculture, which creates for them a kind of “little utopia” as one member described it, allows them to more clearly differentiate their group from the rest of the world.

Language of exclusion was used mostly in the context of Catalina Island and by leaders, while inclusive language was used throughout the year and by students. Constant strategies, both inclusive and exclusive, came up regardless of setting. For contingent strategies, the inclusive ones came up mostly throughout the year while the exclusive ones came up at Catalina Island. These trends show that the group has certain constant group definitions that are defined by the constant statements. These do not change as the setting changes. Yet leaders and students do hold different constant conceptions of the group. The students held inclusive constant boundaries, while the leaders held mostly exclusive ones. Whether the group is

exclusive or inclusive thus depends on whom you talk to and in what context you do so. Contingent strategies, those that require agency, though, do change depending on setting. These define more immediate strategies for dealing with pluralism, and define how the members should relate to possible converts. These further define how the group thinks of itself differently when there is constant contact with the out-group; differentiated from situations like Catalina Island where the group is segregated from all out-groups. Both students and leaders used inclusive and exclusive contingent strategies, yet disagreed in the active contingent. Within this category, students used language that was actively inclusive; meaning that they believe Christians should actively try to embrace other groups. Leaders used actively exclusive language, saying that Christians should show non-Christians that they are different. These contingent strategy differences mean that the students and leaders disagree in how they conceive of the role of the Christian in relation to pluralism. Students maintain that they should be trying to reach out to non-Christians by using strategies that downplay their differences, while leaders hold that they should be reaching out by making these differences more salient. Furthermore, the setting can change a member's inclusive and exclusive tendencies, as students become exclusive at Catalina Island, and leaders become more inclusive throughout the semester.

CONSTANT AND CONTINGENT STRATEGIES

The differentiation between constant and contingent strategies of inclusive and exclusive language allows us to better understand the complexity of boundary formation (See Appendix I for a table with examples of the different inclusive and exclusive constant and contingent strategies). Constant strategies define a general idea of what the group means in relation to others. These ideas do not change by setting. Contingent strategies are used to rationalize situations like having good friends who are not Christian, and wanting to go indulge in usually non-Christian behaviors like drinking or partying. Thus contingent strategies do change by space and time, and by audience. Depending on the situation, and on what information is available to the people present, different contingent strategies will be used. Thus leaders can understand the group's acceptance of non-Christians at

events like Encounter, by using contingent strategies like saying everyone is on a spiritual journey, even if at different points in time. And students can understand their distinction from society, as made salient by their physical separation from it at Catalina Island, by identifying their group as one that is persecuted.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

What members define TCF to be in relation to non-Christians, and specifically the targets of proselytizing, depends on space, time, and audience present. These evangelicals have certain tools available for their use, and depending on these factors, adopt different conceptual frameworks to define their relationship to the out-group. These customs are made available to them by both their evangelical group identity, and their secular student identity. Depending on the environment, different customs like language of love, or language of persecution, are used. Through my observations I found that in situations where leaders are present, the group defines its boundaries using the available tools of exclusive Christianity. When between students, or when the students are allowed more power in the conversation, the tools change to the Christian values of love and acceptance. I further found that TCF members use their student affiliation in less Christian ritualistic settings as in, for example, over dinner or after meetings. These findings relate directly to Goffman's (1959) dramaturgical approach, in that the TCF members are protecting their performance as evangelicals or as students, depending on the necessities of the situation. C. Smith's (1998) embattled and subgroup characteristics present themselves only when the evangelicals are separated from the university setting, either physically as in the Catalina Island conference or by salience as through praying by the university symbol. These findings help us understand what it means to create boundaries before pluralism. Adopting this framework of constant and contingent inclusion and exclusion helps define the multi-dimensional performance Goffman (1959) identified half a century ago. Further research is needed to substantiate the model presented here to test its ability to describe boundary formation in other situations. It can be adapted, for example, to explain how less exclusive groups, such as Catholics or mainline Protestants, are different in their use of constant and contingent strategies.

APPENDIX 1

TABLE 1: STRATEGIES FOR CREATING BOUNDARIES BEFORE PLURALISM

	Inclusive	Exclusive
Constant	We are all imperfect	The world is evil
Contingent		
<i>Active</i>	We should love everyone	We should show our Christianity publicly
<i>Passive</i>	They are like us, they just have to realize it	We are persecuted

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BARRIERS ASSOCIATED WITH MOTHERS ENTERING POST-SECONDARY EDUCATION PROGRAMS: MITIGATING THE BARRIERS



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Prior research on mothers entering post-secondary education has demonstrated that investing heavily in education will promote an increase in skilled labor in the American economy and enrich individual lives, communities, and the lives of future generations. However, there is a lack of research regarding the challenges and barriers associated with entering higher education institutions among this population. A greater understanding of this special population is required, especially as government programs dedicate more money to their cause. This study uses mixed-methods to investigate the perceptual differences between mothers who attended and others who did not matriculate, their perceived identity conflicts, self-esteem, self-efficacy, financial well-being, attitude toward education, and social support. Preliminary findings showed significant differences on perceived identity conflict between mothers who attended college and mothers who did not. College educated mothers reported higher perceived identity conflict than non-college educated mothers. Such findings demonstrate the need for further research in order to mitigate barriers associated with entering and completing post-secondary education programs as described by mothers who attended college and mothers who did not.

INTRODUCTION

I never thought I was smart enough to go to college...I've become a better mother, a better partner, a better friend. I've gained a lot of confidence in that I can really make a difference in peoples lives because of the knowledge I've gained (Butler, Deprez, Smith, 2003).

Mothers pursue post-secondary education to enrich their lives, their children's lives, and communities. Mothers who enter post-secondary education programs "...experience increased self-esteem, become role models for their children, and gain skills that open up employment opportunities; and they are motivated to contribute to society." (Butler, Deprez, and Smith, 2003) However, there is a lack of research regarding the challenges, and barriers associated with entering post-secondary education programs among this special population. A greater understanding of this population is required especially as government programs dedicate more money to their cause. The goal of this study is to assess the effect of support, dual identity distress, and financial well-being preventing mothers from pursuing post-secondary education, and affect policy to mitigate the problems. Focus on this special population of mothers pursuing post-secondary education is necessary because these individuals are a commodity, a commodity of untapped human resources. They are an entire community of economic generators. By entering post-secondary education programs, mothers can increase their income and earning power, thereby putting themselves in a position to make greater contributions to markets, resulting in a boost to the economy.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The importance of post-secondary education has been established through several studies resulting in positive correlations between level of education with higher income, improved health and life expectancy, improved quality of life for offspring, and better overall decision making. However of the 16.5 million U.S. undergrads 25% of this population is comprised of low-income mothers (U.S. Department of Labor, 2004). And because this special population experience different

barriers compared to other college students, they may experience delayed completion or in some cases incompleteness of programs. This is the result of mothers having to make decisions to enter post-secondary education programs based on variables associated with their family responsibilities resulting in mothers viewing family and post-secondary education as competing variables.

The key to economic success in the United States is a college education; and post-secondary education is a basic job requirement. Reasoning, problem-solving, and positive cognitive thinking are increasingly sought after in more self directed work environments, and access to good jobs and higher wages in the American economy are derived from general education beyond high school (Carnevale and Desrochers, 2002). The increase in the wages of college graduates relative to high school graduates is indicative of the economy demanding highly skilled workers. As the percentage of workers with post-secondary education increases, the wage advantages of college-educated workers also increases. For an increase to occur simultaneously in both the supply and the wages of more-skilled workers, the demand for skilled workers must be rise faster than the supply. Therefore, employers are employing college graduates in order to meet the demand (Levy and Murnane, 1992; Levy, 1998).

The importance of post-secondary education has been established through several studies including the works of Feldman and Newcomb (1969) which summarize the sociological and psychological impact of college students and discuss the benefits of post-secondary education. As an expansion of Feldman and Newcomb's work, Bowen (1977) discusses the benefits of post-secondary education to include impacts on economic as well as social and psychological development. Bowen's work laid the groundwork for measures to define the advantages of post-secondary education more precisely. Bowen suggests a post-secondary education yields two types of benefits: social and economic. Furthermore, each type yields more specific benefits: privately and publicly. Examples of social private benefits include improved health and life expectancy, improved quality of life for offspring, better consumer decision making, increased personal status, more hobbies, and leisure activities. Social public benefits include, reduced crime rates, increased charitable giving, community service, increased quality of civic

life, social cohesion and appreciation of diversity, and improved ability to adapt to and use technology. Economic public benefits include, increased tax revenues, greater productivity, increased consumption, increased workforce flexibility, and decreased reliance on government financial support. Economic private benefits include, higher salaries and benefits, employment, higher savings levels, personal and professional mobility, and improved working conditions.

Most scholars agree that obtaining post-secondary education is important, yet there is a divide between the number of years of schooling and the leveling of schooling, and which condition yields greater returns. Some scholars suggest the higher the level of post-secondary education completed the higher the returns socially, and economically. Other scholars maintain the number of years in school is significantly important. The difference in earnings between individuals with a degree and ones without is conditional on the number of years it took to earn the degree (Olneck 1977; Hungerford and Solon, 1987; Belman and Heywood, 1991; Card and Krueger, 1992). This is recognized as the “sheepskin effect”, the notion that the higher the post-secondary degree, the greater the returns on the investment. However, Jaeger and Page (1996) maintain these conclusions are biased:

Previous estimates of sheepskin effects have been limited by the lack of information on degree attainment. In particular, studies which use the usual continuous measure of completed years of schooling do not directly measure degree receipt but must impute it from the “usual” number of years of education taken to complete a degree. Because some individuals do not earn degrees, and others take different amounts of time to complete them, sheepskin estimates based only on individuals’ years of education will be biased estimates of the true effects. (p. 2)

And the level of post-secondary education is more important (Park 1999). Jaeger and Page (1996) conclude while the “sheepskin effect” does not largely differ between groups, there are significant gains in the “sheepskin effect” within the different types and levels of education, thus there are significant gains (monetary) between an associates degree, bachelors degree and masters degree. Park (1999) suggests both the number of years and levels in degrees obtained contributes to the variance

in increased wages. Furthermore, Jaeger and Page (1996) contend the earlier conclusions are biased as the findings are based on data sets that are false “because many individuals do not complete their degrees in the standard number of years.”

Because Americans understand the many social and monetary gains afforded by a post-secondary education privately and publically, they are taking advantage of opportunities to attend post-secondary education institutions. Historically, post-secondary education was reserved for middle or upper middle class white males, and prior to the 1920s, most collegiate women were Protestant, white, and middle or upper middle class (Butcher 1989). However, today’s trends suggest the average American student is a “nontraditional” student (Baker and Velez, 1996). In an examination of access to post-secondary education from the 1960’s through the 1990’s, Baker and Velez (1996) conclude the average undergraduate in post-secondary institutions between the 1960’s and 1990’s was female, age 22 or older, working, supporting a family and attending classes part-time; referred to as a “nontraditional” student. Factors leading up to these conclusions are argued in a four part discussion. The first discussion in the paper addresses the changing patterns in access to post-secondary education. The second discussion addresses changes in financial aid and how these changes have “altered” accessibility to post-secondary education in different groups. The third discussion addresses the different types of post-secondary institutions the subject population has access to. Fourth, the paper discusses the changes in patterns and factors predicting completion of programs.

Reasons supporting the change in the type of undergraduate student stem from historical trends regarding post-secondary education. Prior to the ‘baby boom’ generation, people could enter the work force directly from high school, woman worked subpar positions, and mothers were expected to be at home to care for the home and the children. As the economy fluctuated, lifestyles changed. Post-secondary education allowed men to compete for higher paying jobs, families became two-income families resulting in mothers becoming wage earners, and still, women were forced to compete for subpar paying positions, therefore men, women, and mothers sought post-secondary education (Felmlee 1988). However the difference

in the rate of return and completion between men and women was dependent on transitions to marriage and motherhood. While women were more likely to attend school after time away due to marriage or motherhood, men who did return stayed in school for longer periods of time (Alexander and Reilly, 1981; Teachman and Polonko, 1988). Rosenfeld (1980) suggests that men remained in post-secondary education for longer periods in order to maximize their investments in the labor market, and while women's economic returns to education were smaller throughout their career, reentry decisions were made based on other variables. Women's family responsibilities were more intrinsically interwoven with choices about entering; therefore family and career were more likely to be viewed as competing roles (Gerson 1985; Moen 1992). Esterberg, Moen and Dempster-McClain (1994) further suggest women's decisions to enter post-secondary education programs after becoming wives and mothers may have been contingent on juggling family, nonfamily roles and responsibilities, and the immediate return on investment in terms of increased wage earning opportunities and the return on future education opportunities for their offspring. However, statistics reflect women's decisions to enter post-secondary education are not altogether contingent on juggling family, and non family responsibilities. Day and Newburger (2002) claim education beyond high school is especially essential for women, who earn less than men with lower post-secondary attainment; there is a significant gap between men and women's work-life earnings. According to the U.S. Census Bureau 1998, 1999, and 2000 population survey, on average:

A man with a high school education will earn about \$1.4 million from ages 25 to 64 years. This compares with about \$2.5 million for men completing a bachelor's degree and \$4.8 million for men with a professional degree. In contrast, men with less than a high school education will earn an average of \$1.1 million. Women completing high school will earn an average of \$1.0 million, about 40 percent less than the estimated \$1.6 million for women completing a bachelor's degree. The work-life payoffs for women with professional (\$2.9 million) and doctoral (\$2.5 million) degrees, though substantial, lag markedly behind those of men with the same educational attainment. The cumulated difference between men and women amounts to about \$350,000 for high school dropouts. The

difference increases to \$450,000 for high school graduates and to about twice that for bachelor's degree holders. Men with professional degrees may expect to earn almost \$2 million more than their female counterparts over their work-life. (Day and Newburger, 2002, p.7)

And according to the U.S. Department of Labor (2004) male high school graduates earn \$616 per week, while women with associate's degrees earn \$578 weekly; men with bachelor's degrees earn \$1001 per week, while women with master's degrees earn \$901 weekly.

Approximately 16.5 million undergraduates are enrolled in all U.S. post-secondary education institutions today, and more than half (56 percent) are women. Women also are the majority (59.4 percent) of low income post-secondary students -- students with personal or family incomes less than \$25,000. Out of the 59.4 percent of low income post-secondary students, more than half (59.1 percent) are independent female parents. In conclusion, mothers make up the majority of "nontraditional" students in American post-secondary education. These statistics are representative of motivators as well as inhibitors to mothers entering post-secondary education. According to the National Post-Secondary Student Aid Study (2000), low income women represent a significant group of post-secondary students. The majority of low income women enrolled in a post-secondary institution is independent student status and is less likely to have the support of a spouse or partner. Furthermore, low income women must often balance parenting responsibilities with school and the vast majority of low income women work while attending school. Additionally these students are more often older, and attend a two year (or less) post-secondary institution causing their delayed completion or in some cases incompleteness.

By focusing on this special populations (mothers) entry into post-secondary education, an entire community of economic generators will be affected thus stimulating the American economy. By investing in this network of human capital and increasing their earning power, mothers will be able to make a greater fiduciary contribution to markets, resulting in a boost to the economy privately and publically, and positively affect individual private and public development.

RESEARCH QUESTION AND HYPOTHESIS

A mother entering a post-secondary education program positively affects her self-esteem, gives rise to a sense of accomplishment, provides richer employment opportunities, and creates positive role modeling for her offspring. Furthermore, this pursuit of post-secondary education programs affords mother an opportunity to make a contribution to society, and provides her with a sense of security about the future. However, prior research demonstrates there are mothers that will not go to college and there are mothers that return to college but do not complete programs; therefore two questions have emerged as the focus of this study. Are there differences between mothers that have attended college (CAM) and mothers that have not attended college (NCAM)? And if there are, what are these differences? As being a mother and college student simultaneously is a unique experience.

In a mixed methods online study to investigate the difference between these two groups CAMs and NCAMs on ability to master different types of environmental demands and tackle post-secondary education, and explore barriers associated with being a mother and college student simultaneously, it is expected the groups would not report significant differences on self-esteem or self-efficacy; the two groups would report significant differences on social support and perceived financial well-being and on open ended questions related to being a mother and college student simultaneously.

METHODS SECTION

The major objective of this study is to investigate the differences between mothers who have attended college and mothers who have not attended college, and barriers which are associated with post-secondary education participation.

PARTICIPANTS

124 participants were surveyed in a mixed methods

quantitative study. Participants 18 years of age or older were eligible for this study, however once a participant identified themselves as a male were taken to the end of the survey and thanked for their time. Participants who identified as females and mothers were able to complete the survey. In conclusion, mothers 18 years of age and older were the eligible participants resulting in 33 eligible participants.

PROCEDURE

Data was collected from a quantitative online survey investigating individual characteristics between mothers that have attended college (CAM) and mothers that have not attended college (NCAM) Participants were recruited through various social networking sites and asked to take a voluntary online survey. A link to a Qualtrics survey was generated through online networks with no less than 1,000,000 registered users. The online networks that used were Facebook, Twitter, MySpace, LinkedIn, Google, and Yahoo. Upon visiting the website, participants were asked to complete a brief ten minute survey.

When interested parties arrived at the link they were taken to a survey and were given an introductory message. The message contained the following: "Thank you for volunteering today! The following survey will take about 10 minutes to complete and all of your responses are completely anonymous. You will answer a brief demographic questionnaire along with some general questions about your feelings and experiences. This research is being conducted by Erika Humphries at the University of Southern California. You are not required to participate, and can exit the survey at any time. Any feedback is welcome and at the end of the survey, contact information will be provided and you will be able to forward a link to your friends. Your time is greatly appreciated. Thank you!" Participants were informed that their participation was voluntary and they could stop at any moment.

Participants answered 13 questions measuring their demographics followed by randomized questions measuring their dual identity distress, self-esteem, self-efficacy, perceived financial well-being, and social support. The last three questions asked were implemented to allocate qualitative analysis of

personal reflections of being a mother and a college student simultaneously through open-ended responses allowing participants to share any additional experiences. The survey took approximately ten minutes to complete. At the end of the survey participants were thanked for their time and given researcher's contact information for further questions, comments and feedback, and were asked to pass the survey on to others for participation.

MEASURES

In the survey, participants were asked to rate their feelings according to the indicated measures. First, a standard demographic scale was implemented to identify participant's age, gender, and ethnicity, level of income, level of schooling, and parent's level of schooling, marital status, and parentage. Second, a 4-point Likert, 23 item Dual Identity Distress (Corstie-Massay, unpublished data) scale was used to measure the distress experienced when considering two identities at the same time. This scale was tailored for mothers and college students to measure the amount of distress they experienced when considering their dual identities; being a college student and a mother at the same time. Three subscales emerged as significant each addressing social perceptions of, and discrimination toward XYs (e.g., "mothers who are also college students are ignored by others"; "discrimination against mothers who are also college students is common"), negative affect when considering identity as XY (e.g., "when I think of being a mother and a college student, I am sad"), and positive identification (i.e., identification and positive affect) when considering dual identity as XY (e.g., "I enjoy telling others that I am a mother as well as a college student"), respectively. Participants were asked to rate their level of agreement with the statements, from strongly agree (1) to strongly disagree (4). Third, a social support scale (Zimet, Dahlem, Zimet & Farley, 1988) was used to measure the role of participants' social attachments and how these roles contribute to adjustments in life and personal development. The scale was constructed with 12 items; three subscales, each addressing a different source of support emerged as significant: (a) significant other (e.g., "there is a special person who is around when I am in need"), (b) family (e.g., "my family really tries to help me"),

and (c) friends (e.g., "I can count on my friends when things go wrong"). Each item was rated on a 4-point Likert rating scale ranging from strongly agree (1) to strongly disagree (4). Fourth, the 10 item, Rosenberg Self Esteem Scale (1965) was used to measure participants' self-image on a 4-point Likert rating scale ranging from strongly agree (1) to strongly disagree (4) (e.g., "I take a positive attitude toward myself"). The fifth measure used was a 10 item general self-efficacy scale (Jerusalem & Schwarzer, 1992). This scale was used to measure the participants' perceived level of confidence and capability to master different types of environmental demands (e.g., "when I am confronted with a problem, I can usually find several solutions"). A 4-point rating scale ranging from exactly true (1) to not at all true (4) was implemented. The sixth measure, attitude toward education scale (Medinnus, 1962) was used to evaluate participants' attitude and experiences regarding education. The scale was constructed with 8 items and a 4-point Likert rating scale ranging from strongly agree (1) to strongly disagree (4) (e.g., "the best way to get a good job is to get a good education"). The last measure used assessed participants' financial strain. The scale was constructed with 18 items, and a 5-point Likert financial strain rating scale ranging from always (1) to never (5) (Aldana & Liljenquist, 1998). Five subscales emerged as significant: obligations (e.g., "I find it difficult to pay my bills"), relationships (e.g., "financial problems hurt my relationships"), physical (e.g., "do you get headaches from worry over money matters"), education (e.g., "I feel financially educated"), and use of credit (e.g., "I take on more debt to get nicer things").

QUALITATIVE DATA

For the qualitative analysis, participants were asked to consider their experience as a mother and college student simultaneously or to consider the possibility of being both and provide a brief paragraph of any emotions and events that came to mind when thinking about the experience. Participants were asked to: "Consider your experience as a mother as well as a college student at the same time. Please provide a brief paragraph of any emotions and events that come to mind when you think about being a mother and a college student. We would like you to be as frank as you like in describing your experiences, positive

or negative.” The prompt was adjusted for NCAMs responses; “Consider the possibility of being a mother as well as a college student at the same time. Please provide a brief paragraph of any emotions and events that come to mind when you think about being a mother and a college student. We would like you to be as frank as you like in describing your experiences, positive or negative.” Using the Strauss and Corbin (1990) grounded theory approach, responses were analyzed to discover emerging themes. The themes were coded and explored.

RESULTS

An ANOVA represented in Table 1a was used to analyze the quantitative data resulting in the following. On perceptions of dual identity distress, mothers who have gone to college report greater negative affect ($M = 2.814$, $SD = .347$) compared to mothers who have not gone to college ($M = 2.510$, $SD = .428$), $F(1, 32) = 5.235$, $p = .029$, and lower positive identification ($M = 1.713$, $SD = .342$) compared to mothers who have not gone to college ($M = 2.375$, $SD = .668$), $F(1, 32) = 13.681$, $p = .001$. It is important to note that mothers who have gone to college are recalling actual experiences, whereas mothers who have not gone to college are reporting their perceptions of hypothetical experiences. On general self-efficacy, mothers who have gone to college ($M = 3.600$, $SD = .319$) report higher self-efficacy compared to mothers that have not gone to college ($M = 3.266$, $SD = .388$), $F(1, 31) = 1.314$, $p = .011$. All other variables such as social support, self esteem, financial well-being and attitude toward school were not significantly different between groups.

DISCUSSION

QUANTITATIVE DISCUSSION

The experience of college increases the negative affect, and decreases positive identity of mothers who have gone to college (CAMs) compared to mothers who have not gone to college (NCAMs). The experience of college increases CAMs perceived self-efficacy compared to NCAMs. In reality, after

going through college and being a mother at the same time, CAMs have a more realistic sense about their experiences, which means they have negative affect about them and less positive identification, both of which are in the same direction; they remember more negative feelings and report less positive feelings. However, the last result is the expected finding; we expect CAMs to have more self-efficacy because they have actually “done it”; they have experienced being a mother and college student simultaneously, so even though they remember things negatively, they come out with greater self-efficacy.

QUALITATIVE DISCUSSION

In review of the qualitative data, participants most often mentioned seven themes: role conflict, cost benefit analysis (i.e., is it worth going to college), support (spousal, family, and social), child care, financial worry, guilt, and time management. Role conflict, cost benefit analysis, and support were the most significant.

ROLE CONFLICT

In the first significant theme, mothers are conflicted with the many roles they play in their lives. Mothers make decisions to enter post-secondary education programs based on several variables associated with their family responsibilities, the social perceptions of themselves in these roles, their personal accomplishments, and college. “I can’t serve two masters. In tough times, I have to either neglect my studies or ignore my children. It’s a constant battle.” As described by a 29-year-old married college-attended mother, they question how all this can be achieved without having these roles conflict.

COST BENEFIT

In this theme, mothers assess their lives, and conclude that they are satisfied, so they question what they could do with a post-secondary education that would yield higher returns than their current satisfaction. A 35-year-old married non-college-attended mother states, “I have no desire to spend my time on anything other than my family after work and am very satisfied with my salary.” Mothers consider the potential benefits later compared to the sacrifices now, and see the experience as

relatively unfavorable.

SUPPORT

The support theme and the subthemes, spousal support, social support, and family support emerged through the following responses respectively. A 29-year-old married college-attend mother reports, “I don’t know how women do it without supportive husbands.” a 65-year-old divorced college-attended mother reports, “Today, I am not sure how I did it but living in the close community of other students helped. Many of them were also mothers (some single) and we shared child-care duties.”, and a 51-year-old divorced non-college-attended mother reports, “I think that it would be very trying at times, but I think with hard work and support of family and friends it can be accomplished.” This theme directly ties into the previous quantitative findings regarding general self-efficacy. Mothers have struggled through being a mother and college student simultaneously, they felt good about it but they also had extensive support networks. This data parallels the quantitative data that reported no significant differences between CAMs and NCAMs on support.

CONCLUSION

Mothers that have not gone to college think the experience will be relatively positive and are quickly disabused of the notion when they actually enroll and become a part of the college experience. And mothers that have gone to college although they think about the experience negatively they see themselves as more efficacious in part because they have struggled through the process. What holds true is that NCAMs think higher of going to college than CAMs do, so further analysis is required to determine the barriers that are keeping NCAMs out of college.

LIMITATIONS

Due to the limited sampling size, explorations were limited. And in the interest of time, questions were not included

asking if mothers completed post-secondary programs while they were a mother, what level of post-secondary education was obtained, and if knowledge of federal funding moderates financial worries or other barriers associated with entering or completing programs. Additionally a more in depth analysis of what is keeping NCAMs from going to college is necessary. And finally, an investigation and more in depth analysis of the ‘sheepskin effect’, the notion that the higher the post-secondary degree, the greater the returns on the investment. So when a mother mitigates the barriers associated with entering post-secondary education programs, will she then contend with more barriers from this effect?

In a future study the qualitative data collection would ask participants to answer questions directly assessing the emerging themes, tailored for the population of choice, e.g., asking NCAMs “To what degree are you worried about child care options if you decide to go back to college?”, and “If childcare was readily available, how likely are you to return to college?”

Table 1

		<i>Descriptives</i>		
<i>Factors</i>		<i>N</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Std. Devi</i>
Dual Identity Distress: Negative Affect	Yes	18	2.8148	.3472
	No	16	2.5104	.4280
	Total	34	2.6716	.4113
Dual Identity Distress: Positive Identification	Yes	18	1.7130	.3420
	No	16	2.3750	.6680
	Total	34	2.0245	.6129
General Self-Efficacy	Yes	18	3.6000	.3199
	No	15	3.2667	.3885
	Total	33	3.4485	.3857

Table 1a

		ANOVA		
<i>Factors</i>		<i>df</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>Sig.</i>
Dual Identity Distress: Negative Affect	Between Groups	1	5.235	.029
	Within Groups	32		
	Total	33		
Dual Identity Distress: Positive Identification	Between Groups	1	13.681	.001
	Within Groups	32		
	Total	33		
General Self-Efficacy	Between Groups	1	7.314	.011
	Within Groups	31		
	Total	32		

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POSTING POLITICAL PARTICIPATION: YOUNG VOTER POLITICAL ENGAGEMENT ON SOCIAL NETWORKING SITES



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The recent popularity of social networking sites (e.g. Facebook, Twitter, MySpace) alters how younger populations communicate and engage with politicians and politics. The shift of young Americans to these interactive spaces from traditional broadcast media like radio and television necessitates a better understanding of online campaigning methods. Existing literature focuses on various forms of youth political mobilization but does not focus on social networking sites—a realm that is dominated by a younger demographic. Eighty-four percent of young voters have a social networking profile but youth election turnout is under 50%. This study examines the political engagement, attitudes, and behaviors of 18-30 year-old Americans on social networking sites using an online survey. Contrary to the belief that individuals who are politically engaged offline will be more engaged online (Wang, 2007), this study finds that individuals who are more politically active online will be less active offline and vice versa. Online campaigning and voter turnout among young voters are powerful variables that have influenced the results of the 2004 and the 2008 presidential elections through fundraising and grassroots movements. This study provides information that can aid politicians in courting and securing the historically desirable, but ephemeral, youth vote.

INTRODUCTION

American youth are active users of media. Young people spend approximately 438 minutes per day with media (e.g. internet, video games), which, compared to 2004, is a per diem increase of almost 135 minutes (Kaiser Family Foundation, 2009). This increase is often attributed to the growing popularity of the internet—particularly social networking sites. This shift in youth media consumption requires changes in the American political landscape in order to better engage with this historically elusive demographic. Individuals between the ages of 18 and 30 are among the first to be raised within this digital environment (Xenos, 2008; Prensky, 2001), making the current relationship between youth and media novel and unique. Referred to as Millennials (Strauss & Howe, 2000), Generation Y, the “DotNet” generation (Keeter, 2008), or Digital Natives (Prensky, 2001), American youth consider the internet to be a natural and integral part of daily life. Consequently, politicians must now engage with audiences through online communities and social networking sites to capture the fastidious youth vote. However, few studies, investigate how American youth engage politically through social networking sites.

Politicians stand to gain from greater inclusion of young voters in elections. In the last three general elections—2004, 2006, and 2008—young voters accounted for a majority of Democratic votes and are consistently the party’s most supportive age group (Keeter, 2008). In 2008, Barack Obama coordinated an extremely effective online campaign and attracted an electoral turnout of 52% among young voters—the highest turnout rate since 1972 when 18 year olds were granted the right to vote (McKinney & Rill, 2009). These statistics suggest that political engagement is affected by the online opportunities presented to young voters and the research shows that online political involvement can lead to offline engagement (Raynes-Goldie & Walker, 2008).

As America enters its “third age of political communication” (Blumler and Kavanagh, 1999) and incorporates new campaigning methods (Farrell and Webb, 2000; Norris, 2000), political engagement among younger American voters is significantly altered. This study will analyze how young American voters engage politically with social networking sites (e.g.

Facebook, MySpace, Twitter) in hopes of better understanding a piece of the medias new relationship with young Americans.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Putnam’s (2000) argument that political participation is declining due to a reduction in civic engagement (both political and non-political) implies negative consequences for the health of a representative democracy. Recent research indicates that interaction through the internet can replace some of these lost forms of civic engagement (Krueger, 2002; Tolbert & McNeal, 2003), although there has been a debate about the nature of that effect (Han, 2008; Scheufele & Nisbet, 2002). However, the evidence indicates that internet use has provided an additional channel for citizens to engage politically with each other and their government.

Using the internet to engage young voters is of special interest, as this group of Americans is statistically the least-represented subsection of the population in many political activities, including voting, working on a campaign, and general interest in politics (Delli & Carpini, 2000). As measured by voter turnout, young voters have long been perceived as apathetic toward politics. With the exception of 1992, young-adult voting rates in presidential elections declined steadily between 1972 and 2000 (Nickerson, 2006). Since 2000, however, there have been significant increases in this measure: voter turnout among 18-24 year-olds increased 11% between the 2000 and 2004 presidential elections (Lopez, Kirby, Sagoff, & Herbst, 2005). Furthermore, the Center for Information and Research on Civic Learning and Engagement (CIRCLE) estimates that 23 million people under 30 voted in the 2008 election, an increase of 3.4 million over 2004, making the 2008 election the highest youth voter turnout since 1972 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2008; “Youth Turnout Rate,” 2008).

One way of reaching young adults is through social network sites. Sites such as Facebook and MySpace offer a venue for young people to express themselves politically, locate political information, and interact with their peers about politics. Rheingold (1993) speculated that “virtual communities could

help citizens revitalize democracy, or they could be luring us into an attractively packaged substitute for democratic discourse” (p. 295). The question then arises, which of Rheingold’s predictions is now being realized? Is the internet encouraging and increasing political discourse—specifically among young voters—or has it replaced more traditional forms of political and civic engagement with low-commitment activities, like forwarding bogus petitions? To answer this question, we will first review literature addressing political participation and the impact of the internet interaction on political engagement.

ONLINE & OFFLINE POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

Political participation can take many forms, including such activities as campaign donations, attempting to persuade others, and taking part in activities related to politics (Kenski & Stroud, 2006). Conway (2000) conceptualized political participation as the set of activities that citizens perform in order to influence different levels of the government, such as its structure, policies, or officials. Taken together, political participation may be considered as one’s intent to influence government actions through different activities, either directly, by affecting the creation or implementation of public policy, or indirectly, by influencing the people that make those choices (Burns & Schlozman, 2001). It is through political participation that individuals can control and take part in the policy decisions that might directly affect them (Best & Krueger, 2005).

Jackman (1987) has noted that political participation in the United States is one of the lowest among the industrialized democracies in measures of political engagement, and Putnam (2000) points to two longitudinal surveys that show significant decreases in the public’s interest in current events, politics, and membership in civic organizations during the last 25 years of the 20th century. Voting, a key measure of political activity, has consistently declined since the late 1960s (Conway, 2000), with young adults showing greater rates of disengagement than any other age group (Delli Carpini, 2000). Voting in presidential elections by 18-29 year-olds declined from approximately half of the population in the early 1970s to less than one-third of that age group by the 1996 election (Galston, 2004).

More recent research points to increases in participation

among young voters (e.g., Baumgartner & Morris, 2008), with the media—and especially the internet—often cited as a key factor in effecting change and increasing knowledge. Media use has been associated with greater levels of involvement in civic activities, as well as higher levels of political awareness amongst American adolescents (Pasek, Kenski, Romer, & Jamieson, 2006). Young adults ages 18-29 extensively used the internet for obtaining election information in 2008: 58% went online for political news, 48% watched a political video online, and 65% of those with a social networking site profile performed at least one of five political activities on the site (Smith, 2009). While internet access is often thought of as primarily access to information resources (Tolbert & McNeal, 2003), internet use is also associated with small but significant increases in political participation (Kenski & Stroud, 2006; Tolbert & McNeal, 2003). Some of the increase in participation amongst young voters may be linked to increasing access to and use of the internet for political research and engagement.

The internet both supplements traditional offline methods of participation (e.g., posting videos from campaign rallies online) and provides new outlets for participation (e.g., personal blogs tackling political issues). Elin (2003) argues that the internet provides a virtual space that allows individuals to immerse themselves in political information, which in turn can lead to offline political activities. The website Meetup.com, for example, enables people with similar interests to find each other online and then “meet up” offline. In the six months leading up to the 2008 presidential election, 1,472 Meetup users utilized the site to organize offline gatherings and groups in support of John McCain, and 13,702 did the same for Barack Obama (Havenstein, 2008). Weinberg and Williams (2006) found Meetup attendance related to the presidential candidates was positively related to campaign donations, volunteering, candidate support, and advocacy.

Internet access alone does not generally increase political participation. However, among those with internet access, exposure to political material does increase participation (Kenski & Stroud, 2006). Wellman, Hasse, Witte, and Hampton (2001) found that the more politically active people are offline, the more they participate in political discussions online. Hardy

and Scheufele (2005) further found that exposure to and discussion of political information online had both a main and moderating effect on political engagement. The results of their national survey (N = 787) indicated that individuals who discussed politics with others via computer-mediated communication (e.g., e-mail, synchronous chat, discussion forums) also reported significantly higher levels of political participation (e.g., working for a political campaign, circulating a petition). These studies provide strong support for the internet as a new repository for political information and a new outlet to engage in political discussions, both of which may be associated with greater political participation.

SOCIAL NETWORKING SITES AND POLITICAL ACTIVITY

While hundreds of social networking sites exist, the most popular sites exhibit a number of similar characteristics: the creation of a user profile, a list of users with whom one is connected, and the ability to view a list of one's connections and the connections of others within one's network (Boyd & Ellison, 2007). These sites are especially popular among young adults, and several studies have found usage rates of 90% or higher amongst college students (e.g., Ellison, Steinfield, & Lampe, 2007; Golder, Wilkinson, & Huberman, 2007). Research shows that connections among users on these sites typically represent preexisting or offline relationships (Boyd & Ellison, 2007; Ellison et al., 2007).

The affordances of social networking sites suggest they might be well suited to increasing general political knowledge and, subsequently, political participation. Users can become a "fan" of a candidate and download candidate applications to their profile pages. They can share their political opinions through the many communication methods on the site, from status messages and wall postings to joining various politically based groups. Friends can view all of this information as it comes through aggregators such as Facebook's News Feed and MySpace's Stream, which collect the actions of each member's friends and present it in a list. Friends can also comment on News Feed postings, thus engaging others in active conversation about political issues.

Thus far, little research has examined the political uses of social

networking sites during a campaign cycle. Gulati and Williams (2007) examined candidates' use of Facebook's "Election Pulse" feature, which provided generic profiles to all candidates running for a congressional or gubernatorial seat in the 2006 mid-term election. They found that 40% of Senate candidates and 15% of House candidates updated their profile beyond basic information provided by Facebook, with major party candidates being significantly more likely to expand their profiles than minor party candidates. These data suggest that early on, politicians recognized the value young people place on social networking sites and were interested in accessing this population.

Studies specifically looking at the 2008 presidential primaries found that while candidates were willing to engage young voters, young voters were not necessarily comfortable with candidate use of social networking sites. However, these studies examine political use of social networking sites between young voters and official campaigns. Considering candidates' ultimate unwillingness to concede message control during a campaign (Stromer-Galley, 2000), it should not be surprising that campaigns struggle to connect with young voters in more interactive environments. What may be more empowering for young voters is the peer-to-peer—rather than candidate-to-citizen—interaction that is central to how young people use social networking sites.

MySpace and Facebook have tried to promote some types of online to offline political activity. Partnering with Declare Yourself, a nonpartisan political group, MySpace facilitated an online voter registration drive that produced a printout for potential voters to send to their state election officials. Campaigns used MySpace and Facebook not only to promote candidates, but also to recruit volunteers. For example, Peter Franchot, a candidate for Maryland state comptroller in 2006, recruited 80% of his campaign volunteers online through MySpace and Facebook (Gueorguieva, 2008).

Valenzuela, Park, and Kee (2008) addressed political participation on Facebook as part of a larger study of social networking site effects on social capital. The authors used Verba, Schlozman, and Brady's (1995) definition of political participation, which encompasses activities having the goal or result of impacting government action through the shaping of

public policy, either directly or through the election of those who create policy (as cited in Valenzuela et al., 2008). The activities of voting, working for political campaigns, donating money to candidates, and displaying political bumper stickers were used as examples of political participation. A regression analysis found that using Facebook Groups was the only variable to have a statistically significant positive impact. Further analysis showed a strong relationship between being a member of a Facebook political group and political participation. A positive, significant interaction between intensity of Facebook use and social trust led the researchers to suggest the effects of Facebook on political engagement were very strong for trusting people.

CURRENT STUDY

The purpose of this study is to investigate how Americans between the ages of 18 and 30 engage politically on social networking sites in order to better understand how politicians and political organizations can mobilize this historically underrepresented demographic. Furthermore, the information gleaned from this study contributes to the new body of literature on new media its relationship with individuals. Social networking sites might increase political participation by lowering the barriers to communication about political events and ideas. Instant communication with peers facilitates the process of sharing information; the activities of each member are recorded and available to every person within that members' network. Moreover, receiving political information from peers may render that information more valuable than if received through traditional forms of media.

METHODOLOGY

PARTICIPANTS

Information for this study was gathered through an online survey created with Qualtrics survey software. A link to the survey was placed on a website alongside a brief description of the survey and general information about the study. Respondents for this study were recruited through participant-driven sampling over a period of 15 days. A Facebook event

inviting users to participate in the survey was sent to 628 individuals, a link to the online survey was posted on Facebook every few hours, and email invitations were sent through an online database to approximately 1,044 people. Qualtrics survey software recorded 211 responses, yielding a response rate of 12.6%. For demographics of the sample population please refer to Table 1.

SURVEY MEASURES

Since this study targets general social networking site behavior, individuals were asked to rank their top two most used profiles from a list of five. The five available choices, selected by popularity at the time of the survey, were Facebook, Twitter, MySpace, Google Buzz, and Blogster. The majority of respondents ranked Facebook, MySpace, and Twitter among their top two most often. Respondents were then asked questions tailored to fit their top two choices by keeping the question static but replacing the name of the social networking site within the question.

In addition to questions regarding demographics, a number of pre-existing scales were utilized and/or adapted in this research study. The Facebook Intensity (FBI) scale developed by Ellison et al. (2007) was adapted to measure general social networking site usage. The number of contacts, minutes, and times an individual checked their profile per day were open-ended variables, while the measures of attitudes toward their social networking site profile were measured using a 7-point Likert scale.

To gauge an individual's political activity on their social networking site profile, a Political Activity scale was created. This scale asked respondents to answer the question, "In the past month, which of the following have you done on [specific social networking site]?" Items were measured using a 7-point Likert scale ranging from "Daily" to "Never." Level of activity was decided based on the level of frequency respondents indicated for each item.

The Political Activity scale was also adapted to measure the observed activity of other individuals within the respondent's network. The items within the scale remained, but the question placed the focus of the inquiry on other people: "In the past

month, which of the following have you seen other people do on [specific social networking site]?” This measurement investigated how aware respondents are to political information from other users in their peer network as opposed to simply focusing on the respondent’s own behavior.

As a control for political knowledge of the respondents, items were drawn from Delli Carpini and Keeter (1996) to measure the level of political knowledge for each participant. The scores on these items were higher than typically reported in other studies. A possible explanation for this is that since the survey was conducted online without a time restriction, respondents may have searched for correct answers on the internet. Another reason may be because the majority of respondents were currently enrolled in college or recent graduates, they may have a higher level of political knowledge than the average citizen.

A second control scale by Verba et al. (1995) was implemented to account for levels of personal efficacy. Respondents with a high feeling of personal ability to affect government could have skewed the results by being more knowledgeable and more active in their online and offline political participation.

Similar to political efficacy, a Political Interest scale by Verba et al. (1995) was also utilized. The Political Interest scale measured respondents’ interest in politics by asking respondents to rate their level of agreement with statements such as, “Being actively involved in national, state, and local issues is my responsibility.” Their responses were measured using a 5-point Likert scale with options from “Strongly Agree” to “Strongly Disagree.”

Political participation, the primary dependent variable in this study, was measured using a 18-item scale adapted from Rosenstone and Hansen’s (1993) measures of offline political activity. The responses from this scale were used to determine the political participation of respondents in both online and offline settings. Using a 9-point Likert scale, respondents marked the frequency of their involvement with several political behaviors and activities over the course of the past year. The range of options varied from “Daily” to “Never” and included questions items such as, “Volunteered or worked for a political organization.”

Findings

The findings gathered from the online survey yielded several interesting results. There were no significant differences between registered voters and non-registered respondents. There were also no relationships between age or political knowledge and any other variables. Personal efficacy, however, yielded two very interesting and diametrically opposed results: a positive correlation with online political engagement ($r = .303$) and a negative correlation with offline political engagement ($r = -.302$). Perhaps the most intriguing relationship, however, is between online and offline engagement. Political engagement online is negatively correlated with offline political engagement among registered voters ($r = -.654$). The more an individual engages politically online, the less they will do so through traditional, offline forms of engagement. This intense negative relationship is further strengthened when examining non-registered individuals ($r = -.885$), despite no significant differences between registered voters and non-registered respondents.

DISCUSSION

There are several possible explanations as to why these relationships are occurring. First and foremost is the issue of convenience. Social networking sites allow users access to larger audiences as well as faster communication with their audience; they lower the barriers to communication and allow people greater opportunity for interaction and exchange of information. Consequently, users will notice when peers upload or post political information to their social networking profile which raises the likelihood of other users engaging with the information, forwarding the information to others, or posting other politically charged material on their own. What this creates is a socially acceptable political dialogue among peers that can raise awareness and levels of personal political efficacy. When users notice that peers are also becoming engaged politics a feeling of greater meaning and importance is attributed to the cause that unifies them.

It is important to remember that the demographic in question is one of the first generations of digital natives (Prensky, 2001) to enter the political arena. American politics may be

witnessing a significant shift within political behavior as a result of a generation being in constant contact with technology during childrearing, adolescence, and now emerging adulthood. It could be that this particular age demographic does not differentiate between actions taken online and those taken offline. In other words, behavior that occurs online is equal to behavior that would be engaged in offline—the online and offline world is one and the same to digital natives.

The implications of this shift in political behavior for American politics are extensive. Politicians can now communicate with larger groups of their constituency in a faster, more convenient manner and, as a result, mobilize greater support through volunteers, fundraising, and votes. This has begun to be done (i.e. Howard Dean, Barack Obama) but should continue to be an important factor in future elections given that social networking sites will continue to rise in popularity. Peer-based websites have sparked a revolution in communications and as mobile technology continues to rapidly evolve, they should be an integral part in any successful political campaign. Indeed, there has already been mention of creating campaign applications for mobile phones.

It behooves the American political landscape to adapt to the changing political behavior of society in order to create a more inclusive and representative democracy. Providing the opportunity to engage with politics online is becoming increasingly important as younger generations enter the electorate. To not allow a digital avenue of political participation would be to, essentially, discourage younger voters from voicing their political beliefs. Discussions of online voting should be initiated. Traditional forms of offline participation would continue to be available for voters who prefer to participate in a conventional manner but the online avenue should be made available for other, specifically younger, voters who wish to be involved with politics. Adding this option would be the beginning of creating a more welcoming and inclusive American democracy.

FUTURE RESEARCH

Most of the future work required on this study revolves

around strengthening the sample population and creating a more representative sample. Considering that participant-driven sampling does not yield great opportunity for randomization, a replication of this study conducted with a larger, more diverse sample population is necessary to test the correlations found in this study. A cluster analysis of the data may also be beneficial to investigate if there are special characteristics of the sample population. Additionally, the political knowledge of participants in this study is much higher than that of the general population. This may be attributed to a weak political knowledge scale given that the scale used consisted of only four items and/or that respondents may have used the internet or other resources to answer each of the items correctly. Another possible reason for this skew may be that most of the respondents are currently in college or recent college graduates. To correct for this, future sample populations that are truly random and more representative of the general population are required. Along with gathering a more representative sample population, future replication of this study should be done during a time of high political activity and national attention (e.g. a presidential election). Since this study was conducted during a time of low political campaign activity there was not much opportunity for respondents to be truly active and engaged. Replicating the study during a time of greater political interest may affect the results.

An interesting question that was born from this study that begs further investigation is why do individuals in this demographic decide to participate in one form of participation over another (i.e. online preference over offline methods). That is to say, what makes politically active individuals limit their engagement to an online or offline arena—why is political engagement not constant across online and offline mediums? While it may be attributed to societal norms/peer pressure for low engagement or an increasingly blurred boundary between on and offline brought upon by digital natives, additional research is needed to further explain this behavior.

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THINK FOR YOURSELF: THE EFFECTS OF PERSONALITY TYPES ON BUSINESS TEAM DECISION MAKING



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According to Carl Jung (1921), business team members have individual cognitive judgment preferences for either Thinking or Feeling. However, the business arena is thought to be driven by a Thinker's preference towards objective profit rationale (Simon, 1979). Groupthink is a common phenomenon that might occur when the team makes decisions with a narrow set of viewpoints (Janis, 1972). Prior literature suggests that heterogeneous groups lend themselves to better quality decision making to avoid groupthink (Maier, 1930). As a result, business programs and corporations alike have made efforts to create diverse teams. However, there is still debate over how to create suitably diverse teams. This study analyzes the influence of Thinking and Feeling rationality preferences on team decision making. To collect data for the pilot study, we videotaped and observed the behavior of university students in a business simulation. Participants were separated into teams and were asked to collectively discuss and come to a consensus on a company issue. The participants were then surveyed about their personal decision making preferences and experiences in the simulation. The study suggests that personal judgment preferences are key components to forming diverse teams that ensure that business decisions are not continuously based on objective profit-driven ideas. By promoting and creating teams based on cognitive judgment preferences, business programs may make students aware of varying decision making processes that will be essential upon entering the industry.

INTRODUCTION

One person may make all the decisions in a business team regardless of whether that person is a CEO or new company hire. This individual influences the decisions that are made in teams throughout all levels of the company. Mill (1836) first developed this perception of a single decision maker by entitling it the “economic man”. The economic man is not necessarily concerned with nature or conduct of his environment, but rather is focused on the possession of wealth and the objective means to acquire it.

Conversely, many refute the argument that the economic man is the primary decision making entity believing that it is an oversimplified aggregate model (Kahneman & Smith, 1932). Many argue that this person is rather different from real individuals. Real business teams feel pleasure and pain and their decisions are indeed based on the impulses that arise in the environment (Veblen, 1898). However, team decision making is based both on rational profit maximizing objectives of the business and the environmental settings of the business team (Simon, 1979). As a result, team members’ judgment processes may be altered when it comes into contact with others.

Although prior research has examined the frequency of rationality and objectivity in decision making, questions still remain. Research has yet to be done on the specific units of analysis of rational team decision making. Jung suggests that individuals come into groups with a set of natural born judgment preferences (1921). This paper focuses on the individual’s cognitive judgment process and the following four questions: How does one’s cognitive decision making process affect how one will make a decision in a team? Do individuals make business decision using their preferred preferences or communicate based on the communication norms of the environment? Will profit rationality and objectivity of the economic man still prevail?

Existing studies have yet to answer these questions because prior research has typically dealt with rationality and decision making on a macro-business level scale. Our review of the literature focuses on four main themes: the expectations of high performance teams, the stages of effective team development, group rationality and an evaluation of individuals’ cognitive

decision making process. The literature suggests that small teams are steadily becoming more relevant to organizational culture and decision making. Thus, we observed the behavior of a small team from an undergraduate business program. The team was engaged in a business decision simulation that gave information that dealt specifically with profit focused and people-centered issues. Our data is a result of the evaluations and shared perceptions of the team. The analysis of the participants’ behavior suggest that undergraduate business schools should alter teaching curriculums and policies to incorporate alternative subjective viewpoints.

ECONOMIC MAN

With the growth of organizations, businesses are faced with a greater array of factors that need to be considered when making business decisions (Schneider, 1974). Schneider argued that social relations play a vital role in a company’s economic behavior. To effectively make decisions in the complex modern business arena, a company must make rational decisions to stay competitive (Olson, 1971). Olson argued that these rational decisions are based on self-interests and are void of consideration for greater or outside interests.

Cyert, Dill and March (1958) adds to this argument, stating that rational business decision making has become more than a process but a core business objective and mission. The goal of an organization is to simply maximize profits and earnings. Simon (1979) furthered this discussion arguing that quantifiable measures of decision making, like profits, are objective. Consequently, the objective revenue generation is an overarching mission that encompasses the goals of all departments, teams and individuals. Due to the solidification of objective means in today’s competitive environment it is argued that objective profit measures are seldom refuted as the best decision.

The profit-focused decision making mission may be deep rooted in the company to the degree that any deviation is from this mission would not be considered viable because it would stray from the idea of directly maximizing shareholder wealth (Boulding, 1969). For those subjective measures to even be considered in a decision, they must be attached to the direct and objective revenue generating measure. Because this main

objective is company-wide, a person who enters the organization must be prepared with competencies necessary to make rational and quantifiable decisions that are expected of them.

UNDERGRADUATE BUSINESS PROGRAMS

Businesses are increasing their employment of teams in the workplace (Katzenbach, 1993). As a result, organizations hire individuals who have competencies needed to work with others in teams (Hernandez, 2002). Both Hernandez and Katzenbach argue that exposure to business teams at the undergraduate level will help students learn how to work with others. As a result, undergraduate business programs have steadily increased their implementation of team exercises and simulations over the years (Robbins, 1994). This Association to Advance Collegiate Schools of Business, whose role is to provide undergraduate business students with the tools necessary to be successful in the real business world, has recognized that interpersonal and communication skills are needed to effectively make decisions in team (2010). The association has recently put a focus on the collaborative learning, arguing that students will greatly benefit from working with their peers.

Teams provide a supplemental outlet to the collaborative scenarios that students read about in textbooks and listen to in classroom lectures (Sutton & Kuiper, 1995). The authors argued that traditionally, business students are too isolated from their learning experience. However, teams give undergraduate business students a sense of empowerment because it casts the student in the role of an active participant in their learning process. Hernandez (2002) adds to this discussion, arguing that teams give the student a collaborative structure that promotes not only active learning but promotes higher level thinking. This higher level thinking may not be obtainable through traditional lectures because some business competencies are mainly obtained through application, exposure and experience. Effective rational decision making competencies, for instance, is argued to be improved through the use of teams activities.

Nevertheless, business teams created in the classroom need to mimic real world examples for the students to fully benefit (Pfaff & Huddleston, 2003). Business teams that provide a real-world example are positively related to a student's attitude

towards business teamwork. Others argued that the developed attitude can be attributed to the notion that those who are exposed to teams are more likely to comprehend and retain the business topics and skills (Ashrah, 2004). Regardless, teams give students the decision making competencies needed when undergraduates seek employment in the industry.

INDUSTRY EXPECTATIONS

Employers expect that recent business graduates can effectively work with others to solve complex situations (Hernandez, 2002). A graduate who gained exposure to team situations and garnished experience with solving them alongside group members is believed to possess the high level of thinking and communication skills needed to engage in real world business teams (Ashrah, 2004). However, many researchers contest the argument that recently business graduates do indeed possess the adequate skills required by the industry upon graduating exiting the undergraduate program (Nicholson & Arnold, 1991). Some argue that the image that business schools paint of the real world do not coincide with the complexities of professional work. Other authors suggest that this discrepancy lies in the differing opinions of the focus and prioritization of the competencies needed to be successful (Arnold, Clarke, Harrington, & Cathy Hart, 2010). Nevertheless, both Nicholson and Arnold (1991) and Arnold and colleagues (2010) challenge the relevance of undergraduate business team simulations, arguing that students need more than exposure to be successful in the industry. Business students must also grasp the dynamics of teams.

BUSINESS TEAM DYNAMICS

COMPOSITION

Business teams have characteristics that are representative of the functions and dynamics found in the organization as a whole (Ducanis & Golin, 1979). There is regular communication between group members, distinct roles, shared norms and common goals. The reason that teams are so widely used in the modern business world is because teams have proven to increase the quality of rational decisions (Wanous & Youtz, 1986). The quality of the decision is increased because teams can possess a wider range of ideas. In a team, each member brings in a different

skill set and background. The variance of these elements allows the situation to be viewed from various perspectives which can ultimately be incorporated into the rational decision making process (Wanous & Youtz 1986).

However, all teams are not believed to produce the same quality of decision. Members from diverse background give the team more perspectives, thus increasing the quality of the decision (Maier, 1930; Hoffman & Maier 1961). It is believed that heterogeneous teams produce greater quality decisions than homogenous teams. Amato (2005) refutes this claim, arguing that homogenous teams can produce a comparable quality of decisions. Amato studied the decision making of an undergraduate team in two different courses: Marketing Strategy and Principles of Macroeconomics. The results suggested that homogenous teams work best in settings where the decision must be concrete whereas the complementary teams were useful for creative work. However, the study concludes that the paradigm team possesses both homogenous and heterogeneous composition elements.

Wanous and Youtz (1986) agree with both Maier (1930) and Hoffman and Maier (1961) that the team's composition is important to decisions making. Wanous (1986) differs by suggesting that the team benefits from the composition only if the team is diverse enough to fit the needs of the task at hand. Consequently, Amato's homogenous Macroeconomics teams may have had a suitable level of diversity to successfully meet the needs of the task (Amato, 2005). Even though composition is vital in making a group decision, it is not the sole predictor of the quality of business decisions.

TEAM COMMUNICATION

Some argue that it is the "direction" of the communication within the team that will determine the quality of the decision (Maier, 1930). Maier defines direction as the persistence of a team member to show other group members a certain method of making the decision. For instance, a direction in business teams could be phrasing and framing a particular argument or decision around the importance of human capital versus taking a purely financial approach to the same argument. Therefore, regardless of the team's composition, the team needs to have enough directions to view the businesses situation from

the various perspectives that a team member provides. If a team fails to create an adequate number of directions than it may experience pitfalls.

One major pitfall that can be attributed to the lack of "directions" that Maier (1930) presents is groupthink (Janis, 1977). Groupthink is believed to occur when a group is so cohesive that it hinders group conflict or directions. Janis (1977) describes eight symptoms of a team experiencing groupthink: "1) Illusion of invulnerability— Creates excessive optimism that encourages taking extreme risks. 2) Collective rationalization— Members discount warnings and do not reconsider their assumptions. 3) Belief in inherent morality— Members believe in the rightness of their cause and therefore ignore the ethical or moral consequences of their decisions. 4) Stereotyped views of out-groups— Negative views of "enemy" make effective responses to conflict seem unnecessary. 5) Direct pressure on dissenters— Members are under pressure not to express arguments against any of the group's views. 6) Self-censorship— Doubts and deviations from the perceived group consensus are not expressed. 7) Illusion of unanimity— The majority view and judgments are assumed to be unanimous. 8) Self-appointed 'mindguards'— Members protect the group and the leader from information that is problematic or contradictory to the group's cohesiveness, view, and/or decisions" (p. 85-87). This paper focuses on the pitfall of collective rationalization. When a team has been pressured or influenced by the organization to consider objective profit driven functions, collective rationalization arises.

Because cohesion is believed to promote groupthink, the teams must be aware of when conflict and cohesion should take place in order to combat single directionality. Staging the group decision and development process is believed to be vital to pinpointing conflict and cohesion over time (Jehn & Mannix, 2001).

TEAM DEVELOPMENT

Teams are believed to go through four distinct stages of development in order to make a decision (Tuckman, 1965). The team starts by entering a stage of 1) orientation, testing and dependence, to (2) conflict, to (3) group cohesion, to (4) functional role-relatedness. These stages are respectfully entitled

forming, storming, norming and performing. Throughout the orientation phase, groups are concerned with identifying their roles and the roles of others. The storming phase occurs when members test their dependence on each other and evaluate the tasks. This stage is characterized by the conflict that occurs. Interpersonal conflict and conflict about the task's goals occur during this stage. Moreover, group members may be resistant to group influence at this stage. The norming stage is distinguished by the establishments of group cohesiveness. In the norming stage, the team members accept the common norms that were established from the conflict. As a result of these norms, team members adapt to the newly decided roles and tasks. In this period, personal opinions and ideas may also be expressed. The final stage, performing, is attained when the team has addressed and decided upon structural issues. Consequently, their roles become more flexible to accommodate the decided structure.

Some researchers have developed models that challenge the four-stage development model. Team stages have also been analyzed in terms of orientation, evaluation and control (Bales & Strodbeck, 1951). Bales and Strodbeck (1951) defined orientation as the point when "members of the group must have some degree of ignorance and uncertainty about the relevant facts, but individually possess facts relevant to decision." Evaluation "involves several different values and interests as criteria by which the facts of the situation and the proposed course of action are to be judged" (p. 485). Furthermore, control is "the power members have over each other and over the common environment" (p. 486).

The three-stage model, however, gives little consideration to the timing in which phases occur. Moreover, the authors' simplified descriptions of the categories are seen in Tuckman's (1965) four stages. Other researchers argued that Tuckman's (1965) stages model is too stringent (Scheidel & Crowell, 1964). It is argued that a team's conversations are fluid and free and thus can not be bound by a linear stage model. But, Tuckman (1965) argued that the stage development theory is the most comprehensive and all-encompassing model. Whether the model is linear or not, effective teams will encounter the four stages.

Poole (1983) has furthered Tuckman's (1965) model.

Business teams are believed to transition into different stages (Poole, 1983). Prior research suggested that the stages are isolated from each other. But, Poole (1983) found that the phases are stringed together through breakpoints or transitions. The author presents three transitions, including:

Normal breaks (topic changes)

Delays- signifies a shift in tenor of the discussion or the start of a difficult period. Disruptions- disagreement or conflict (p. 330).

During transitions teams members are refocusing and re-evaluating their current stance on the decision (Mark 2002). Gloria Mark (2002) found that in transitions, team members respond more slowly when a new idea is presented.

RATIONAL DECISION MAKING

Understanding the stages of group development helps to pinpoint the conflict and direction of decision making (Maier, 1930). A team member's rational decision making evolves as it enters new stages (Simon, 1955). Simon's (1955) research presents the theory of how business team members evaluate a rational decision. He argued that rational decision making occurs first when:

1. A set of behavior alternatives (alternatives of choice or decision).
2. The subset of behavior alternatives that the organism "considers" or "perceives." That is, the organism may make its choice within a set of alternatives more limited than the whole range objectively available to it.
3. The possible future states of affairs, or outcomes of choice,
4. A "pay-off" function, representing the "value" or "utility" placed by the organism upon each of the possible outcomes of choice (p. 102).

Team payoffs are often based on the objective profit centered missions of the organizations (Cyert, Dill & March, 1958; Simon 1979). The alternatives are compared based on the economic output that the chosen decision will bring in.

Howard (1966), furthered Simon's (1955) model by taking into account previously ignored external factors and complexities that modern business teams members face. The author studied how the multiple objectives of different shareholders affect the equity of decisions within modern

business teams. However, decision making process have yet to include the complexities of social-psychological elements that affect decision making (Simon, 1979).

PSYCHOLOGICAL PREFERENCES OF TEAM MEMBER

MBTI

Carl Jung (1921) argued that “individuals are either born with, or develop, certain preferred ways of thinking and acting”. A typography of major personality preferences was used to assess ones’ preferred ideals. These preferences were categorized into four distinct dimensions.

The first dimension is Extraversion-Introversion (E-I). This category indicates ones’ preference for obtaining energy. It measures whether a person’s energy is derived from the outside environment versus the inner world of personal thoughts.

The second is Sensing-INtuition (S-N). It speaks about an individual’s preference for gathering information. A person can prefer collecting details and facts (Sensing) or collecting data through patterns, groupings (INtuition).

The third dimension is Thinking-Feeling (T-F). This indicates the style of making decisions. Thinkers have a preference for making decisions objectively and logically whereas Feelers will make decisions subjectively, using a person-based value system.

The final component is Judging-Perceiving (J-P). It measures a person’s preferences towards structure and flexibility. Judges prefer structure, plans and organization. Perceivers prefer options, flexibility and openness.

The Myers-Briggs Type Indicator (MBTI), developed by Peter Myers and Isabel Briggs (1980) is a bipolar survey instrument used to asses the personal preferences presented by Jung (1921). The instrument is used in most Fortune 500 companies and over 85 of the Fortune 100 companies (Shuit, 2003). However, despite its wide use in companies, some authors refute its validity and congruency with Jung’s (1921) typography, preferring alternative instruments such as the Grey Wheelwright Questionnaire (Grey and Wheelwright, 1946). Cayln (1977), however suggest that there is a significantly large proportional agreement between scores on the two instruments, thus making

the MBTI a reliable self-identification survey.

This paper specifically focuses on the Thinking-Feeling dimension. A team member with a preference towards Thinking will tend to make their decisions based on objective rationality (Nasca, 1994). Conversely, team members who more closely identify with the Feeling dimension will tend to make their decisions based on human relations and personal values. Moreover, Feeling decision makers in business are often considered more emotional and a weaker team members (Knudstrup, 2010). However, a team member does not necessarily make all decision based on their core preferred decision making preferences (Jung, 1921). Although Jung (1921) believed cognitive preferences are innate, he also acknowledges that a person’s behavior may change due to external and environmental factors.

ELEMENTS OF INFLUENCE

An individual’s rational decision making is affected by the other members in the team (Le Bon, 1895). Individuals compose business teams and therefore come in with their own ideologies and rational thinking processes. When a person enters a business team, the groups may make them think, act and behave in way that doesn’t necessary coincide with their personal preferences. The individual makes concessions to promote group cohesions and to follow group norms (Tuckman, 1965). This coincides with directional theory (Maier, 1930). Team members need to pick a rational “direction” as their decision. But some authors suggest that even though a direction may be the most logical, it may not be the team’s chosen decision route.

Sigmund Freud (1923) furthered Le Bon’s argument, adding that there is another element that influences business team decisions. He suggested that group contagions help push these “directions” forward. He describes a contagion as the rapid communication of an influence. Contagions are effective because individuals rely on the behaviors of their team members to define the norms that will ultimately affect the group’s rational decisions (Schroeder, Jensen, Reed, Sullivan & Schwab, 1983). Team members will collect and acquire behavioral information in order to learn from their team members (Carley, 1991). The information that is collected and stored will affect a person’s future behavior. Consequently, a team member may be influenced to follow

along a specific “direction” that doesn’t align with their personal decision making preferences due to these subtle influences. Freud (1923) argued that it is easy to understand how individual business team members differ from the group. But, Freud (1923) argued that research still needs to be done in order to understand why they behaviors in teams differ from the behavior outside of the group. Prior research has only examined business teams and individuals separately (Simon, 1979). This papers aims to explore the possible contagions that arise when making subjective people-centered decisions versus objective efforts which directly increase the bottom line.

The study aims to identify whether undergraduate business students are socialized into developing, adapting and deciding based upon rational quantifiable decision contagions. By identifying when and how these elements appear, it will help to inform undergraduate business programs to avoid the formation of singularly directional paths of profit maximization in their simulated teams.

METHODS

PROCEDURE

We solicited upper division undergraduate business students at a four years university to participant in a business simulation. Performance in a business simulation can be used to predict potential behaviors in a real world business setting (Vance & Gray, 1967). Twelve students were randomly placed into separate rooms. Team behavior in these rooms was observed and videotaped while the facilitator remained behind a two-way mirror. The facilitator asked the groups to individually read over documents about their roles as company executives, requiring them to terminate an employee. Each participant was given profiles about a set of employees that gave information about the employees’ personal stories and provided data about their respective financial performance. Once they individually read over the documents, the team was asked to discuss the employees and come to a consensus about who the company should terminate.

Once the team reached a consensus on the employee

they wished to terminate, the subjects were immediately surveyed and interviewed about their experiences in the group exercise. The survey was formulated using Tuckman’s Questionnaire for Stages of Team Development (1965). Moreover, it inquired about the participants’ background and referred to the Jungian Personality Types (1921) to ask about their personal preferences.

The conversations and discussions exhibited in the simulation were classified into themes using Decision Making Discourse Analysis (DMDA). The discourse numbers were decided upon normal breaks and transition delays (Poole, 1983). The analysis revolved around two main themes- Thinking and Feeling. Criteria based on these two dimensions were created to plot the conversation. The criteria is as follows:

- T1- Performance of employee; T2- Savings for Company; Tx- Thinkers Rationality
- F1- Consequences for employees; F2- Consequences for company (ex. low company moral, employee dedication); Fx- Feelers Rationality.

The first individual to speak within a discourse was labeled “A”; the second was labeled “B” and so on and so forth until the teams’ discourse ended.

HYPOTHESES

Prior literature suggests that subjective rationality must be closely tied with objective measures to be considered valuable to the group (Boulding, 1969). Given this, we hypothesize that: H1: Participants who bring up people-driven issues must connect it to profit in order for it to be accepted by the group.

H2: Despite a group member’s cognitive preference towards either Thinking or Feeling, the participants overall will promote profit driven-rationality more frequently than people centered issues.

FINDINGS & ANALYSIS

Results from the questionnaire revealed background information about the students’ ethnicity, experience, and

personality. Pseudonyms were created based on the participant's preference towards Thinking and Feeling.

SUBJECT PROFILES

Farrah is a 21-year-old multi-racial African-American and Caucasian female college student. She is entering her senior year in the business program. During her enrollment in the program she has held over four internships. She has self-identified herself as an INFP.

Tyler is a multi-racial African American and Asian American male student. He is 19 years old and has just finished his freshman year in the business program and recently started his first internship. He has indicated that he has a preference towards the INTP personality type.

Felicia, who is 21 years old, is entering her senior year in the business program. Felicia, who has had about four internships during her college career, is an African American female. She has self-identified herself to be an ISFP.

Tammi is a 20-year-old African-American female student in the Mathematics and Economics department. She has entered her senior year and has held three internships during her enrollment in college. On the questionnaire, she indicated that she is an INTP.

INTROVERSION

The group members all have a preference towards introversion. According to Jung (1921), introverts are thought oriented and tend to focus on a single activity during a given period. For example, the group spent over 16 minutes reading and denoting the given documents. Once the group finished reading the documents, there was hesitation to begin discussing. An extrovert might have jumped straight into a discussion. Their introverted preferences can be witnessed in the opening conversation.

Farrah- "So...do any of you guys have any favorites?"

Tyler- "I need a second to collect my thoughts"

PERCEIVING

All of the participants have a preference towards the Perceiving function. Perceivers have a tendency to be open to new ideas and are thought to change their minds more often than those who

have a preference towards Judging. They tend to be more easily persuaded. A conversation between Felicia and Farrah displays this function.

Felicia- "I'm at a loss. Steven isn't getting along with people and that is never good...but he is performing."

Farrah- "Yeah, this just got harder."

After the simulation concluded, the team members' conversations were inputted into a Decision Making Discourse Analysis (DMDA). The following is an example of the first couple of discourses plotted into the DMDA.

DECISION MAKING DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

Discourse Number	Farrah	Tyler	Felicia	Tammi
1	A: I like Mary. C: She did something that really helped out the company. (T1)	B: Why do you like Mary?	D: Yeah! (T1)	
2		B: The performance...Right!		A: It's all about the business so I am looking at their numbers. (T2)
3				A: I think that it is awesome how Alexis brings the group together. (F1)

The DMDA revealed that some people-centered issues do not need to be followed by objective profit rationality. An example of this occurrence is found after a comment made by Tyler about the employee by the name of Mary.

Discourse 17:

Tyler: "Mary can't lose her job. She is the one with the handicapped kid" (F1)

Group: Laughs (nods heads to agree).

The group seems to have an undisclosed standard or baseline that prohibits extreme objectivism. It is a phenomenon that is unspoken and universal. In this case, the notion that Mary has a disabled child appeals to both the Thinkers and the Feelers. The baseline phenomenon that occurred may be linked to societal norms that govern many values that would suppress their dominant preferences.

However, the results show that discourses that are too subjective to appeal to all the team members do not need to be tied to objective measures. This is also seen in Tyler's comments about an employee by the name of Steven.

Discourse 35:

Tyler: “I think that Steven is a loser”! (Fx)

Farah: “Yeah, but are we going to let our personal biases get in the way” (Tx)

Tyler: “No... well maybe I think he is a loser because he didn't put up numbers in the past.” (T1)

Therefore, we must reject H1 because the results show that not all subjective people rational needs to be accompanied by objective profit rational.

TUCKMAN DEVELOPMENT FREQUENCY

The participants were asked to rate the frequency in which they communicated issues of company profit versus issues concerning people. The participants also rated the timing of the communication contagions, which correspond to at different stages in the group development process. The questionnaire asked if they communicated these ideas as Very Frequently, Frequently, Occasionally, Rarely or Never.

Total Average Frequency Scores (Table 1)

	Forming	Storming	Norming	Performing	Total Average
People-Centered Issues	3.166	3.125	3.5	3.375	3.299
Profit	3.187	2	3.125	3	3.188

The results from Table 1 reveal that the collective team, on average, promoted and communicated issues of profit more than issues of people. An interview with Farrah also proves H2. When the team is discussing the employee, Stephen, the group seems to be in a conflicted state. Stephen is a high performing employee; however he is not very well liked within the office. Farrah states:

“Sorry, I'm a business major and he is performing and you can't ignore that”

In a subsequent interview, Farrah was then asked why she apologized for merely stating her opinions. She responded: “I didn't want to seem mean...it's just, you know...in business it's all about the numbers.” It is almost as if Felicia is apologizing for abandoning her Feelings to take up the rationality that she has been taught. She views her objective stance as being ruthless. This might be why Farrah apologizes throughout the simulation whenever she adopts the Thinker's rationality contagion.

DISCUSSION

Undergraduate business program structure their curriculums in a manner that provides their students with the necessary competencies to perform well within the industry. However, companies have garnished a reputation for being solely profit driven. As a result, many companies are trying to eradicate their reputation as being solely profit-focused institutions because it creates negative attitudes and perceptions among many stakeholders and customers. Consequently, to align with the industries newly initiated goals, undergraduate business schools need to adapt to provide students with the skills needed for the changing work environment. In order to adjust and adapt successfully, undergraduate business programs must be willing to Take, Transform and Transition.

Programs must Take into account personality types when making teams. According to Connerley & Mael (2001), most business professors allow students to choose their own groups. However, this is not the most suitable measure. Student tends to choose team members who are their friends or people that they believe to be like-minded. This method does not effectively foster conflict. The lack of conflict in student-generated teams prohibits the generation of new ideas and the team can even fall victim to groupthink. By creating teams based on personality types, students can be exposed to a wide arrange of thinking and decision preferences that promote conflict.

However, it is not enough to merely suggest taking personality types into consideration when designing teams. The programs need to transform their curriculum to account for the cognitive diversity in the team. According to Teach (2001), most business teams simulations and projects are tied to objective profit centered performance measures. Generally, the more profit the group saves or earns corresponded with their graded performance. However, for some cognitive preferences, like Feeling, to be acknowledged and deployed, the performance measures must adjust. Subjective performance measures are also needed to complementary objective performance measures.

Only when the schools take and transform can undergraduate business programs successfully transition students

with the necessary skills to perform well within the changing industry.

LIMITATIONS

The pilot study has some limitations that may have altered the results of the experiment if they were addressed. The study was performed with only one team of four. If more teams were used, the study might have rendered different results. Another limitation was that the team was only asked to perform one task. If they were asked to hire an employee rather than to terminate one, they might have come up with a different set of criteria in which the Thinker's preference may not have been as dominant. Future studies should incorporate a wide variety of tasks in order to pinpoint which area or concentration within business needs more exposure to subjective measures. Moreover, the team that was examined may have been affected by a gender dynamic. The number of women outnumbered men 3:1. Therefore, the gender inequality may have promoted the participants to behave in a manner to assert either power or to balance the dynamic.

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EXPRESSED, EXTERNALIZED, AND INTERNALIZED IDENTITIES OF SPANISH CARIBBEANS AND AFRO-LATIN AMERICANS IN LOS ANGELES



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Individuals of Spanish Caribbean and Latin American descent in Los Angeles face the challenges of having a multi-racial and multi-ethnic identity. With the absence of any large Caribbean or Afro-Latino community in Los Angeles, these persons associate themselves with the racial and ethnic groups that are most present and accepted there. However, those who have a strong internal sense of identity, influenced from their immediate family, prefer to align their personal identity with their ancestry and ethnic origins. The majority of individuals who have ethnic origins in the Spanish Caribbean and Latin America do not identify with the racial groups defined by the federal government. They do not think of their race in terms of black and white, but rather in terms of an ethnolinguistic identity, as Hispanic or Latino. Using questions from the 2010 census long form and in-depth interviews of multi-ethnic and multi-racial persons in Los Angeles, this study explores the ways in which an individual's expressed identity is influenced by their internalized identity and externalized identity. Findings reveal that although externalized identity has an influence on one's expressed identity, the internalized identity takes greater precedence when a person expresses their identity to others.

INTRODUCTION

Definitions of race and ethnicity can vary along a broad spectrum of rigidity and fluidity. The racial classification has become very difficult within the United States due to the recent resurgence of large-scale immigration and the increase of mixed-race individuals. The dichotomy of “black” and “white” in the United States makes it difficult for people of multi-racial backgrounds to sustain their identity. Spanish Caribbeans and Afro-Latino Americans provide a good example of why and how this Black/ White binary do not adequately capture reality and the experience of these persons in real life.

The issue of racial self-identification is especially complicated for those individuals who are of Spanish Caribbean descent. This region, located centrally in the Caribbean Sea, is made up of 3 countries; Puerto Rico, the Dominican Republic, and Cuba. All of which are populated by the phenotypically diverse descendents of African, Spanish, and aboriginal peoples. Spanish Caribbeans living in the U.S. must continue to struggle with maintaining their self identity in the United States, a country that stigmatizes blackness and has defined blackness according to the “one-drop” rule. There seems to be different perceptions of what being “black” means in the United States compared to Latin America and the Caribbean. This difference causes complexities in racial and ethnic identification.

Skin color plays a major role in defining race within the United States. The color-race association results in particular complications when it comes to the specific case of Latinos with African ancestry, since physically they appear similar to “Blacks”. However, when considering language and cultural background, it is no longer possible to place persons of Spanish Caribbean descent into the categories of black or white. As the categories of “White” and “Black” in the United States cultural designations meaning U.S. born and English speaking.

In this paper I focus on the racial self-identification of Spanish Caribbeans and Afro-Latino Americans living in Los Angeles, specifically Puerto Ricans, Dominicans, Cubans, Panamanians, and Nicaraguans. Unlike New York, Miami, or other eastern cities where there are large populations of Caribbeans and Latin Americans, with the exception of

Mexicans, there is not a large presence or influence in Los Angeles. This study will assess how these Hispanic groups identify racially in a city whose Latino population is overwhelmingly of Mexican origin. Using data collected from interviews and surveys of Spanish Caribbeans and Afro-Latin Americans living in Los Angeles, I will address two important questions: How do Spanish Caribbeans and Afro-Latin Americans negotiate their multi-ethnic and multi-racial identity in Los Angeles? What roles do externalized identity and internalized identity have in shaping expressed identity? Externalized identity is what people think you are compared to internalized identity, what you think you are. In analyzing the two identities, we will assess how each influences and shapes a person’s expressed identity, what you publicly say you are to people.

LITERATURE REVIEW

RACE, ETHNICITY, AND IDENTITY IN THE UNITED STATES

Before discussing the issue of racial and ethnic classifications, the definitions of race and ethnicity must be determined. In the United States, the terms race and ethnicity have varied meanings and are consistently changing over time. There are disagreements amongst scholars as to whether any distinctions between race and ethnicity even exist. Scholars giving broad-based definitions often treat “race” as a subset of “ethnicity”, in which “ethnicity” has the general meaning of a “social category” (Gordon 1988). Those who focus, whether implicitly or explicitly, in the United States often highlight distinctions between race and ethnicity to avoid significant sociohistorical differences between categories (Ringer and Lawless 1989; Omi and Winant 1994). For example, defining African Americans as an ethnic group along the same determinants as other U.S. ethnic groups may become problematic and invalid comparisons between White ethnic groups and African Americans may arise. In the United States during the early twentieth century, the dominant constructions of race imply distinctions based on biological descent, popularly equated with physical appearance. Racial ideology focused on the distinctive physical, mental, and moral abilities of a specific group (Banton 1983; Spickard 1992;

Gould 1996; Nobles 2000; Harris 2002). Ethnicity is taken to imply distinctions based on national origin, language, religion, and culture, also equated with physical appearance. Because of the U.S. history of slavery, segregation, and discrimination, “race” is commonly used to refer to the black/white dichotomy in the U.S., making black/white racial categories distinct from ethnic categories in terms of cultural meanings and popular consciousness (Bailey 2000).

RACE, ETHNICITY, AND IDENTITY IN THE CARIBBEAN

The issue of racial identity becomes most stringent and particularly important to those who trace their origins to the Spanish Caribbean, a region populated by the phenotypically and culturally diverse descendants of Spanish, African, and indigenous peoples (Oropesa 2008). Spanish Caribbeans and Afro-Latinos challenge traditionally accepted racial and social categories particularly for two interrelated reasons. First, in terms of phenotype, individual Spanish Caribbeans and Afro-Latinos match dominant United States criteria for inclusion in the category of “black”, but in terms of language and cultural heritage, they match criteria for the category of “Hispanic” (Davis 1991; Bailey 2001). The intersectionality of language and phenotype of the Spanish Caribbeans undermines the assumptions upon which the categories of “Black” and “Hispanic” have been constructed in the United States. Spanish Caribbeans and Afro-Latino define their racial identity in terms of language, culture, and ethnolinguistic heritage, placing themselves outside the historical black and white dichotomy used to categorize persons of African or European descent in the United States (Waters 1991; Bailey 2001).

According to some scholars, an individual’s skin color is perhaps the most significant characteristic of the make-up of a person’s phenotype (Vazquez, Garcia-Vazquez, Bauman, & Sierra 1997; Brown & Dane 1998; Telzer, Garcia 2009). People of Latin America and the Caribbean vary in skin color and phenotypes, ranging from very dark skin to very light skin because of their multiple roots in African, European, and Spanish backgrounds (Comas-Diaz 1994; Uhlmann, Dasgupta, Elgueta, Greenwald & Swanson, 2002).

Perceptions of being “Black” or “blackness” vary amongst different culture groups. In the United States, where racial categories are based primarily on skin color, dark-skinned migrants, regardless of national or ethnic background, are often categorized as part of the black racial minority (Portes, 1995; Waters, 1994). The black racial identity in America is often associated with downward mobility and negative stereotypes. Although darker skinned people tend to fair worse socioeconomically throughout most of Latin America, they do not consider themselves as “Black” they way the United States has defined them (Bonilla-Silva 2006; 2010). The stigmatization of being Black in the United States has made Spanish Caribbeans, especially Dominicans and Puerto Ricans, more reluctant to pronounce Black as their dominant racial identity. This association has lead them to choose pan-ethnic alternatives, such as “Hispanic” or “Latino” as a form of identification (Bailey 2005; Oropesa 2008).

Whereas Spanish Caribbeans and Afro-Latin Americans in their homeland base their identity on culture and language, upon entering the United States, they are forced to align their identity along the notion of being “Black” and being “Hispanic”. They are confronted with the issue of acceptance in a society that has unyielding definitions for black and Latino. They are confronted with often contradictory frameworks for construing “racial” identities (Grasmuck & Pessar 1996; Duany 1998; Bailey 2001).

FORMATION OF RACIAL IDENTITY

Many scholars argue that race is a socially constructed concept and suggested that there is greater variation, whether it be cultural, economical, or phenotypical, within racial groups than between them (Omi and Winant 1994). The boundaries of groups vary over time and across social contexts (Davis 1991; Spickard 1992; Espiritu 1992; Nagel 1994; Gould 1996; Goodman 2000). As Spickard (2002) examines, “The process of racial labeling starts with geography, culture, and family ties and runs through economics and politics to biology, and not the other way around” (pg. 16). Not only are racial groups assessed as being subjective, racial identities are fluid in nature. Racial identities and classifications do not differ solely based on a nation and its history, but they are also very dependent of the interactions

within an individual’s daily life (Alba 1990; Lieberman and Waters 1993; Waters 1990, 1999).

Individuals begin to shape their identity along several dimensions. A person may develop their identity along the spectrum of internalized racial identity, externalized racial identity, and expressed racial identity. Internal racial identity is what a person believes about his or her own race; Observer’s beliefs about an individual are external racial identities; Expressed racial identities are the words and actions that convey beliefs about an individual’s race (Harris 2002).

METHODS

This study draws on interviews conducted in Los Angeles County, specifically in the Los Angeles area. This location was chosen because of its racial/ethnic composition. The racial make-up of this area has a population that is diverse in Hispanic and Black cultures. Preliminary surveys and 8 open-ended interviews were conducted with five Caribbean and Latin American ethnic groups; Cuban, Dominican, Puerto Rican, Nicaraguan, and Panamanian.

My sample included individuals who were 18 years and older; Of Spanish Caribbean or Afro-Latin American descent; Living in Los Angeles and the surrounding cities for a minimum of 1 year; and were mixed race with “Black” features. The preliminary survey asked respondents standard census race and ethnicity questions. The survey questions were taken from the 2010 census long form. The survey was given to the respondent prior to the interview, as questions in the interview regarded feelings and perceptions of the survey taken. The technique of snow ball sampling was used to gather potential participants. All interviews were conducted and transcribed in English. A voice recorder was used to document the interviews.

FINDINGS

INCOMPLETE PERCEPTIONS. INACCURATE BOXES.

When asked, “What would you consider yourself to be racially?” all participants responded with an answer that included every ethnic or racial group with which they personally self identified. Individuals could not choose one ethnic/racial group over the other. The notion of being “mixed” or “biracial” took precedence and incorporated each ethnic/racial origin. The interviewees felt dissatisfied and frustrated with the questions and choices on the survey. They felt they were being asked to place themselves into inaccurate boxes that reflected incomplete images of themselves.

Question #6 on Survey: Are you of Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish Origin?

#	Answer	Response	%
1	No, not of Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin	0	0%
2	Yes, Mexican, Mexican American, Chicano	0	0%
3	Yes, Puerto Rican	4	29%
4	Yes, Cuban	2	14%
5	Yes, another Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin- (Type origin, for example Argentinean, Columbian, Dominican, Nicaraguan, Salvadoran, Spaniard, and so on.)	3	21%
6	Yes, two or more Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origins. (Type origins)	5	36%
Total		14	100%

(Choice #5) Yes, another Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin- (Type origin, for example Argentinean, Columbian, Dominican, Nicaraguan, Salvadoran, Spaniard, and so on.)	(Choice #6) Yes, two or more Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origins. (Type origins)
Dominican/Mexican	Dominican/Mexican
Dominican	Puerto Rican, Salvadoran
Nicaraguan	Panamanian, Costa Rican
	Nicaraguan & Salvadoran
	Dominican and Peruvian

Question #7 on Survey: What is your race?

#	Answer	Response	%
1	White	2	14%
2	Black, African American, or Negro	6	43%
3	American Indian or Alaskan Native- (Type name of enrolled or principal tribe.)	1	7%
4	Asian Indian	0	0%
5	Chinese	0	0%
6	Filipino	1	7%
7	Japanese	0	0%
8	Korean	0	0%
9	Vietnamese	0	0%
10	Other Asian- (Type race, for example: Hmong, Laotian, Thai, Pakistani, Cambodian, and so on.)	0	0%
11	Native Hawaiian	0	0%
12	Guamanian or Chamorro	0	0%
13	Samoan	0	0%
14	Other Pacific Islander- (Type race, for example: Fijian, Tongan, and so on.)	0	0%
15	Some other race- (Type race.)	6	43%

(Choice # 15) Some other race- (Type race.)

Latino

hispanic

Latino

hispanic

Latino

When asked this question on the survey, “What is your race?” some individuals chose an option that they felt did not fully embrace their true identity. 5 of the 14 respondents chose only the option of Black, African American, or Negro. 1 of the 14 respondents chose only the option of White. 1 out of 14 respondents only chose the option of Filipino. 6 of the 14 respondents chose only the option of “Some other Race” and identified that “other race” as “Hispanic” or “Latino”. 1 of the 14 respondents chose three of the racial categories, which included White, Black, African American, or Negro, and American Indian or Alaskan Native. However, all participants marked an option of Hispanic, Latino, Spanish origins.

Breanna expresses:

“Umm those choices, I think they were kinda biased. I think they were a bit skewed and they didn’t apply to everyone umm or every type of category that exist both in America and in the world. Like I didn’t find something that pertained to my racial background or ethnicity and I felt kinda forced to choose one of the categories. I don’t feel like I should be forced to chose between two notions....both [between] my Mexican or my Dominican sides... that both fall under different races. I feel that my Mexican side falls under Native American/ Alaskan native for example and I feel that my Dominican side falls more under black or African American or negro. So choosing just black would mean that I’m erasing or I’m completely just neglecting my...my half of me...and half of my identity”

Interviewees who choose the category of “Some other race” felt that by choosing one category would signify that they are choosing one part of the racial and ethnic background over the other and were not comfortable making such as decision. Their personal identity takes into account all of their ethnic backgrounds. Blake explains:

“They [the racial choices] were very limited..... I don’t like picking one thing because I am not. I just say I am mixed. That’s the easiest thing I can say. Because I can’t pick just one. That’s just half of me and that’s not right.”

Participants explained that they felt there should have been an option under the racial category the fully embraced their background of being a Latino or Hispanic. Many of the participants identified with a mixture of two or more ethnic or racial groups, however felt they solely most identified with being Latino or Hispanic. Jonathan States:

“Well I wouldn’t choose black because I am not 100% black, and I wouldn’t choose white or any of the other choices because I feel like I’m a mix. There wasn’t a choice for a mix [a mix of Spanish cultures]. I feel that I fall under the Latino bracket.”

Breanna communicates:

“I didn’t find anything, any type of label or category that said Hispanic or Latino.....I feel that Latin people.... because they are so diverse, because there is such a mixture, I feel that it kinda made up its own category that’s not accounted for.”

Interviewees who identified as being Latino/Hispanic chose the racial category of Black, African American, or Negro.

They felt that they possessed certain physical features of that category, rather than any of the other options given to them.

Andrea explains:

“Well I chose black because I physically look black. Like I have blackness in me. I don’t look white. I don’t look Mexican. I don’t look Asian. So black to me, since it said black, African American or Negro. I didn’t refer to African American. I referred to it like “NEGRO”. In Spanish to me, which is black. Because in the Caribbean we refer to that as people with dark skin and with afro...umm like with afro features. So that’s why I chose that.”

Andrea associates being black with the physical traits they possess, such as their curly hair, dark skin, round nose, etc. The reason for choosing a specific racial category and not the option of “some other race” is simply based on physical appearance and phenotype. Because you may look a certain way, than you are automatically placed in a certain category despite your ethnic background. Once again, the notion of an incomplete identity or an identity based on others perceptions of what they should be.

Victoria explains:

“People usually say I’m black, so I’m like “well fine. That’s what I am. I’m heavily influenced to say that I am black only because it’s too hard for people to grapple with this whole idea of being mixed. People just want to keep life simple and because of that I have just been marking myself as black.”

Blake agrees:

“Because I have dark skin, brown skin, curly hair and I just look black if I had to choose one. Well based on what people say, I would have to say Black..... It’s what people say.”

Victoria and Blake both feel that because the majority of people assume what they are as being Black, they usually just go along with it to make matters simple. However, they feel that many individuals in Los Angeles are not aware of the different categories of ethnic groups in the world. They have rigid definitions of what Black and Latino are. The following quotes are from interviewees who feel that being in a particular location with limited ethnic and racial groups, allows people into incorrectly categorize you into those groups. For example, in Los Angeles, the major ethnic and racial groups here are White, Mexican, Salvadoran, and Black. If you look like you fit into any of these groups, than you will most likely be categorized as just

that.

Andrea says:

“I found that comparing my identity here in Los Angeles to going to another state where there’s more Caribbeans, such as New York. Umm I felt that it’s easier to identify yourself in New York just because people are more culturally aware of different racial groups...So here in Los Angeles I found it very hard to identify myself as being either Mexican or Dominican because I felt like sometimes being around too many Mexicans I had to say “oh yea I’m only Mexican” and I would be ashamed to say I’m Dominican. Just because people would like make fun of me or they didn’t want to accept me. I think just primarily because you don’t get accepted as much, because there’s not too much awareness on different Caribbean countries and that there is African descent and African features from those countries. You know there’s a lot of ignorance here I think with people of color. Because people assume you’re always African American.”

Leah:

“[People in LA] They don’t have enough exposure or knowledge cultural wise for some ethnicities. I think because they tend to get comfortable with their identity. Ignorant people out there that don’t really recognize that there’s other types of ethnicities besides Mexican. And like off the back when people say “are you Mexican” or thinking that you’re Mexican already shows that.... But yea I think LA is very close minded I wanna say, about that. There’s not much...you don’t get much options when you go out there.....Last time when we had gone to Miami, we go over there, I noticed that they mention Nicarageunce, Dominican, Cuban, Puerto Rican. They don’t mention Mexican off the back. I guess it just depends on location. Depends on where you’re at.”

Blake:

“There’s like a broad assumption that there’s only like a certain amount of racial groups in this area.”

Victoria:

“I feel that most of my life I have been defined as a black girl. Why? Because they wouldn’t say Hispanic because I do not speak Spanish. I don’t know why people associate that with being Hispanic, but I’m defined as a black girl because I am dark enough or I may have little attitudes at time. It doesn’t really make sense as to why I’m defined as black. But umm I think it’s

just because...in America a lot of people just say either you're black or you're not. Especially where I came from. Even a lot of Hispanic people are defined as just black or not."

Jonathan:

"In Los Angeles I feel I wasn't brought up in a community that was predominately Caribbean to be completely honest with you. I haven't really come across too many people that I can relate to as far as my country or my parents origin. Because of the generalization in Los Angeles people make when they see a Latino. I would say a lot of people don't take the time to educate themselves or even ask "where are you from?" or "where are your parents from?" Most people just assume."

Breanna:

"Depending on where I was at or where I am at, the people around me or the people living in that community or neighborhood or city, those people often have a pre-composed perception of others are. And a lot of times people are very ignorant to race and ethnicity and what that entails. People often are stigmatized as being something based solely off their physical appearance and if they resemble anything that they feel falls under a category....in LA for example, depending on different neighborhoods I would usually get either Black or mixed. Mixed with something of Black and something else. In my neighborhood, Boyle Heights they would just consider me full black..The ones that considered me Latina were often not Mexican. They were either Salvadoran or Honduran, or something of that nature...I feel like not many people when I was growing up know what Afro- Caribbean are or knew about Caribbean descent as far as the mixture goes. Umm so they kinda just stigmatized me as being black and not Latina."

Leah explains that her experiences living in Los Angeles have been marked by constant misperceptions of people thinking that she was of Mexican origins. She talks about an incident with one of her co-workers where he automatically assumed she was Mexican.

"He asked me where I was from and I was like Nicaragua, well my parents are Nicaraguan. And then he was like "oh I thought you were Mexican" [laughs]. It wasn't a surprise..... And then his comment back was "well you're Mexican until you say otherwise". So I just looked at him and was like, "well you're

just being ignorant. That's what you really are." And he was like "well its true, if you ask 10 people on the street, 9 out of 10 what are they? They're Mexican"."

Many times people who may look like a particular ethnic group because of similar features have a difficult time expressing their true identity. As Leah's co-worker did, In Los Angeles, most people just make the mistake and assume that you cannot be anything else besides Mexican or Salvadoran.

LANGUAGE OR LACK THEREOF

Language and dialect is often used to categorize people as well. Victoria explains that her lack of Spanish speaking abilities has categorized her solely being Black, ignoring her Puerto Rican side.

"I never do [claim to be Latino] because people wouldn't accept that. Because I didn't speak Spanish, they just assumed that I couldn't be Puerto Rican. So from like the 3rd grade on, I've been the light skinned black girl."

The ability to speak Spanish categorizes you as either Black or White, or Latino. Despite what you make look like, if you are dark skinned or have a lighter complexion, the fact that you are able to communicate in Spanish places you in the category of Latino or Hispanic. Breanna explains:

"Coming into contact with Latinos, which most of the time were either Mexican, Mexican American, some Salvadoran.... pretty much that side stigmatized me as being an other, instead as being part of theirs until they heard me speak Spanish and then they knew I was Dominican and Mexican."

Leah says:

"Even my friends, like...we get to know each other and they probably don't know I'm Nicaraguan until...well when they hear my speak Spanish."

There are large inconsistencies with the choice that were made on the survey and how each participant openly expressed and explained why they chose the racial category they did. During the interview, I asked each participant to explain why they chose the racial category that they did on the survey. After voicing their opinions and concerns, the majority of the respondents felt if they were forced to pick a category to identify themselves racially, they would choose 'Latino'. However, because

Latino is not considered a race, many respondents were confused as to what to choose. People are most often confused with the terms race and ethnicity and use them interchangeably. Choices were than based off of physical appearance, language, and how they feel which category resembled them the most. They felt that they were not allowed to categorized themselves completely and felt as if their identities were being fragmented.

FAMILY INFLUENCES. GROWING EXPERIENCES. CULTURAL FAMILIARITY.

My findings show that while the participants felt as though the questions on the survey were limited and forced an incomplete image of their true identity, they expressed the large influence their family, household, and background culture had on their personal identity. Breanna expresses the influence her parents' background has on her identity.

"Yea, I always feel that I pull from both equally. I feel that is because my parents are both very in touched with their culture. I know of some other people who are 3rd or 4th generation in, they kinda start losing some interest or losing some of their culture knowledge, but I feel maybe it's because I am the first generation to be born here in America, my culture is very much close to me and my roots are still very much engrained in my life and my lifestyle are both based off my father's life and background and my moms. So they both really embraced their sides and they were just already just brought up in that culture. So yea, I grabbed from both equally."

Breanna feels that her upbringing with her parents has contributed to the formation of her identity equally. Her close connection with her family has allowed her to utilize her ethnic background to shaping her individuality. Participants felt that their immediate relationships with their family, specifically their parents, allowed them to understand their identity and cultural background. Blake explains why he feels his Panamanian background has a large influence on his identity.

"Because that's my mom's side. We were close before she passed away. And I lived there maybe a couple months when I was little and it was nice. And I liked the Spanish dialect there. And the culture of course was different from there, but I liked it. And the people are just like nice."

Blake's relationship with his mother allowed him to actively identify more with his Panamanian background than anything else. Victoria has a very similar situation. She expresses; "I identify more with Black, well because, my mom...well I guess this has been passed down in generations in my family, but you identify with what your mom is. And so because my mom is Black that's just what I have always assumed is the correct answer for me."

The participants felt that an individual's family and parental backgrounds are a vital part of shaping one's identity. Growing up as a child and into young adulthood, they take the values, morals, and cultural traditions that were instilled to them. These traditions are a part of who they are. Leah states; "I guess seeing the way I was brought up. That's how I form my identity, through what my parents have taught me. Or what they have instilled in me. But also the values that I learned to believe or that I learned to acknowledge growing up. , I like to identify as 'I'm Hispanic. I'm Nicaraguan.' I love me. I love where my parents are from. I just love being Hispanic."

The structure of a person's identity not only includes phenotype, but also ancestral and cultural backgrounds. One cannot ignore the values and customs that has been passed down from generation to generation. Lean explains that everything she has learned from her upbringing in her household has contributed to her identity. The experiences she has shared with her family are equally important in shaping her individuality and they simply cannot be ignored. To reject those experiences, values, traditions, and ethnic backgrounds would be equivalent to discarding a person's true and complete identity.

US VERSUS CARIBBEAN CONCEPTS OF RACE

Throughout the interview, participants felt that it was rather complicated being of mixed race to accurately categorized themselves racially in the United States. They felt the need to explain and justify their rationale for choosing the racial group that they did. Victoria explains,

"I feel like people don't know how to define themselves and I think that ultimately if America is based on the whole idea of the one and the other, either you are the one or you're not. And so usually we define the ones that are not as black folk. It really

doesn't matter what you are typically because people will mark you into just two categories. Either you're white or black. And with the whole Latin community rising, people are just confused now. Now it's not just based on skin color. And the way you speak. So if I can't speak Spanish, than I'm not Spanish. So right now I'm just the black girl because that's the only way they can, you know, grapple with what I am."

Victoria feels that being in the United States does not allow for people of multi-ethnic and multi-racial backgrounds to identify themselves. Being in American, you are either Black or White. This dichotomy complicates the situation for individuals who feel they do not fall into either category. Breanna explains that the United States is very narrow minded dealing with the concepts of race and ethnicity. When asked, "Why did you choose the racial category of Black, African American, or Negro, even though you stated that you identified as being Latino?" Breanna explains,

"It kinda goes back to the one drop rule...where they say "black never breaks". As soon as your mixed with black, those features and that identity surpasses or outstands more than the other ones. So I think that why I chose black, African American, or negro because that's what my physical traits resemble most out of the rest of them. I feel that the black people here in America have this notion, or blend both race and ethnicity, so that others that are also of the black race- when they come to the US they are confused. I think Dominicans and a lot of Afro Caribbeans, they have a sense of race, but their sense of race doesn't go far beyond physical appearance. You're either "guero" or "blanco" if you have very fair skin, you have straight hair, often being light brown or blonde, green eyes or even brown eyes, but you're a "negro" if you have anything from medium to dark colored brown skin, with very curly hair. But once they come to the US, there's a double meaning to the word black. So I think that's often when Caribbeans are asked "Are you black?" they say No. Because here in America, Black means strictly African American."

Andrea also chose the category of Black, African American, or Black and explains why.

"So black to me, since it said black, African American or negro, I didn't refer to African American. I referred to "NEGRO" which in Spanish to me is black. Because in the Caribbean we

refer to that as people with dark skin and with afro features. So that's why I chose that."

Breanna further explains that there is a difference between Caribbeans and African Americans even though they may have similar physical features of being Black.

"The difference between Caribbean people and African Americans here in America is that they practice different lifestyles. Their lifestyles is the most significant difference between them. They have a different history. Although it does tie together, at one point they both are a part of the slavery generation or the era. The slavery era kinda was the origin of them. The history since then was different and their story since then...what they ended up being I think is different. Dominicans ended up speaking Spanish, taking up a lot of customs and traditions that make up their country and culture and African Americans here in America ended up speaking with a southern accent, or an accent that pertained to a lot of white Americans or Caucasian people for example. That's what the main difference between those two are - their lifestyle."

Breanna explains that there is dissimilarity between Caribbeans and African Americans; however in the United States it is often overlooked. The meaning of Black in America is rigid and other definitions are not accepted easily. The meaning of being Black is different in the United States than that of the Caribbean. However, many people in American do not understand and completely categorized Caribbeans to be African American, despite their different cultural backgrounds. The close minded thinking processes of race in the United States causes many complexities for individuals of mixed race descent. The participants felt that being in United States; they had to be cautious in how they expressed their identity. They understood the strict definitions to each racial group. Understanding the racial knowledge and history of the United States allowed them to form a complete image of their identity by resisting racial stereotypes based on solely their appearance.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

EXTERNALIZED IDENTITY VS. INTERNALIZED IDENTITY

An individual's externalized identity is formed through social interactions, both negative and positive. It is dependent of the environment which one is located, as perceived meanings of race, ethnicity, and racial groups vary across different communities. It is dependent of the acceptance or rejections from ethnic and racial groups. There is great importance placed upon appearance and physical features in determining ones externalized identity. Those who have similar features to a specific racial group are more likely to identify with that group.

Individuals who have grown up in a community with few Spanish Caribbeans or Afro-Latin Americans do not understand that particular culture. In Los Angeles, where there are no large Caribbeans and Latin American communities, it is difficult for a person of Spanish Caribbean or Afro-Latin American descent to identify with their cultural background. The communities that are most accessible are those parallel to the population of Los Angeles; Mexican, Salvadoran, African American, and Caucasian. The majority of the people living in these communities are not familiar of the different Latino ethnic groups such as Dominican, Puerto Rican, Nicaraguan, Cuban, or Panamanian. The concept of a "Black Latino" is not common. Therefore, categorizing someone of Spanish Caribbean or Afro-Latin American descent as either Black or Hispanic solely on the basis of appearance and physical features. When an individual is defined as being "Black" because of his or her phenotype, such as dark skin, curly hair, and having the stereotypical features that define African American, they are more likely to identify with that racial group. If a particular person looks similar to other Latinos in the community, that he or she will be defined as Hispanic. In Los Angeles, everyone who looks Hispanic is deemed Mexican unless expressed otherwise. Spanish Caribbean and Afro-Latino individuals may choose to identify with those rigid categories of either Black or Hispanic, because that is how they're community defines them. They have the idea of "well if they say I'm Black, than I must be Black" and apply for those

who are categorized as white or any other racial group too.

Rejection from particular ethnic groups may also have an influence on a person's identity. For example, a Dominican who considers himself to be Latino/Hispanic, may be rejected from the Hispanic community because he does not look or does not have features similar to other Hispanics in the community. They will automatically assume he is Black, because that is what he most looks like. He will least likely identify as Hispanic and more likely identify as Black.

A person's externalized identity becomes more prominent and grows as they begin to accept the identity that their community and society has given them, which will have a large influence on their expressed identity.

Internalized identity is formed through a strong connection and understanding of one's ethnic origins and cultural background. These connections are developed through intimate interactions with family members and embracing their ancestral foundations.

The household in which a person lives is very important in forming their internalized identity. Culture and traditions of the past are taught as one gets older. Someone who is of Spanish Caribbean or Afro-Latin American descent who have parents that grew up in the country of their ethnic origins or in communities that had a large presence of their cultural background are more likely to be exposed to that culture. Their parents are more likely to teach them the culture, language, and music that they have learned when they were children. Persons are more likely to have a greater sense of internalized identity if they are able to understand and appreciate the values, customs, traditions, and overall culture of their ethnic background.

WHAT ROLES DO EXTERNALIZED IDENTITY AND INTERNALIZED IDENTITY HAVE IN SHAPING EXPRESSED IDENTITY?

Expressed identity is formed also through the process of socialization, taking into account both externalized identity and internalized identity. A person's expressed identity is dependent of the setting and situation in. The fluidity of one's expressed identity is always subject to continuous change. In determining whether externalized identity or internalized identity is more influential, I cannot say that one is great than the other. It varies

depending on the individual.

My findings show that persons who do not have parents or family members that express and share their Caribbean or Latin American identity and culture with them are more likely to be more influenced by their externalized identity. Since they have such an unstable internalized identity, their externalized identity will take precedence and therefore will utilize it more when expressing their self identification. An unwavering internalized identity will have more influence on expressed identity, not even allowing externalized identity to have the slightest effect.

My sample shows that females are more influenced by their internalized identity in expressing their identity, compared to males who are more influenced by their externalized identity. This occurs because women in Hispanic/Latino families are socialized to be within the house, where they are directly exposed to cultures of their background through cooking, music, and raising children. The men in these cultures are socialized to be out of the house and working. Therefore, men are more exposed to their community and come into contact with different perceptions about racial self identification.

Education and knowledge of race, ethnicity, and racial history in the United States also effects how an individual identifies. Those who attended college are more likely to identify in terms of language, background, and heritage. Those who received at least one year of college education have a more stable internalized identity, rather than those who did not go onto college.

I can assess that Spanish Caribbeans and Afro-Latin Americans socially construct their racial identity in Los Angeles, taking into account their ethnic origins, cultural background, social interactions, and perceived meanings of racial categories based on the racial classification system of the United States. The research on externalized, internalized, and expressed identity is under-developed and thus more research on these three concepts would contribute to the field of race, ethnicity, and racial self identification. Suggestions for future research include the importance of skin color on racial identity and the multiple factors that affect reporting of racial identity in various contexts for 'Hispanic' populations.

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IS NOW THE TIME? EXAMINING THE NATURALIZATION PROCESS THROUGH CITIZENSHIP ASSISTANCE WORKSHOPS



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In response to the 2006 pro-immigrant marches and growing anti-immigrant legislation emerging across the nation, the National Association of Latino Elected and Appointed Officials (NALEO) created the Ya Es Hora ¡Ciudadanía! (It's Time for Citizenship) campaign in an effort to increase naturalization rates among the Latino community. This research addresses the effectiveness of NALEO's citizenship assistance workshops and what role they play in an individual's propensity to apply for citizenship. Prior research has explored immigrant reasons for naturalization and the political mobilization of newly naturalized citizens. Although naturalization rates are up to 118% in Los Angeles, no study has evaluated the effectiveness of these workshops on an individual's propensity to apply for naturalization. Using a pre and post survey, this study analyzes the change in attitudes among workshop participants in California and Texas. The survey explores immigrant perceived barriers towards USCIS procedures, the role of support networks in applying for citizenship, and the workshops' affect on an individual's emotions towards the application process. This research is the first step in evaluating citizenship assistance workshops, and provides recommendations to increase workshop effectiveness in an effort to help immigrants attain their legal and political rights as American citizens.

INTRODUCTION

The establishment of the Ya Es Hora campaign was a product of the 2006 pro-immigrant marches across the nation. In 2005, five million individuals voiced their political dissatisfaction with legislation such as the Sensennbrenner bill (H.R. 4437, 2005), prompting Latino civic organizations to create a campaign to increase Latino naturalization rates and civic engagement. With naturalization fees increasing from \$400 to \$675 in 2007, the revision of the naturalization exam, and comprehensive immigration reform being contemplated in Congress, the National Association of Latino Elected and Appointed Officials spearheaded efforts to create an unprecedented naturalization campaign. Over 300 organizations and Spanish media networks across the country came together, allowing for the birth of over 400 Ya Es Hora citizenship centers to assist individuals with the Application for Naturalization (N-400).

The marches were a culmination of the tension that had been building for over a decade across the nation. The 1990s served as a host for a slew of anti-immigrant legislation including proposition 187, the “Save our State Initiative” and 1996 welfare reform, which restricted immigrant eligibility for various federal programs. The 1990s anti-immigrant sentiments may be attributed to a backlash credited to the 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA). Anti-immigrant legislation continued into the new millennium with the Sensenbrenner bill (H.R. 4437, 2005) calling for a wall along the U.S./Mexico border, and the passage of S.B. 1070, 2010 in Arizona, giving police the right to racially profile individuals suspected to be undocumented. This hostile political climate urged many individuals to naturalize.

Scholars and policy makers alike shy away from the topic of naturalization (Johnson et al. 1999; Logan et al. 2007; Spiro 1999; Yang 1994). However, it is important that this topic be explored in order to effectively assess the way our nation can address the topic of immigration reform in a fair and humane way. Currently much of the literature focuses on immigrant political participation and mobilization, but fails to effectively address Latino civic organizations role in the naturalization process.

There has been a 118% increase in naturalization rates since the inception of the Ya Es Hora ¡Ciudadanía! campaign in 2007 (NALEO 2007). No experimental investigation has measured the immediate effects of this workshop on an individual's propensity to apply for naturalization. This study will examine the change of citizenship applicant's attitudes towards the application process through their participation in a Ya Es Hora ¡Ciudadanía! workshop. Data collected in California and Texas allows for the comparison of the effectiveness of different locations in the U.S. Workshops were also observed to assess the different ways each location processes attendees and the different populations they each serve. This paper explores how citizenship assistance workshops affect an individual's propensity to apply for citizenship, what USCIS barriers respondents perceive as most difficult, and the demographics of individuals who attend these workshops.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Applying for citizenship is one of the first steps of participation in the American political process (Garcia 1981; Pantoja and Gershon 2006). Naturalization provides access to public services, confers the right to vote, and grants political rights and protection to individuals. Johnson et al. (1999) cites Barbara Jordan, chair of the U.S. Commission on Immigration Reform, who describes “naturalization [as] the most visible manifestation of Americanization” (p. vi). Despite the importance of naturalization, scholars and researchers have neglected its study (DeSipio 1987; Johnson et al. 1999; Logan et al. 2007; Spiro 1999; Yang 1994). Sierra, Carrillo, DeSipio and Jones-Correa (2000) describe “immigration [as] a highly contested public policy issue [creating] schisms among the general population as well as Latinos themselves” (p.535).

The current naturalization process consists of a ten-page application (available only in English), picture, fingerprints, interview, reading and writing exam on American history and a \$675 fee. Scholars argue that this process of naturalization and the subsequent requirements present unnecessary barriers for potential citizens (Jones-Correa 2000; Pachon 1987; Spiro 1999).

Others contend that the application process is complicated, long and tedious (North 1985; Yang 1994). North (1985) analyzes the application process and suggests that the process may be perceived as discouraging, intimidating, perplexing and frightening. He argues for a simplified application with reduced questions without “needlessly ponderous” language (North, 1985, p. 325). The naturalization application asks questions such as “Do you have any title of nobility in any foreign country?” and “Between March 23, 1933 and May 8, 1945, did you work for or associate in any way...with The Nazi government of Germany?” which are irrelevant for the majority of the applicants (N-400). In addition to naturalization being a detailed process, Andy Rooney of CBS’s 60 Minutes compares questions from the 1996 naturalization exam to the 2009 exam and argues that the revised questions on the new exam are significantly harder . Furthermore, Felix (2008) notes “Latino immigrants have described the naturalization process as one rife with patronizing officials, unreasonable criminalization, humiliation, fear and anxiety” showing the range of emotions associated with naturalizing (p.621).

IMMIGRATION AND LEGISLATION IN THE UNITED STATES 1980-2010

The history of citizenship laws in the United States is defined by ever-changing quotas and requirements, and can be traced to immigrant quotas and restrictions established in the late nineteenth century. Some scholars believe that the concept and process of becoming a U.S. citizen are undemocratic and that policies implemented are to inherently discriminate. Spiro (1999) suggests “naturalization law [as] a real instrument of exclusion and subordination”.

Ayon (2009) attributes the “modern era of primarily Latino immigrant mobilization” to the 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA). IRCA legalized approximately 2.7 million undocumented residents (Barreto, Ramirez, Woods 2006), established repercussions and banned employers from hiring undocumented workers, and increased border protection (Donato, Durand, Massey 1992). Furthermore, in the early 1990s, those who had obtained legal resident status under IRCA became eligible to naturalize (Barreto, Ramirez, Woods 2006).

This framework set the stage for the anti-immigrant backlash seen in the 1990s and 2000s.

Proposition 187, also known as the “Save our State Initiative”, was one of the anti-immigrant initiatives that emerged in California during the 1990s. Proposition 187 denied public services such as education, healthcare, and other social services to undocumented immigrants, and required public officials to report those they suspected to be undocumented to the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) (DeSipio 1998; Félix, González, Ramírez 2008). Following the passage of Proposition 187 in California, the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Act of 1996 excluded federal programs to legal permanent residents. The Illegal Immigration and Immigrant Responsibility Act of 1996 was signed into federal law increasing border security, and preventing undocumented immigrants from receiving some social services.

The Sensenbrenner Bill (H.R. 4437) proposed to Congress in 2006, called for a wall along the U.S./Mexico border and permitted law enforcement to turn over undocumented individuals to the Immigration and Customs Enforcement (Félix, González, Ramírez 2008; Barreto et al. 2009). Furthermore, the passage of Arizona’s Support Our Law Enforcement and Safe Neighborhoods Act (S.B. 1070) mirrors previous immigration bills, allowing law enforcement officers to prompt individuals for evidence of their legal immigration status.

Responses to Anti-Immigrant Legislation

Much of the contemporary literature focuses on immigrant responses to anti-immigrant legislation in recent years. Some scholars note that immigrants begin to seek naturalization as a way to express themselves politically in politically charged environments (Pantoja, Ramirez, Segura 2001). Barreto, Ramirez, and Woods (2005) suggest that Latinos who decide to naturalize in hostile political climates exhibit higher rates of political participation. Félix, González and Ramírez (2008) discuss the notion that “the federal government’s effort to make naturalization more difficult may in fact be the impetus for immigrants to seek full political membership in the United States” (p. 621).

Michelson and Pallares (2001) explore the notion of “politicization - the process of becoming politically aware and

politically active” (p. 64). One may hypothesize that the “anti-Latino mood” (Michelson and Pallares, 2001 p. 64) established in the 1990s led to an increase in naturalization rates (Johnson et al. 1999). DeSipio and de la Garza (1998) argue that when national policies express anti-immigrant feelings, many immigrants feel the urge to naturalize in order to attain their legal, economic and political rights as American citizens. In the wake of anti-immigrant legislation, immigrants may see naturalization as the only way to protect themselves in this country (Johnson et al. 1999; Yang 1994) and may be a means of empowerment for minorities (Yang 1994). Ong and Lee present the concept of “defensive naturalization” where the community encourages the population to naturalize (Ong, Lee 2007 cited by Felix 2008 p. 621).

LATINOS AND NATURALIZATION

“Naturalization rates among Latinos have been low relative to other immigrant groups (Félix, González, Ramírez 2008; Pachon 1987).” Barreto, Ramírez and Woods (2005) attribute the increase in Latino naturalization rates from 1990 to 2000 to “population growth, the increase in the pool of citizen voting-age population, voter registration mobilization efforts, and a reaction to race-targeting ballot initiative...for awakening the “sleeping giant”...” (p.793). Furthermore, Waslin (2005) reports “only 21% of eligible Mexicans entering the U.S. in the past 20 years have naturalized in comparison to 57% of Asians” (Waslin 2005 cited by Felix 2008, p. 620). Furthermore, Bueker notes that Mexicans living below the poverty line are less likely to naturalize (2005).

CHARACTERISTICS ASSOCIATED WITH NATURALIZATION

Research notes that the longer an individual has been residing in the United States, the more likely they are to naturalize (Johnson et al. 1999, p. 25). Other factors, such as socioeconomic status and education levels also contribute to naturalization rates (Pachon 1987; Johnson et al. 1999, p.13; Michelson and Pallares 2001; Felix, Gonzalez, Ramirez 2008). Logan, Oh and Darrah (2007) account for collective aspects of naturalization such as age, gender, years in US, and homeownership and attempt to

examine the characteristics of how one’s community influences naturalization.

Bloemraad’s model of “structured mobilization” claims that immigrants rely upon social networks to mobilize. These social networks and local organizations influence immigrant opinions about citizenship. She presents the idea of “localized mobilization” and how government policies play a strong role in influencing immigrant decisions to naturalize. Furthermore, the structured mobilization framework explores how citizenship is important to immigrants in gaining a voice in the political system.

Barreto, Ramirez and Woods (2005) suggest that Latino civic organizations were instrumental in increasing Latino naturalization rates from 1990 to 2000. It is also argued that Spanish-language media, in conjunction with Latino organizations, was instrumental in mobilizing and encouraging the immigrant community to naturalize (Félix, González, Ramírez 2008). A primary example of Spanish-language media incorporation in NALEO’s Ya Es Hora ¡Ciudadanía! (YEH) campaign by Univision promoting the YEH workshops on a national level.

The Ya Es Hora Report: Motivation and Barriers for U.S. Citizenship, evaluated USCIS data on naturalization rates in the Top-50 metropolitan areas, based on the 2009 Ya Es Hora ¡Ciudadanía! Naturalization telephone survey. The bilingual telephone survey asked individuals who had previously attended the YEH workshops about the application process, motivating factors for naturalization, demographic and political participation questions. By looking at this data, we are able to see how naturalization rates changed before and after the 2006 marches. The survey provides data on the motivating factors that inspire immigrants to naturalize, and how naturalization barriers are overcome. Among the findings were that English language proficiency still presents a barrier for many applicants and the high cost of the application along with delays with USCIS procedures made it difficult for individuals to complete the citizenship process. The study also examines individual’s motivations to pursue citizenship and the role of family networks in encouraging individuals to apply. Lastly, as supported by the literature, political, legal and civil rights were key motivators for

applicants.

CURRENT STUDY

The Ya Es Hora ¡Ciudadanía! workshops are designed to provide free assistance for individuals to fill out the N-400 (Application for Naturalization). Relying on volunteers and NALEO staff to assist individuals, volunteers are trained to fill out the N-400 correctly. Lawyers are on site to review complex cases to ensure that USCIS will approve the application. Upon arrival, NALEO staff prescreens all prospective participants to ensure that they are eligible to apply for citizenship. Participants for this study were drawn from the National Association of Latino Elected and Appointed Officials Ya Es Hora ¡Ciudadanía! citizenship assistance workshops in Bell Gardens, California and in Houston, Texas.

Since the inception of the Ya Es Hora ¡Ciudadanía! (YEH) campaign in January of 2007, the number of naturalization applications increased by 118% in California, 81% in Houston, and 65% on a national level, which is a testament to YEH's success. This spike in N-400 application submissions increased since 2005, showing a clear jump since the campaign's inception. The campaign includes mass marketing through Spanish media such as Univision, Entravision Communications, and impreMedia. The YEH campaign also incorporates over 300 organizations such as the National Council of La Raza (NCLR), Service Employees International Union (SEIU) and smaller grassroots, local, state and national organizations.

Through an in-depth, in-person investigation at the Ya Es Hora Ciudadania (YEH) workshops in California and Texas, we hope to show that individuals who participate in the YEH workshops have an increased propensity to apply for citizenship.

RESEARCH HYPOTHESES

H1: Individuals will have an increase in positive emotions and decrease in negative emotions after participating in citizenship assistance workshops

H2: Participants will report several different barriers

associated with naturalization, but cost and language will be most prevalent.

H3: Individuals with “support networks” are more likely to pursue citizenship

METHOD

PARTICIPANTS

Participants were drawn from individuals who attended a Ya Es Hora ¡Ciudadanía! workshop in the spring of 2010 in Los Angeles and Houston. All participants were legal permanent residents over the age of 18. A total of 222 individuals turned in a portion of the survey, with 46 dropping out for a final N=176. Houston 1 had 134 individuals attend for N-400 assistance, of those, 90 began the survey and 59 completed the pre and post survey. Houston 2 had 46 participants began the survey at Houston 2, with 37 completing the pre and post survey. Los Angeles had 80 complete the pre and post survey.

PROCEDURE

The study was constructed using qualtrics.com. The study consisted of two survey administered in person. Subject participation was completely voluntary and no monetary compensation was provided. Ya Es Hora ¡Ciudadanía! workshop attendees were each given a two part bilingual survey with a consent form explaining that all data would remain anonymous. It also explained that the study had the approval of USC's International Review Board (IRB).

Survey 1 was taken while participants were waiting to be pre-screened for citizenship assistance by NALEO employees and volunteers. Before beginning the workshop, survey 1 was collected and participants were instructed to fill out survey 2 upon completing their N-400 (Application for Naturalization). A total of 47 questions were asked; 32 questions in survey 1 and 15 questions in the survey 2.

Survey 1 questions included reasons for attending the YEH workshop, personal emotions when thinking about the process of applying for citizenship, the likelihood of completing the citizenship process, and demographic information. Survey

2 questions consisted of a re-evaluation of their feelings and attitudes about the citizenship process, and their perceived likelihood of application submission. Emotion questions were on a 10-point scale. Questions regarding the N-400 were answered on a 7-point likert scale (where 1= very unlikely and 7= very likely). All other questions were coded with 1=yes and 0=no. All data was analyzed using SPSS. Eight emotions were measured on a 10-point likert scale (where 1= not at all and 10= extremely) PANAS measuring their agreement with the emotional statements. Other survey questions were drawn from the Ya Es Hora ¡Ciudadanía! Report. Other items included reasons for attendance, why participants desired to apply for citizenship, perceived USCIS barriers, and demographic characteristics of the participants. Participants were also asked their likelihood of completing the citizenship process on a seven point likert scale (where 1= very unlikely and 7=very likely) survey 1 and survey 2 measure.

OBSERVATIONS

LOS ANGELES: APRIL 24, 2010

At the Bell Gardens Community center workshop participants lined up around the building upon our arrival at 8:15 a.m. The surrounding area was a lower middle class with a new vibrant community center in its center. Each participant was approached individually and handed a survey; many accepted with hesitation. The researcher explained the study and personally handed out each survey, which led to an improved response. Some individuals refused to take the survey or return it citing that they did not know how to read or by communicating that they could not read or understand it. The workshop set-up was held in a gym with tables for volunteers to fill out the N-400. Although the workshop was set to end at 3 p.m., NALEO and Human Rights Campaign volunteers/employees did not leave until each individual was assisted, which in this instance was 5:30 p.m. A lack of volunteers led to several participants leaving because of the 3+ hour wait for N-400 assistance.

HOUSTON 1: MAY 15, 2010

The workshop location was at the Ripley House

Neighborhood Center, in what appeared to be a working class community right outside of Houston. Being heavily promoted by Univision, this workshop had an overflow of people, and doors closed by 11:30 a.m., despite the intense rain. Approximately 100 people were turned away due to a lack of volunteers. They were encouraged to attend an additional workshop they would be conducting on that Wednesday, in order to service those who were turned away. Furthermore, even individuals who had completed pre-screening were asked to return on Wednesday because there were not enough volunteers to process applications by the workshops close at 1 p.m.

Univision interviewed individuals at this workshop as well as Claudia Ortega-Hogue, director of civic engagement for NALEO, about naturalization. Univision reporters asked participants about their feelings regarding S.B. 1070 and naturalization. This news clip aired the same day across the nation, which is a testament to NALEO's use of Spanish media networks to promote naturalization.

Most individuals were willing to take the survey. On one instant, as I approached people, introduced myself, and explained the purpose of the survey an elderly man refused to take the survey. However, the young man sitting next to this elderly man nudged him and told him in Spanish "its for her school project" and then the man grudgingly complied. Most participants seemed to be somewhat more bilingual than at Los Angeles and Houston 2 workshops. I also noted a lower literacy rate for these individuals, as many approached me saying that they wanted to fill out the survey but required assistance because they were illiterate. Some participants were also unable to fill out any of the pre-registration worksheets given to them by NALEO employees, which made the workshop process individuals much slower. One aspect of these workshops that was unique from the Los Angeles workshops was that there were advertisers for health care and immigrant advocate groups tabling to workshop attendees.

HOUSTON 2: MAY 20, 2010

This workshop was also located at the brand new Baker-Ripley Neighborhood Center in a working class neighborhood outside Houston. At this workshop, there was a higher rate of

individuals who hesitated to take the survey and many who did not have any interest in participating in the survey. Furthermore, attendance was lower at this workshop but had a greater number of volunteers, which enabled the workshop to end by 12 p.m. This workshop was also unique because USCIS was present. USCIS conducted mock interviews and had a question and answer period with participants while they waited to be called to fill out their N-400. USCIS had their community officer in attendance, and they were instructed to not ask questions regarding workshop participant's immigration status. Their role was to simply to educate and communicate the message that they were an advocate and help for the community and not something to fear.

RESULTS

PARTICIPANT DEMOGRAPHICS N= 222

Participant Demographics	
Country of Origin	
Mexico	70%
El Salvador	10%
Guatemala	9%
Honduras	6%
Other	6%
Marital Status	
Single	22%
Married	61%
Divorced	16%
Widowed	2%
Age of Migration	
Under 17	19.8%
18-24	29.7%
25-34	17.1%
35-44	7.7%
45-54	2.7%
55-64	1.8%
65+	.5%
Level of Education	
Middle School or Less	39%
Some High School	27%
Some College	24%
College	9%
Income Level	
Less than \$15,000	24%
\$15,000-\$29,999	32%
\$30,000-\$44,999	19%
\$45,000-59,999	12%
Over \$60,000	14%

The overall completion rate for both survey 1 and survey 2 was 80%. The mean age for respondents was 40 years old with 44% female and 56% male. The majority of participant's country of origin was Mexico at 70% and 10% from El Salvador. Furthermore, 61% of respondents were married, 22% were single, 16% divorced, and 2% widowed. Of those who were married, 43% were married to a U.S. citizen. It is also interesting to see that almost 40% of respondents migrated to the United States between the ages of 18-24. Over 50% of respondents completed some high school or less. 56% of respondents had income levels below \$30,000. Furthermore, 51% of participants owned their own home.

INFORMATION

73% of respondents were self-identified first time applicants. 80% of individuals did not know what they should be doing to pursue citizenship. Respondents reported that they learned about YEH through various communication methods. An overwhelming 65.1% of respondents learned about YEH through television. 9.6% found out through the newspaper, and 7.3% through friend/family member.

LIKELIHOOD

An ANOVA showed that participants who were referred by a friend or family member had a greater increase in their likelihood to apply for citizenship than those who were not referred by a friend or family member $F(1,145) = 2.812, p=.096$, which was approaching significance. There was no significant difference in participant's likelihood to complete the citizenship process based on their workshop participation. LA and Houston 1 reported a higher likelihood to complete the N-400 than Houston 2 $F(2, 153) = 2.4, p=.094$, also approaching significance.

REASONS TO APPLY FOR CITIZENSHIP

Participants noted a wide-variety of reasons for applying for citizenship. Answers to open-ended questions included: "Feeling more American is #1", "I am proud to live in this country", "I long to be a citizen", "to fully integrate myself into U.S. society" showing a desire for American political incorporation. Other reasons included "to not be discriminated"

and “to feel secure living in the US”. Over 75% of respondents primary reason for applying was to be able to vote. Less than 15% of respondents noted the least predominant reason was to reunite with family. Other responses indicated security and prevention of discrimination as primary reasons. Additionally, respondent’s value being “American” and citizenship were expressed. 50% chose to apply for U.S. citizenship for legal, political and civil rights.

Perceived UCIS Barriers

Reason for Attending YEH

Overall Discomfort with Citizenship process	67%
Expensive Application Fee	66%
Hard to Read or Understand	83%
Questions about the N-400	82%

PERCEIVED USCIS BARRIERS

67% of respondents cited their primary reason for attending YEH was their overall discomfort with the citizenship process. 66% of respondents agreed that the ‘application fee was too expensive’. Furthermore, 83% of respondents cited their reason for attending a YEH workshop was due to USCIS forms being ‘hard to read and understand’. Also, 82% of respondents noted that they had questions regarding the N-400. Participants noted that even if the N-400 were offered in Spanish, over 65% of respondents indicated that they would be still ‘very likely’ to attend YEH.

EMOTIONS

A series of paired samples t-tests were used in order to measure a change in attitude among respondents. There was a significant change in the emotions nervousness and apprehension according to PANAS. Respondents felt less apprehensive $t(143)=2.482, p=.014$ and less nervous $t(120)=2.011, p=.047$ after participating in YEH workshop. However, it is important to note that there was no significant change for the six other emotions measured. Emotions that did not show a significant change included excited, happy, hopeful, scared, tired and worried.

WORKSHOP EFFECTIVENESS

A One-Way ANOVA was used to evaluate likelihood to complete the citizenship process. There was no significant difference found, showing that individual’s likelihood to complete the citizenship process did not change through participating in a Ya Es Hora ¡Ciudadanía! workshop. However, a One-Way ANOVA showed that Los Angeles and Houston 1 respondents reported a higher likelihood to complete the N-400 than respondents in Houston 2 $F(2,153) = 2.4, p=.094$, approaching significance.

IMPLICATIONS

When looking at the data collected, it is important to note that no study has been done to assess the immediate effects of participating in a citizenship assistance workshop. Therefore, the data for this study is being used to create a profile of participants and to form a narrative for individuals that are pursuing citizenship through these workshops. Open-ended questions suggest that many feel an urge to naturalize in order to become incorporated in the United States and avoid discrimination. This may be an effect of the current political climate filled with negative sentiments about immigrants.

Hypothesis 1 (H1), individuals will have an increase in positive emotions and decrease in negative emotions after participating in the workshops was partially supported by this study. YEH workshops only decrease nervousness and apprehension and do not have an effect on any of the other emotions. There was no increase in any of the positive emotions measured, which may suggest participants experience no positive emotions associated with the citizenship process. This may be attributed to their uncertainty of passing the exam and the complex nature of the process. Furthermore, language is still a formidable barrier for participants, even when assistance is available, showing that the population studied is uncomfortable with the process, which may effect their emotions. I also believe that because of the low educational levels of the sample population, a pre and post survey evaluating emotions may not have been as effective of an assessment because often times participants were puzzled with the format of the survey or the Spanish translation.

LIMITATIONS

Hypothesis 2 (H2), cost and language will be most prevalent barriers associated with naturalization is supported by the findings in the survey. Cost and language are prominent barriers in the citizenship process and these findings support the literature, which believes the naturalization process to have multiple barriers for applicants. Furthermore, these barriers are important to note given the demographics of the participants. With 50% of participants making less than \$30,000 a year, the application fee at \$675 per person is a huge obstacle. It is important to note that the federal poverty rate is \$22,000 for a family of four according to the US Department of Health and Human Services. This translates into 12% of a family's yearly total income if a family with this income level were to naturalize together.

Hypothesis 3 (H3), individuals with "support networks" are more likely to pursue citizenship, found minimal support in this study. Participants who were referred by a friend or family member had a greater increase in their likelihood to apply for citizenship than those who were not referred by a friend or family member, approaching significance. Future questions must assess the roles of support networks like family and community. However, one may argue that the community workshops may be seen as a support network for participants because of participant familiarity with the workshop and sponsoring organization, language spoken by employees and comfort level. Participant comfort level could be associated with NALEO's prominent use of Spanish language media and its positive relationship to the Latino community.

Further studies must assess the differences seen in workshop effectiveness by locations. Data from this study was unable to measure the contributing factors that played into this distinction, as emotions, income and education levels were not correlated with this difference. However, it is important to note that the only visible difference between locations was seen in the workshop structure. Subsequent studies should measure the effect that USCIS has on workshop participants, since USCIS's presence conducting mock interviews was the primary difference in all three workshops. However, further analysis and additional measures would need to be constructed in order to evaluate this finding.

Limitations for this study include the factors that contributed to the small sample size. Four locations were initially planned, however, the Escondido, California workshop was scheduled for April 24th, 2010 and not attended. Due to a high anti-immigrant climate in the area, which included two reported raids the night before in the workshop community, a total of only four individuals showed up for citizenship assistance. Furthermore, the Escondido and Los Angeles workshop occurred the day after the passage of S.B. 1070. The passage of S.B. 1070 did not seem to have a negative effect on the Los Angeles workshop. The Escondido workshop, with the immigration raids the night prior combined with the passage of S.B. 1070 may have had an impact on workshop attendance.

Due to the low educational attainment of the sample population, 39% having attended middle school or less, there was difficulty in administering a survey to a population that had low literacy. Often, participants would return the survey because they were unable to understand and complete it. Also, the language and wording of the survey may have been too technical and not at the proper reading level of the participants. This may account for much of the item non-responses, which may have affected the results. Many individuals had questions regarding the wording of the question, or did not understand the Spanish translations to words such as 'aprensivo' (apprehensive).

Furthermore, educational attainment also played a role in the structure and administration of the pre and post survey. Oftentimes, participants did understand why they were being asked the same questions twice in both survey sets. Also, I had to monitor participants and ensure that they did not fill out both surveys at once, or fill them out in the wrong order.

Lastly, it is important to note that this survey did not collect any identifying information. Therefore, we are only able to assess the immediate effectiveness and perceptions of prospective citizenship applicants, because no follow-up measure was created. This was due to time constraints associated with this project.

AREAS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

Given the educational attainment among survey respondents, a better method of assessing their feelings and perceptions of the citizenship process in a clearer manner would be to do qualitative interviews. Interviews would allow respondents to communicate their feelings more concisely and accurately. Furthermore, a more effective way to measure perceptions through the naturalization process would be to survey participants at the beginning of a *Ya Es Hora ¡Ciudadanía!* workshop and after they complete the citizenship process. Steps should also be taken to compare different citizenship assistance workshops and the various methods they employ. Furthermore, measures should be constructed to evaluate perceptions associated with citizenship before participating in the workshop, after participating in the workshop, and after completing or not completing the citizenship process. This would allow for a thorough narrative of the process and what factors contribute to participant's ultimately attaining or not attaining citizenship.

CONCLUSION

The purpose of this study was to create a narrative of citizenship assistance workshops and their effect on potential citizenship applicants. This population is motivated to pursue citizenship to attain their legal and political rights and to be incorporated into U.S. society. These workshops prove to be important for the immigrant community due to their high numbers of attendance, perceived effectiveness and the ability to give immigrants the tools to naturalize successfully. This study highlights the success of NALEO's implementation of Spanish-media networks, collaboration with USCIS, and successful organization of their workshops. Further study is needed to compare the effectiveness of various citizenship assistance workshops in order to maximize their impact on the community. It is important to continue the study of the naturalization process in order to have an influence on the current immigration

debate. By creating a dialogue of the citizenship application and naturalization process, the barriers the immigrant population faces when naturalizing are highlighted in order for positive change to be implemented.

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THE ROLE OF CALPAIN IN NEUROBLASTOMA METASTASIS



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Neuroblastoma is one of the most common tumors that develop in children, and by the time this disease is diagnosed, 70% of the patients already have neuroblastoma metastasis in other parts of their bodies, usually the bone marrow. Children are vulnerable to metastatic cancers due to active bone tissues and abundant growth factors that promote cell growth and proliferation. Consequently, multiple forms and combinations of treatments are used to treat this type of cancer, including radiation and chemotherapy. There is activation of the brain-derived neurotrophic factor (BDNF) receptor for the tyrosine kinase (TrkB) neurotrophin by the amplified MCYN gene, which is expressed in many patients. This has been shown to inhibit apoptosis initiated by chemotherapy, therefore making neuroblastoma cell lines resistant to chemotherapy, a feature indicating a poor prognosis for these patients. BDNF has recently been shown to activate calpain through MAP Kinase-mediated phosphorylation, resulting in actin polymerization, increased cell motility, and possibly increased metastatic behavior; interestingly, calpain inhibitors prevent the effect of BDNF on actin polymerization. This study tested the hypothesis that high calpain activity resulting from TrkB stimulation correlates with increased chemoresistance in a neuroblastoma cell line. Quantitative analysis of immunoblots was used to determine the effects of BDNF and interleukin-6 (IL-6) on the TrkB, ERK, and calpain pathways in a human neuroblastoma cell line. If this hypothesis is correct, incorporating calpain inhibitors in cancer treatment could improve patient recovery.

INTRODUCTION

About 25% of newly diagnosed neuroblastoma patients are one-year old and younger. When this form of cancer is diagnosed, 70% of the patients already have cancers that have metastasized, usually in the bone marrow. Chemotherapy, a traditional cancer treatment, is commonly ineffective against metastasized neuroblastoma because proteins that normally help to support and stimulate the growth of neuronal cells will inhibit apoptotic action initiated by chemotherapy. Many underlying trends are attributed to the progression of the disease, but little is known about its exact components and mechanisms, especially regarding how to treat and decrease the rate of tumor metastasis. Targets of investigation for this disease include brain-derived neurotrophic factor (BDNF), interleukin-6, and calpain. These proteins lead to a faster rate of cancer development and metastasis. The protease calpain has been proposed to participate in long-term potentiation (LTP), which is involved in the formation of memory in the brain, but can also cause apoptosis and programmed cell death. Activation of the receptor for the neurotrophin BDNF, tyrosine kinase (TrkB), has also been shown to participate in chemoresistant neuroblastoma. This has led to studies of CEP-751, an inhibitor of TrkB, for the treatment of neuroblastoma, and this compound is currently in phase I clinical trial for aggressive neuroblastoma tumors.

Neurological studies of the mechanisms of memory along with current cancer research might provide hindsight for a new cure or treatment for normally chemoresistant neuroblastoma. The interdisciplinary fields of oncology and neuroscience can come together to bring new approaches to the study of a complex system of cancer. Furthermore, understanding the roles of BDNF and calpain in the brain might help to explain the roles of these proteins in neuroblastoma as well as in other forms of cancer, such as leukemia, that also metastasize in microenvironments far from the primary site of cancer onset. This could lead to improvement for the estimated 350,000 patients who die annually from the metastasis of cancer in bones, a site unique due to the presence of hematopoietic stem cells (HSCs) that differentiate and spread throughout the human body.

Analyzing the links between TrkB and calpain in various neuroblastoma cell lines could aid in understanding the pathophysiology of a cancer that prevents children from maturing and experiencing the fullness of life. Although calpain plays a role in cleaving adhesion molecules and has been proposed to increase tumor metastasis, studies have not yet analyzed calpain activity in neuroblastoma, which is commonly chemoresistant and diagnosed after metastasis. I hypothesize that the SKNB3 and CHCA-225 cell lines, which are chemoresistant, will exhibit significant amounts of calpain activation.

LITERATURE REVIEW

NEUROBLASTOMA

Neuroblastoma is one of the most common tumors that develop in children. Development of this potentially fatal cancer begins during embryonic development and affects the sympathetic nervous system, which controls functions such as the flight-or-flight response under stress and homeostasis, starting from the adrenal medulla that secretes hormones. Those with neuroblastoma typically have genetic variations, classifying the disease into two categories: the more rare, familial form that is autosomal dominant with known gene and chromosome mutations such as in the MYCN gene on chromosome 17 and the heterozygous form with no common gene mutations that are agreed upon and can be the result of environmental factors in addition to different gene mutations. Moreover, amplification of the MYCN gene on chromosome 17 is frequently seen in patients with poor cancer prognosis.^{5,6} Those with additional chromosome segments normally have spontaneous regression and a more mild form of the disease, but a missing component of a chromosome is generally indicative of a metastatic trend. , Characteristics of children who are diagnosed with the high-risk version of the disease include: age greater than one year, augmentation of the MYCN gene, and metastases already developed in other parts of the body causing fever, pain in the bones, limping, fatigue, and bruises. , , , Although the more severe effects of the disease and a poor prognosis are commonly found in patients with the amplification of the MYCN gene, the fast tumor development is also found in younger patients who

have the earlier stages of the disease.⁷

Infants under a year of age who are diagnosed with neuroblastoma typically have localized tumors, either in the thoracic or adrenal sites, and have a better outcome compared to those who are older than a year of age at diagnosis. , Conversely, older children diagnosed with the disease have their primary tumors located in the adrenal gland, but the disease is spread throughout other parts of the body. The survival rate for children with neuroblastoma over the long-term is only 15%. Studies on mass screenings worldwide show that the techniques used to reveal neuroblastoma rarely are successful at identifying tumors early, therefore increasing the screening for this form of cancer has not significantly improved the mortality rate of the disease.⁵ Once patients are diagnosed with this disease, treatment can be given in the form of chemotherapy, surgery, radiology, and biotherapy. Mere observation can also be used depending on the clinical disease features of the patient as well as the displayed biological parameters, although treatment based on biological factors is more common. Research has showed that survival from high-risk neuroblastoma can be enhanced when radiotherapy and high-dose chemotherapy are jointly used, followed with a bone-marrow transplant that is autologous, or provided by oneself, versus the use of chemotherapy alone.

PRODUCTION FROM A MICROENVIRONMENT— NEUROBLASTOMA METASTASIS & CHEMORESISTANCE

Metastasis was first described by Stephen Paget's 1889 "seed and soil" theory in which the seed is able to grow and be nurtured in the fertile environment of soil just as tumor cells can develop in the microenvironment of an organ when they are well-suited. Cancer cells invade local tissues by losing cell-to-cell adhesion from the primary tumor, enabling the cells to be carried to other parts of the body through the circulatory system. The tumor cells accumulate with platelets and blood cells, ultimately halting in an area and exiting circulation to inhabit the metastatic site.

The bone, which is a tissue made up of collagen and minerals, is highly resistant to destruction, but it can also be the fertile soil for tumor development during childhood. Much growth takes place in the earlier years of a child's life. There are

many growth factors in the bone matrix, leaving children with very active bone tissues that undergo constant changes. When there is bone metastasis, the remodeling of the bone tissues active in children is conflicted in terms of balancing the osteoblasts that form bones with the osteoclasts that degrade bones. The bone marrow is also a major location of stem cells, which are important in tumor progression because the pluripotent stem cells and the environment enable cancer cells to proliferate. , The amplification and increased expression of the MYCN gene in many neuroblastoma patients has been known to increase Twist, a transcription factor that results in the migration and differentiation of neurons. Twist helps neuroblastoma cells survive even in environments that support apoptosis, or the cell death of the neurons, such as under hypoxia and contact with apoptosis-inducing chemotherapy drugs.

NEUROTROPHIC TYROSINE KINASE (TRKB) AND BRAIN-DERIVED NEUROTROPHIC FACTOR (BDNF)

Neurotrophic tyrosine kinase, also known as TrkB receptor, is part of a family of proteins called neurotrophins, which activate pathways in order to support cell survival.¹⁶ Brain-derived neurotrophic factor (BDNF) is also a neurotrophin that assists in the survival and growth of cells, as well as the differentiation into new brain cells, or neurons. BDNF is a ligand, or protein that binds to and phosphorylates different receptors on the surface of cells such as low-affinity nerve growth factor receptors and TrkB receptors. Studies have shown that neuroblastoma patients with the presence of amplified MYCN gene expression generally have full-length TrkB and BDNF and an unfavorable prognosis.¹⁶ High expressions of both TrkB and BDNF correspond to a greater metastatic and invasive ability by increasing the motility and survival of the cancer cells. The neurotrophin receptor TrkA is a favorable indicator when it has high expression because it might be mediating apoptosis or cell differentiation in tumors, whereas highly expressed TrkB is associated with the survival of cancer cells and unfavorable tumors.⁵ The activation of TrkB signals through several other proteins, such as mitogen activated protein kinase (MAPK), keep cells from apoptosis initiated by chemotherapy. , BDNF can also help neuroblastoma cells invade

the bone because it can be made by the bone marrow and results in the increase of osteoclast activation and chemoresistance in the microenvironment provided by the bone marrow, such as what is seen in breast cancer, prostate cancer, and breast cancer. , Together, TrkB and BDNF are part of an autocrine signaling pathway, sending chemical signals and binding receptors on the same cell, but their roles in this pathway are suspected to increase drug resistance and cause angiogenesis, the production of new blood vessels from pre-existing cells. ,

Actin is a protein that is found in almost all eukaryotic cells, making up filaments for the cytoskeleton, playing roles in muscle contraction and cell motility, and many other functions. This accounts for the role of actin in the metastasis of cancer. Studies have shown that BDNF in cultured neurons increases the amount of actin polymerization. , Studies in hippocampal slices of mice have also shows that BDNF is able to activate the pathways that lead to actin polymerization.

INTERLEUKIN-6 (IL-6)

Interleukin-6 is part of a group of cytokines that are released as part of the local immune response of the body, acting with both pro- and anti-inflammatory roles. IL-6 is produced according to the diet, exercise, and stress on the body, increasing as much as 100-fold during exercise. Elevated expression of IL-6 in organs such as the lungs, brain, and liver can cause circulating tumor cells to be attracted to these organs, leading to the development of metastatic tumors.⁶ Neuroblastoma cells can cause the bone marrow to produce IL-6 by releasing soluble factors, triggering IL-6 as another strong osteoclast activating factor. Signal transducer and transcription activator (STAT-3) is a protein involved in signaling pathways that is activated by IL-6, whose presences promotes the production of many inflammatory other proteins such as IL-10 that are able to help tumor cells escape surveillance and control by the immune system with cytotoxic T-cells and natural killer cells. It has been shown that IL-6 that is produced by bone marrow stromal cells, which are stem cells, stimulates the metastasis of neuroblastoma cells and defends the cancer cells from drug-induced apoptosis by increasing the transcription of the apoptosis inhibitor. ,

CALPAIN

Calpain is a calcium dependent protease that comes in different forms, two of which are μ -calpain or calpain1 and m-calpain or calpain2, named after the micro- and millimolar concentrations in which they are needed in order to bind to similar substrates. They play important roles in a variety of physiological and pathological mechanisms, such as in learning and memory as well as neurodegeneration. , As support for the seed and soil theory, calpain is able to create tiny holes in a membrane covering blood vessels, allowing cancer cells to progress and metastasize. , Many proteases are involved in the movement of cells, but calpain specifically plays a critical role in metastasis development.⁴³ , A protein that dephosphorylates calpain, called Protein Phosphatase 2A /C has been shown to reduce the activity of calpain and therefore reduces the migration and invasion of human lung cancer cells. Calpain activated by BDNF has also been shown to be involved with actin polymerization in various cell types, and consequently, calpain inhibitors are able to prevent the effect of BDNF on actin polymerization. , In a study by Roumes et. al, when calpain1 and calpain2 were inhibited in alveolar and embryonal rhabdomyosarcoma, a soft-tissue cancer, the expression of α - and β -actin were reduced, as was the migration velocities of the cancer cells and the invasive behavior of the cell lines.

While the studies of tumor metastasis mentioned were done with different cancers and cell cultures, this study will examine calpain's effect on the mechanisms and proteins indicated to be involved with human neuroblastoma cells. Because positive results support and confirm the use of calpain inhibitors in decreasing TrkB and BDNF activation consistently, this experiment can show preliminary results for eventually decreasing the likelihood of human neuroblastoma metastasis. This would enable traditional cancer treatments such as chemotherapy to be used more effectively.

METHODS

The SKNB3 cell line brain tissue samples are from Dr. Yves De Clerck in Pediatric Hematology-Oncology, collected from the Pediatrics department at the Los Angeles Children's Hospital.

<i>Experiment 1</i>	<i>Experiment 2</i>
Control	Control
Calpain inhibitor III	Calpain inhibitor III
Calpain inhibitor III + Interleukin-6	Calpain inhibitor III + BDNF
Interleukin-6	BDNF

Table 1. Treatment Regimens

Samples were treated as shown in the table above in order to observe the effects of certain conditions and proteins on calpain activity.

A concentration of 50ng/mL of BDNF, 10 μ M calpain inhibitor III, and 50ng/mL IL-6 were used in the respective treatment groups. Groups that included calpain inhibitor were treated for 15 minutes and then washed out if they included other treatments, whereas groups that included IL-6 and BDNF were treated for 30 minutes. Bicinchoninic acid (BCA) Protein Assay (Thermo Scientific) was used in order to determine the protein concentration in the samples acquired. The concentrations were then diluted and dye is added in order to use the same amount of protein and to see them run in Western Blot. Western Blot is the use of gel electrophoresis to run a protein homogenate through the polymers in the gel for analysis. All the samples will be analyzed with two different antibodies: (1) spectrin to see if calpain is activated, (2) actin to show whether the loading technique was good and that the same amount of protein was loaded into each well of the gel.

Running Western gels: Mini Trans-Blot Western Blotting Systems from Bio-Rad were used. 10% SDS-PAGE (sodium dodecyl sulfate) gels were made. With the protein concentrations retrieved using the BCA protein assay results, 35-45 μ g of protein extraction were loaded one sample per well in the gel. 1x running buffer solution was made and put into the tank.

The tank's lid was put on according to the matching electrodes and attached to the power supply so that the gels could be run at 100V with the time depending on the ladder band associated with the density and voltage needed for the protein of interest. Blotting: Polyvinylidene Fluoride (PVDF) membranes are soaked in methanol for 30 seconds in order to be activated. They are then rinsed with ddH₂O and then equilibrated in 1x transfer buffer for at least 5 minutes. The gels are then transferred at 100V for 1.5 hours at 4oC.

Blocking the membrane: In order to block non-specific binding sites, the PVDF is then immersed in a blocking buffer solution (5% non-fat dried milk in 0.1%(v/v) Tween 20 in TBST) for 1 hour at room temperature on an orbital shaker.

Primary antibody incubation: The primary antibodies are diluted in TBST (1:5,000 for spectrin, 1:10,000 for actin, 1: etc.). 15mL of the diluted antibody are put into containers with the PVDF membrane on an orbital shaker overnight at 4oC. The membranes are then washed 3 times for 10 minutes at a time with fresh changes of 1X TBST at room temperature.

Secondary antibody incubation: The horseradish peroxidase-labeled (HRP) secondary antibodies are diluted in 5% non-fat dried milk according to the same dilutions used for the primary antibodies. 15mL of this dilution is used to incubate the membranes for 1 hour at room temperature on an orbital shaker. The membranes are then washed 3 times for 10 minutes at a time with fresh changes of 1X TBST at room temperature.

Detection: The Odyssey Infrared Imaging System from LI-COR Biosciences was used to analyze the PVDF membranes by adjusting the intensity and gamma of the scanning system in order to minimize the amount of background noise and nonspecific binding. The program that comes with the system was then used to analyze the density of the resulting bands from the Western Blotting.

RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

To determine the calpain activity in chemoresistant neuroblastoma cell lines by assessing IL-6 and BDNF effects on calpain levels downstream. We hypothesize that high calpain activity is present in chemoresistant SKNB3 and CHCA-225

RESULTS

SKNB3 Cell Line

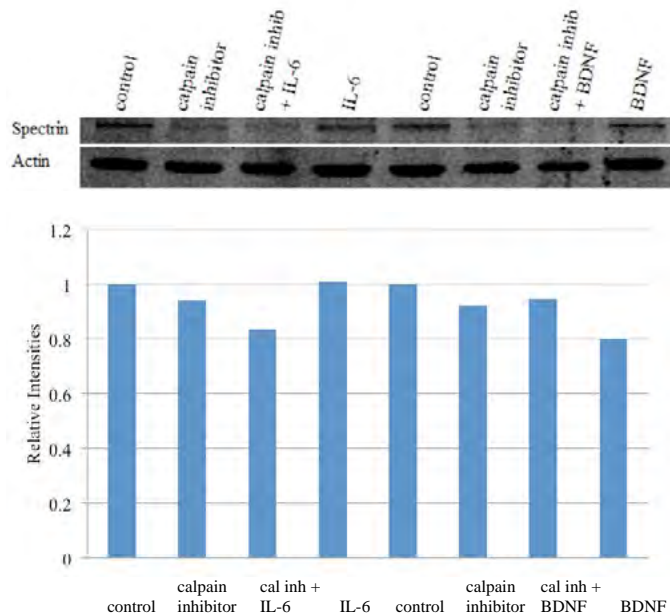


Figure 1. Calpain activation after IL-6, BDNF, and calpain inhibitor III treatment in the SKNB3 chemoresistant neuroblastoma cell line. Samples were pre-treated with calpain inhibitor III (10 μ M) for 15 minutes and IL-6 (50ng/mL) or BDNF (50ng/mL) for 30 minutes. Samples were subsequently run through Western blotting with spectrin and actin antibodies and the spectrin breakdown products that were calpain specific were quantified with percentages as part of the control values.

After normalizing the amount of spectrin break-down products with actin, the sample treated with IL-6 did not show a significant increase in calpain activity in comparison to the control and the sample treated with BDNF actually showed a decrease in calpain activity in comparison to the control sample. When referencing the gel, samples with calpain-inhibitor have less spectrin breakdown products than the control samples. Samples with calpain inhibitor-3 did show a quantitative decrease in calpain activity in comparison from the calpain in the control groups.

CHCA-225 Cell Line

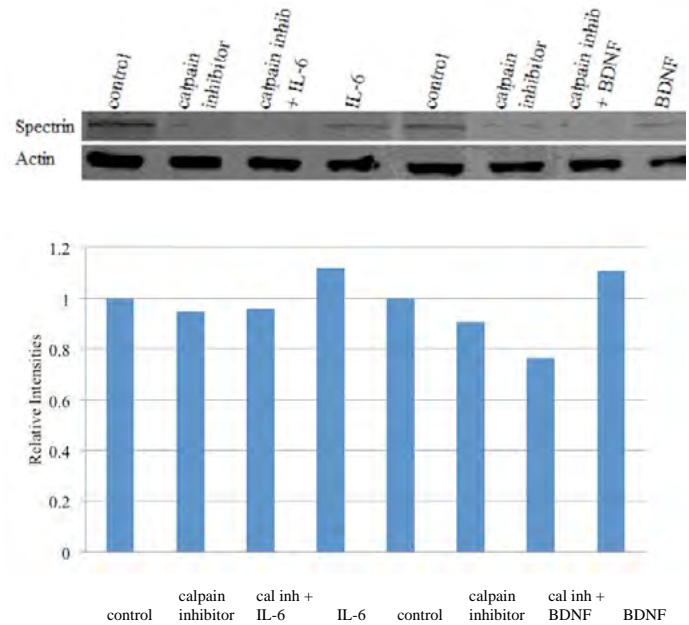


Figure 2. Calpain activation after IL-6, BDNF, and calpain inhibitor III treatment in the CHCA-225 chemoresistant neuroblastoma cell line. Samples were pre-treated with calpain inhibitor III (10 μ M) for 15 minutes and IL-6 (50ng/mL) or BDNF (50ng/mL) for 30 minutes. Samples were subsequently run through Western blotting with spectrin and actin antibodies and the spectrin breakdown products that were calpain specific were quantified with percentages as part of the control values.

The CHCA-225 cell line showed small increases in calpain activity for the samples treated with IL-6 and BDNF. The sample with calpain inhibitor-3 and BDNF showed the least amount of calpain activity.

DISCUSSION

INTERLEUKIN-6 TREATED NEUROBLASTOMA CELL LINES

The interleukin-6 treatment increased calpain activity in the CHCA-225 but not in the SKNB cell line. An increase in IL-6 is one of the causes for the metastatic behavior of

neuroblastoma.⁶ Because the increases in calpain activity were not steep, especially that within the SKNB3, there is reason to believe that calpain activity in the cell lines even before treatment of the samples was already high. High initial calpain activity is also consistent with the common metastatic trend in neuroblastoma patients.^{53,54} Consistence and significance might be obtained from cell lines treated with interleukin-6 with more trials, and if proven significant, more investigation might be prompted for the maintenance of metastasis in neuroblastoma patients with non-steroidal anti-inflammatory agents, such as ibuprofen or more specific pharmaceuticals.

BDNF TREATED NEUROBLASTOMA CELL LINES

The inconsistent amount of calpain activity between chemoresistant neuroblastoma cell lines, 0.80322 and 1.108047 for SKNB3 and CHCA-225 respectively, can lead to different interpretations. There might not be a large change in calpain activity in either the positive or negative direction because an increased expression and activation of BDNF and TrkB is characteristic of cell lines with the mutated MCYN gene commonly found in neuroblastoma patients,¹⁶ and it has been shown that BDNF increases calpain activity in cell cultures,⁵⁴ also showing that there might have been high calpain activity before treatment of the samples. Although there might be increased expressions of BDNF and Trk B receptors as a result of amplified MYCN gene, the treatment of BDNF without additional Trk B receptors might have inhibited the calpain activity in the samples.

CALPAIN INHIBITION

Because none of the samples were treated with calpain and the samples treated with calpain inhibitors consistently showed a decrease in calpain activity, there is a definite amount of calpain activity in the cells to begin with. If more information on calpain activity in these chemoresistant cell lines can be obtained in the future, developments might be made for the maintenance of metastasis using calpain inhibitors.

Limitations

The preliminary nature of this experiment introduces a variety of ways to improve upon the results in the future. More

samples can be collected for multiple trials with the treatments and more antibodies can be used to probe for other proteins involved with the molecular pathways that bring together IL-6, BDNF, and calpain, such as phosphorylated extracellular signal-related kinase and Tyrosine Kinase B. Additionally, more chemoresistant cell lines can be tested to see if a common calpain activity trend can be found and thus treatment can be explored to help those with chemoresistant neuroblastoma that is likely to be metastatic.

Due to the complexity of the immunoblotting process, multiple areas were prone to mistakes during the two-day experimental process. Some of the specific errors are not limited to the improper preparation of the dyes used to dilute the samples, the transferring of the proteins from the gel to the PVDF membranes, and over-washing or not incubating the membranes with adequate time.

CONCLUSION

Calpain activity was increased in the IL-6 treated samples in both cell lines as well as the BDNF treated sample from the CHCA-225 cell line, showing inconsistent results, but high initial calpain activity in both chemoresistant cell lines. The role of calpain in tumor metastasis has become a topic of great interest; one which requires great investigation. It was demonstrated that the area of calpain warrants further investigation due to the initial amount of calpain in the chemoresistant cell lines. Future studies entail the use of other antibodies and subsequently the collection of more samples for significant results. If there is indeed a significant increase in calpain activity in chemoresistant neuroblastoma cell lines, implementation of treatments inhibiting calpain might be used to maintain metastasis in patients for whom a common form of cancer treatment has been ineffective. The disease has been notorious for creating chemoresistance in combination with metastatic behavior, and it is possible that if metastasis can be controlled, additional treatments and further improvements are sure to follow.

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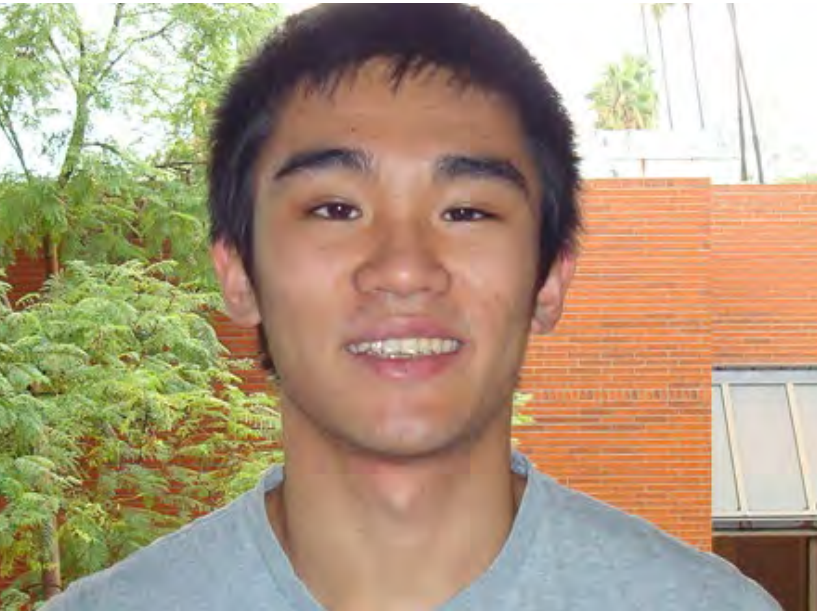
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RESISTING THE GROWTH MACHINE: ESPERANZA COMMUNITY HOUSING CORPORATION AND THE L.A. LIVE CBA



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Political economists frame the city as a growth machine in which land is treated as a commodity by elites to increase population and revenue. The coalition of growth proponents includes government officials and developers who control land use and the price of housing. This pursuit of growth, once away from the urban core and now towards it, has led to increased rents and displacement of low-income residents in the central business districts of many cities. In 2001, community residents and organizations in the South Los Angeles central business districts signed a landmark contract with the developers of the multi-million dollar Staples Center Los Angeles Live expansion project. This research is a case-study of Esperanza Community Housing Corporation and its role in resisting the effects of growth in South Los Angeles. It provides scholars, government officials, developers, and activists insight for future community benefits negotiations on affordable housing and an on-the-ground perspective of the growth machine.

INTRODUCTION

HOUSING AFFORDABILITY AND GROWTH

“Being poor is a state of mind, not a condition”

Quote from Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, Alphonso Jackson

In 2004, the Bush Administration Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) Secretary, Alphonso Jackson, responded to a Financial Service committee member’s question by stating “that he doesn’t talk about housing the poor because ‘being poor is a state of mind, not a condition’” (Services, 2004). The Secretary holds a responsibility to ensure that housing remains accessible to all citizens. Yet his statement betrays a common, but misguided understanding of the structural factors that have shaped the current lack of shelter affordability for low-income households in the United States.

On the federal level, U.S. housing, lending, and transportation policies have separated metropolitan areas along racial and gender lines (Jackson, 1985). Families of color and female-led households barred from receiving loans to pay for home-mortgages, effectively trapping these groups in economically and physically decaying parts of metropolitan areas (Jackson, 1985). As formal discriminatory practices were eliminated, housing covenants and informal steering practices continued the work of reinforcing de facto spatial segregation (Jackson, 1985). Studies have shown that large development projects, particularly those in the central business district of cities, have caused further complications for these communities. The process of urban renewal for the construction of such projects has destroyed affordable housing, disbanded cultural networks of racial minorities, harmed the mental health of the displaced, and ushered in low-wage part time jobs (Friedan & Sagalyn, 1989; Gans, 1962; Rosentraub, Swindell, Przybylski, & Mullins, 1994).

Development projects provide a critical understanding of the priorities of a city’s political and economic elite. The state’s use of eminent domain and financial subsidies in collaboration with developers also highlights the nature of the relationship between elites in urban politics (Logan & Molotch, 1987). Political economists argue that development near the central business districts of cities are largely for-profit, drive

up aggregate rents, and are meant to attract wealth for elites (politicians, developers, and local media) that make up the growth coalition (Feagin & Parker, 1990; Logan & Molotch, 1987). Additionally, large-scale developments offer a lens from which to view the unequal power struggle between developers and the residents and businesses that a project will affect. While more affluent communities may have the resources to reject changes they find unfavorable, low-income neighborhoods are pitted against proponents of growth, but with much less political and financial influence (Logan & Molotch, 1987). However, with the emergence of the Community Benefits Agreement (CBA), the relationship between low-income neighborhoods and developers has changed (Baxamusa, 2008; Gross, LeRoy, & Janis-Aparicio, 2002).

COMMUNITY BENEFITS AGREEMENTS: THE FIGHT FOR HOUSING AFFORDABILITY

A CBA is a legally binding contract to extract tangible economic and environmental benefits from development projects in return for the support of local community organizations (P. Salkin, 2007). It is signed between a developer and local community organizations and generally addresses a wide range of issues including affordable housing, local job hiring, and fair wages (Gross, et al., 2002; LeRoy & Purinton, 2005). While CBAs were originally initiated by grassroots advocacy organizations, in recent years, they have also been used by developers to pre-empt community backlash and garner public input for development projects. The first fully comprehensive CBA was negotiated between the Figueroa Corridor Coalition for Economic Justice (FCCEJ), a coalition of labor and affordable housing advocates, and the Anschutz Entertainment Group (AEG) over Los Angeles (L.A.) Live. The \$2.5 billion L.A. Live project included an expansion of hotels, restaurants, luxury housing, and retail around the Staples Center—a major sports and concert arena that is home to the Los Angeles Lakers and Kings (“Nokia Theatre”, 2007). It would line the Figueroa Corridor, a hotbed of development that runs from Downtown Los Angeles to the University of Southern California (USC).

One of the key founding organizations at the table with the FCCEJ was Esperanza Community Housing Corporation

(EHC), a non-profit low-income affordable housing developer in South Los Angeles. EHC has 21-year history in South L.A. that began with a fight against one family's eviction and eventually became a broader mission to provide affordable housing. The conditions of the housing market have not been favorable for long-time low-income residents as students and more affluent residents have moved in with the new upscale developments on both ends of the Figueroa Corridor (Ibrahim, 2010). As a majority of new units in Downtown L.A. cater to the higher end of the housing market, the shelter needs of new immigrants, the homeless, and the socioeconomic lower and middle class are overlooked. In 2006, Los Angeles was found to be the most economically segregated city among 100 cities in the U.S (Beach, 2008). The FCCEJ intended to address these issues through the CBA, which set aside funding for an affordable housing loan fund that EHC could tap into and required 20% of units from the project to be affordable for low-income families for at least 30 years (Gross, et al., 2002).

The purpose of this paper is twofold. First, it explores how Esperanza Community Housing Corporation (EHC) in the context of the city as a growth machine has responded to urban development. The findings show Esperanza's strength as a housing developer and slow-growth proponent comes from its ability to understand people on the ground and advocate on their behalf. Second, this study examines how EHC has impacted and been affected by the L.A. Live CBA. This paper demonstrates how Esperanza was able to connect health with housing issues to successfully advocate for community benefits. Additionally, it highlights lessons from the L.A. Live CBA such as the need to demand more benefits, use experts in its negotiations, and increase the diversity of negotiations committees. A qualitative case study methodology, using interviews and archival research on EHC and other organizations in the FCCEJ, provides a flexible framework through which to form a clearer understanding of housing affordability in the local project area.

The theoretical perspective employed in this paper borrows from the literature of political economists who explain the pro-growth forces that govern most urban cities and shape housing (Logan & Molotch, 1987). This paper provides an overview of the current literature on CBAs and adds to research

on the challenges community organizations face to negotiate the terms of an agreement. Finally, the formation and perpetuation of the Los Angeles housing conditions that the EHC is addressing will be grounded in the scholarship and history of housing affordability and policy in the United States. Nearly a decade after its initial creation, the L.A. Live CBA can provide insight for educators, housing advocates, developers, and policymakers into the challenges of enforcing and implementing a CBA in low-income communities.

BACKGROUND AND SIGNIFICANCE

Affordable housing has been steadily losing ground in downtown Los Angeles as development for middle to upper class residents increases. This is especially true near the central business district where historically displacement through gentrification and urban renewal is most rampant (Gans, 1962). The CBA offers a way to ensure the creation of some affordable housing units for low and extremely low-income households that have traditionally been marginalized in the political and land use process. Through coalition efforts, these agreements serve as a useful tool for traditionally marginalized community members to challenge the urban growth coalition. This is particularly true of the L.A. Live CBA, which impacted a mostly Latino immigrant neighborhood. Analysis of this tool for political economists provides an important look at the efforts of advocates on the flip side of the growth machine elites.

This research fills a gap in the current literature by analyzing the challenges faced before and after the negotiations for the housing component of the CBA. While much of the research on CBAs has centered on their definitions, formations, values, and negotiations process, none have looked more specifically at the pre-negotiation and post-negotiation period for housing demands.

Finally, few papers have discussed the lessons of the L.A. Live CBA for housing affordability. These effects are important to explore because the goal of affordable housing community-based organizations (CBOs), such as EHC in negotiating for the CBA, was in part to reverse the trend of displacement in the Figueroa Corridor. Without an understanding context of the housing constructed as a result of CBA and the process of its

development, it would not be possible to assess the effectiveness of the agreement in accomplishing its purpose.

METHODOLOGY

This paper uses a multi-method approach (archives, public documents, field studies, and interviews) to piece together a case study of Esperanza Community Housing Corporation. I conducted seven formal interviews with leaders and organizers at ECHC to gain an understanding of the culture and attitudes of the organization. Additionally, informal interviews with other housing advocacy and community land-use organizations such as the Figueroa Corridor Land Trust, 1010 Hope Development Corporation, Pueblo Development Corporation, and Pico Union Development Corporation, set a point of comparison for the CBA's impact on Esperanza.

Interviews with ECHC's Founder, Directors, Promotoras, and other staff provide a broad overview of the mission, history, and future of the organization as well as an on-the-ground perspective of displacement and housing conditions faced by low-income South Los Angeles residents. These interviews were conducted at ECHC headquarters in the conference room or lounge lasting, on average, one hour. Periodicals are used to construct a history of development in the Figueroa Corridor. ECHC archives (newsletters, grant applications, fliers, internal documents, and outreach materials) offer a more detailed look at organization's operations, advocacy, and programs.

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

URBAN ECOLOGY AND THE GROWTH MACHINE

The foundational debate in urban research has been waged over the extent to which the free market charts the path of urban development. The theory of urban ecology introduces the idea of the city as an organism that evolves and reacts to crisis, with the premise that the free market serves as a sorting mechanism that defines the geography and development of a city

(Park, Burgess, & McKenzie, 1967). However, as later critical urban perspectives would point out, the Chicago school of thought largely omits the impact of institutions and the decisions of political and economic elites on urban development (Feagin & Parker, 1990). Feagin and Parker (1990) expounded that "cities are not chance creations; rather they are human developments... [that] reflect human choices and decisions" (p. 4)

They, along with other political economists, examined the motivations behind these decisions and the coalitions that exist to bring them into fruition. What emerged was an understanding of space as offering two values: its "use value, for example, providing shelter to a family" and "exchange value--generating revenue for a property owner" (Feagin & Parker, 1990, p. 10; Logan & Molotch, 1987, p. 2). These competing values have led to tensions that pit "residents against property entrepreneurs over issues of land development and finance" (Logan & Molotch, 1987, p. 2). This was dramatically illustrated in Boston's West End during the 1960s, where developers' interest in the exchange value of land near the central business district conflicted with residents' use value of land for shelter (Gans, 1962).

Unlike urban ecologists, who maintain that it is primarily the choices made by consumers and other participants in the free market, which shape cities, political economists point out that the market is not a level playing field. John R. Logan and Harvey L. Molotch (1987) argued famously that the city is a growth machine--a system in which a group of business, political, and social elites are united by the common goal to increase the population and aggregate rents to "trap related wealth for those in the right position to benefit" (p. 50). For politicians, growth is an opportunity to improve public and business perception of a city by attracting new residents and capital through changing the physical and economic landscape (Logan & Molotch, 1987). Business elites and property entrepreneurs, under the banner of growth, are able to participate in a process of urban redevelopment that increases the exchange value of property by catering to more affluent residents and consumers (Logan & Molotch, 1987).

COMMUNITY BENEFITS AGREEMENTS

Definitions and Formation.

As CBAs are a relatively modern policy tool, much of the literature on these agreements has centered on their definition, formation, and provisions. There is largely consensus in the urban planning, government, non-profit, and legal research on the defining characteristics of CBAs. They are legally enforceable contracts between a prospective developer and community organizations that are negotiated on a project-by-project basis (Baxamusa, 2008; Gross, 2008; P. Salkin, 2007; Wolf-Powers, 2010). The developer commits to specific benefits in return for the support, or at least lack of opposition, from community groups to a development project. Coalitions of CBOs and advocates generally negotiate directly with developers to extract benefits on a variety of social justice issues including housing affordability, living wages, and local hiring (LeRoy & Purinton, 2005; P. E. Salkin & Lavine, 2008). Because CBAs operate between private parties, they are flexible and area-specific, and can include provisions for parks or other designated public spaces (P. E. Salkin & Lavine, 2008). Finally, it is important to note that CBAs work within, rather than against, the existing economic and legal structures to attain benefits (Cummings, 2008; LeRoy & Purinton, 2005).

A New Model of Public Participation.

As explained in William Ho's (2008) scholarship on public participation in development projects, CBAs represent a significant shift to the inclusion of the "community sector (residents)" in discussions of land-use (p. 19). Ho (2008) traced the history of public participation in the process of urban renewal and redevelopment. He concluded that "federal urban programs have excluded the community sector from the actual negotiation table", while local governments and private developers have been unwilling to partner with the broader community sector (Ho, 2008, p. 14). Murtaza H. Baxamusa's (2008) research has shown that CBA coalitions earned a seat at that table, not through any intentional inclusion by government or developers, but by strategically taking advantage of political circumstances and tensions. A CBA deliberation process allows the community sector to gain its power from the uncertainty

of developers who must receive public support and city council approval for a project (Baxamusa, 2008). David Marcello's (2007) study approached CBAs from the perspective of developers and elected officials. He argued that the leverage for the community sector is strongest when the city must approve public subsidies for private development, public infrastructure improvements, or modifying existing zoning (Marcello, 2007). The CBA model has allowed the community sector to coordinate its strategy, apply direct pressure to both the city and developer, draft and enforce developer commitments, share information, and bring out greater numbers of supporters (Baxamusa, 2008; Gross, et al., 2002; Ho, 2008).

Provisions of the L.A. Live CBA.

The first full-fledged Community Benefits Agreement to address affordable housing benefits came from the Staples Center's L.A. Live expansion in 2001. The contractual agreement signed by the Anschutz Entertainment Group (AEG) and the Figueroa Corridor Coalition for Economic Justice (FCCEJ) secured a living wage program, local hiring initiative, funding for local affordable housing organizations, as well as the promise of 20 percent affordable housing units (Leavitt, 2006, p. 256). Affordable housing would target those between 0 and 80 percent of local AMI and remain affordable for 30 years with priority given to those relocated during the Staples Arena development (Gross, et al., 2002, p. 70). "Seed money" to start a revolving loan fund of up to \$650,000 in interest-free loans would also be provided to local nonprofit housing developers such as Esperanza Housing by AEG (Gross, et al., 2002, p. 71). The L.A. Live CBA was an important paradigm shift, demonstrating the power of a strong counter-coalition to the traditional growth machine that could deal directly with the developer rather than simply through the local government (Baxamusa, 2008, p. 265 Fig 261).

HOUSING IN THE UNITED STATES

History of Housing Exclusion.

Shelter in the United States has remained largely inaccessible to groups that have been targeted for exclusion or ignored by the private housing market. Often, this process

of exclusion has been aided by government actions that have largely benefited middle and upper income households. Scholars observed that “the housing market...treats housing as a commodity...[and that] at each phase of the process [of buying and selling it], the goal is to maximize profits, which in turn increases costs and reduces affordability” (Bratt, Stone, & Hartman, 2006). Private developers and land speculators in the United States have historically driven the process of outward expansion and suburbanization to profit from upper-class consumers who could afford the luxury of travel to and from the city (Jackson, 1985). Meanwhile, the government has contributed to this expansion by building the infrastructure (parks, aqueducts, rail lines, highways, etc) to support and, in effect, subsidize new housing markets (Bratt, et al., 2006; Jackson, 1985). Discriminatory housing practices were reinforced by government policies such as red-lining to prevent “inharmonious racial groups” and households led by women from accessing mortgage loans (Jackson, 1985). Unsurprisingly, these groups continue to suffer disproportionately from shelter poverty and are still the targets of discrimination when acquiring mortgages (Schwartz, 2006, p. 208; Stone, 2006). Households left behind in the process of “white flight” were forced to cope with life in decaying urban cores that were often devoid of investment (Jackson, 1985). In the 1960s, a resurgence of interest in revitalizing the central business districts of cities led to federal and local government collaboration with private developers to clear out areas labeled as “blighted” (Jackson, 1985). This process of urban renewal contributed to the razing of low-income housing without much replacement most notably in Chavez Ravine, Los Angeles and the West End of Boston (Feagin & Parker, 1990; Friedan & Sagalyn, 1989; Gans, 1962; Hines, 1982). Today, the private housing market has continued to move towards larger more expensive single-family homes and luxury lofts, leaving low-income households to compete for existing below-market housing (Stone, 2006). From 1973 to 2004, the median size of owner occupied homes rose from 1,526 to 2,195 square feet (Schwartz, 2006, p. 13). This reflects not only developers’ continued pursuit of higher income households, but also the relatively smoother process of attaining funding from primary lenders (Stone, 2006).

Housing Policy: Decreasing Visibility

Over the last sixty years, the federal government’s efforts to increase accessibility and affordability of housing have shifted towards more invisible policies. In his study of housing policy in the U.S., Charles J. Orlebeke (2000) provided an overview of the two major periods in low-income housing policy. Federally led and operated production programs marked the first period, which spans from 1949 to 1973 (Orlebeke, 2000). Although these programs –fell short of the federal goal to ensure “a decent home and a suitable living environment for every American family” (Orlebeke, 2000, p. 489), it revealed public attitudes toward government involvement in housing. However, critics charged that production side policies were ineffective for many reasons, including inflating housing costs, promoting segregation, and limiting coverage amongst certain populations (Orlebeke, 2000). A significant shift towards less visible housing policies began in 1973 when the Nixon administration placed a moratorium on all new subsidized housing commitments (Orlebeke, 2000). Orlebeke (2000) described the three new instruments that emerged from this second period of housing policy from 1973 to 2000. Voucher programs allowed the federal government to directly subsidize the costs of housing. Block grants disbursed funding to state and local governments, creating a more flexible system for developers to finance projects. Finally, the Low Income Housing Tax Credit, the “single largest subsidy for low-income rental housing” (Schwartz, 2006, p. 83) was created in 1986 to incentivize the creation of below-market rental units. While Americans generally associate housing subsidies with low-income households, tax expenditures—indirect subsidies for housing—“far outweigh direct expenditures for housing” (Dreier, 2006, p. 113) and typically benefit higher-income households. On the local level, particularly in California, inclusionary zoning laws are used to ensure that new developments contribute to existing affordable housing stock. Alex Schwartz (2006) in his book introducing the different facets of U.S. housing, highlighted the key components of inclusionary zoning. This includes: setting aside 20 percent of units for low and moderate income housing; providing incentives, like density bonuses, for developers; targeting households at approximately 50 percent area median income; allowing offsite affordable

housing development; allowing in-lieu fees for developers to provide other organization funding for meeting affordable housing requirements; establishing the period of affordability for the housing units (Schwartz, 2006, pp. 196-197). These requirements are mirrored in the language included in the L.A. Live Community Benefits Agreement, but are not explicitly tied to city ordinances. Like the LIHTC, inclusionary zoning foregoes direct government subsidies and appears less costly than other housing programs. The transfer of responsibility away from the federal government signals an increased focus on the local actors that affect housing.

Nonprofit Housing.

Scholars have emphasized the importance of nonprofits for adding and maintaining below-market units. They have built or renovated 550,000 units of low and moderate income housing since the 1960s (Schwartz, 2006). Schwartz explained (2006) that these developers were often “committed to keeping their housing affordable to low-income households indefinitely and, unlike many of their for profit counterparts, have no desire to reap capital gains from the sale of property or eventually to charge market rate rents” (p. 199). Nonprofit developers that operate with this paradigm run counter to traditional growth coalition ideals.

These developers that implement “government housing assistance programs by purchasing and rehabilitating housing for lower income households” are known commonly as community development corporations, or CDCs (Goetz, 1993, p. 114). CDCs can serve in different roles as a “financial agent, collecting investment capital” for development, a developer that “seeks out property or land to purchase and develop”, a provider of support services (childcare, education, employment counseling, etc.), and as a “political agent advocating for greater low-income housing assistance” (Goetz, 1993, pp. 118-119). Goetz (1993) points out that the developer and advocate models are most common and most in conflict, because the technical nature of housing can work against the democratic, grassroots nature of advocacy.

Nonprofit developers face other significant challenges to housing development. They must find multiple funding sources; an average project utilizes eight separate sources that are

short term (Schwartz, 2006). They are often undercapitalized and cannot sustain housing in the long term (Schwartz, 2006). Finally, they may lack predevelopment financing (acquisition of development rights, development feasibility studies, etc), long-term viability and need effective property and asset management (Schwartz, 2006, p. 202).

Measuring Housing Affordability in Los Angeles and the U.S.

When a city operates as a growth machine it prioritizes attracting more capital and increasing rents over meeting the affordable housing needs of lower income residents. The Los Angeles City Council and Mayor have historically exemplified this attitude, representing a challenge to local housing advocates (Beach, 2008, p. 81; Goetz, 1993). In Downtown Los Angeles zoning laws have been mostly beneficial to land entrepreneurs and “about 95 percent of new residences built downtown since 2000 are expensive—renting for \$1,800 to \$2,800 a month or selling for \$450,000 to \$800,000” (Beach, 2008, p. 81). At a state minimum wage of \$8.00 in 2009, an individual in Los Angeles working full-time would only be able to afford a rent of \$416.00 (NLIHC, 2009). Contrast this to the housing wage or full-time hourly wage actually needed to pay the Fair Market Rent calculated by HUD, which in Los Angeles stands at \$17.38 for a zero-bedroom apartment or \$26.17 for a two-bedroom apartment (NLIHC, 2009). As the cost of the base rent for a two-bedroom apartment increased by 69% between 2000 and 2009 in L.A. (NLIHC, 2009), the median income from 1996 to 2006 in Los Angeles has declined relative to the state and nation (Beach, 2008, p. 78).

Michael Stone (1993) has argued in favor of a new standard for understanding housing affordability using a “shelter poverty” scale. Stone (2006) posited that a “household is ‘shelter poor’ if it cannot meet its non-housing needs at some minimum level of adequacy after paying for housing” (p. 46). Comparing Bureau of Labor Statistics figures as the normative standard of non-shelter costs against the residual income (income after a household pays its monthly rent) Stone (2006) found that in 2001 over 32 million households were shelter poor—more than 30 percent of all households. While the rate of shelter poverty has remained near that percentage between the 1970s and mid-

1990s, its burden disproportionately impacts households headed by a person of color and has risen most dramatically for renters (Stone, 2006). In the intersection of these two categories, 58 percent of the Latino renters in 1997 experience shelter poverty—the highest percentage of any group (Stone, 2006, p. 54). The effects of overcrowding, shortage of housing, and high prices illustrate the inability of private developers and the government to meet the fair and sustainable affordable housing needs of low-income individuals.

THE FIGUEROA CORRIDOR: DEVELOPMENT AND DISPLACEMENT

The push to build the Staples Center Arena, and later the accompanying L.A. Live, was funded by the then-L.A. Arena Land Company now known as AEG. Denver-based billionaire Phillip Anschutz and real-estate developer Edward J. Roski own the company and received some financial backing from Rupert Murdoch for the arena (Cummings, 2008, p. 60). Approximately \$70 million in city subsidies were provided for the construction of the Staples Arena (Cummings, 2008) while AEG “received approximately \$246 million in tax breaks on the L.A. Live project alone -- plus a grant of \$5 million” (DiMassa, 2010)

Meanwhile, the impact of development on affordable housing and low-income residents remained very real. In 1997 plans for the 22,000-seat Staples Center Arena, an anchor in the planned “L.A. Sports and Entertainment District” (SAJE) that caps one end of the Figueroa Corridor, was announced (“EIR for Proposed Sports Complex Unveiled,” 1997; LeRoy & Purinton, 2005). The sports and concert venue’s construction demolished 184 units of housing and 28 businesses, displacing an estimated 655 residents made up of ~mostly low-income Latino immigrants and 360 jobs (Research, 1997a, 1997b). While the city spent a reported \$12 million to aid residents~being relocated (Merl, 1996), some families felt that they were unfairly pressured into signing contracts and that the city could have offered more subsidies considering the size and expected revenue from the arena (Rivera, 1999). The proposed expansion, known as L.A. Live, would include the construction of two hotels “over 1.1 million square feet carved out for retail,

entertainment, office, and residential uses, including medical offices and a sports medicine center” (Pastor, 2009, p. 126). From the community’s perspective the effort to expand could exacerbate the displacement and housing price inflation that had already taken hold in the Figueroa Corridor.

ESPERANZA COMMUNITY HOUSING CORPORATION CASE STUDY

Overview of ECHC

The Esperanza Housing Development Corporation began in 1989 with its roots in protecting community land use and tenant rights. ECHC’s stated mission is to “create opportunities for community residents’ growth, security, participation, recognition, and ownership through developing and preserving affordable housing...[providing] child care, ensuring quality education, promoting accessible health care, stimulating involvement in arts and culture, pursuing economic development, and advocating for progressive public policy” (ECHC, “Our Mission”). The organization focuses its efforts on the low-income families of the Figueroa Corridor neighborhood of South L.A, with a special emphasis on the health issues facing residents of the 2244 Census Tract (Ibrahim, 2010).

The organization also sponsors other social and economic development programs. It provides an education program for about four-hundred K-5 “socio-economically disadvantaged” students a year that has had a 90 percent success rate in helping students “reach or exceed grade level proficiency” (ECHC, “Education Handout”). To promote local small business development, Esperanza converted a garment sweatshop into the Mercado La Paloma, also known simply as “the Mercado” (Ibrahim, 2010). Through a business incubation training program, local residents are able to find the funding and gain the skills to run their own business. The Mercado is home to fourteen “family-owned businesses” and seven non-profit organizations (ECHC, Economic Development). Among them are Chichen Itza and Mo-chica, two of Pulitzer Prize-winning food critic Jonathan Gold’s most highly acclaimed restaurants in Los Angeles (Gold, 2008, 2009). The Mercado offers “office space at below market rent” and serves as a community gathering space for the promotion of the arts (ECHC, Economic Development).

ECHC has recognized the importance of access to spaces for developing the social fabric of a community. Fabiola Sandoval, Esperanza's asset manager, was raised south of ECHC headquarters on 48th Street and Figueroa and recalls the lack of collaboration, feeling of disconnection, and "sense of abandonment" in the neighborhood during the 1980s. The pervasiveness of liquor stores and violence and the presence of sex workers behind her home characterized South L.A. in a time of "anger" driving "people to want to abandon that place—to get out of there" (Sandoval, 2010). Sandoval retains fond memories of her neighbors and family members, but emphasizes the importance of residents' proximity to institutions and collaborative spaces. She explains that the "whole vibrancy of community" depends on ensuring that "we can access [parks, Esperanza, the church] by foot" (Sandoval, 2010). In line with this objective, ECHC developed two pocket parks, Richardson and La Estrella, which it operates in partnership with the Los Angeles Neighborhood Land Trust (ECHC, "ECHC Development Portfolio"). Like the Villa Esperanza, La Estrella Park was pushed forward by a grassroots effort to define the direction of land use. The pocket park was the brainchild of a group of fifth and sixth grade students at Norwood Elementary School who were guided by two teachers. With the donation of supplies and labor from Esperanza, the classes were able to convert a deteriorating local lot on Estrella Avenue adjacent to a freeway-interchange into a local space for youth to play (ECHC, "ECHC Development Portfolio"). By tapping into or inciting organizing efforts in the local community, ECHC distinguishes itself from a traditional housing developer.

SISTER DIANE DONOGHUE AND THE FOUNDING OF ESPERANZA

Esperanza's story is incomplete without an explanation of the background and organizing work of Sister Diane Donoghue, ECHC's founder and first Executive Director. Her pictures and accolades line the walls of Esperanza's offices and many of the interviewees either during our interview or afterward, would speak of her warmly (Ibrahim, 2010). Her experiences and ideas were echoed in the interviews I had with other members of the organization. It was evident through my

interactions with the staff that the values and background of Sister Donoghue were a part of the fabric of the organization.

Sister Donoghue moved from the Midwest to UCLA for her undergraduate studies in Political Science. After receiving her BA in 1954, she met the Sisters of Social Service and was inspired by the work they did with marginalized communities to address systemic issues of poverty. Donoghue saw the church as providing a rare opportunity in a time when "the glass ceiling was very pronounced, but women—religious—were heading up hospitals, they were in charge of learning institutions, higher education, colleges" as opposed to being consigned to serving as a teacher or a nurse (2000). The role of women at ECHC could not be more pronounced and 11 out of 12 paid staff members are female (Esperanza, 2010). A majority of the residents that take part in the community health promoters training are also women (Benitez, 2010).

In 1969, Sister Donoghue continued her education at Berkeley where she received a Master's Degree in Social Work. It was also at this time she joined Saul Alinsky's organization in Berkeley and practiced community organizing. These skills were put to use as she began her work starting a senior citizen day program and residential drug abuse program for women in South L.A. in 1973. In response to the L.A. riots that had seen the destruction of many storefronts and homes in 1975, Sister Donoghue co-founded the South Central Organizing Committee to campaign against the large number of liquor stores in Los Angeles. These experiences laid the groundwork for Esperanza's roots in community grassroots organizing. In the early 1980s, Sister Donoghue, then a community organizer at the St. Vincent Church in Los Angeles for more than ten years, was approached by a woman whose mother was dying of cancer to ask for help with avoiding an eviction from their South L.A. home of many years. Although Sister Donoghue managed to secure a stay of eviction, others who lived in the surrounding homes were less fortunate. A father-son development team had purchased their property and wanted to convert it from residential housing to a garment factory. The neighborhood surrounding 29th and Maple had already had a history of industry entering the area. However, up to that point it had mostly occurred on the outskirts of the neighborhood that was zoned for residential

housing.

In response, Sister Donoghue had an aerial photograph taken of South L.A. to demonstrate the type of development that was occurring in the city. According to Nancy Ibrahim, current Executive Director of the Esperanza Community Housing Corporation, “they were showing the City Council how the industrial buildings were encroaching in on their homes and how the addition of the garment factory would cause the neighborhood to implode” (Ibrahim, 2010). Pointing to the map during our interview session, Sister Donoghue emphatically pronounces that zoning policy in South Los Angeles “has absolutely excluded [neighborhoods with housing]” while allowing “a developer [to] come in with a lot of money and say ‘I’m parachuting in’” (Donoghue, 2000). The community successfully lobbied the City Council to rezone the property for residential housing with an eight to one vote and Councilperson Gilbert Lindsay as the only holdout. Sister Donoghue refers to Mr. Lindsay as “Mr. Payola” and explains that “he was taking money from everybody and giving out all kinds of permits for building” (Donoghue, 2000). After this initial success, Sister Donoghue decided that the construction of below-market housing units had to continue in the city and ECHC was incorporated in 1989. By gaining the support of city council, the planning department, and the mayor’s office, it took nine years for Esperanza to convert the property into one of its first housing projects. In 1994 the Villa Esperanza—a 33 unit affordable housing project was opened and would provide shelter for over 200 tenants.

ECHC is currently located in the parking lot of St. Vincent school after raising \$800,000 to erect the building. Although the property belongs to the church, Esperanza was able to secure a fifteen-year rent-free lease. However, the lease is set to expire and the current pastor, who some on the staff have painted as unsympathetic and disconnected with the community, has not allowed an extension of the arrangement (Donoghue, 2000). This poses a challenge for ECHC, which must find a new home for its headquarters. The organization also faces difficulty paying off the loans it used to construct and rehabilitate units. While the fate of the units is uncertain, the bank is expected to forgive the loans (Sandoval, 2010).

In spite of its financial struggles, Esperanza, as of this writing, continues to maintain nine buildings of affordable housing, which total 165 units and house approximately 500 people (ECHC, “ECHC Development Portfolio”). Of the nine buildings, the Villa Esperanza and the Casa Esperanza were new constructions, while the remaining seven were older buildings that had been rehabilitated (ECHC, “ECHC Development Portfolio”). The housing units range from 30 percent to 50 percent of AMI (ECHC, “ECHC Development Portfolio”). Nancy Ibrahim describes ECHC’s process for determining who is able to rent and the difficulties it faces as a nonprofit developer:

We are here to help families who may not have the capital to purchase a home. Our housing serves people who are at the low and very low part of the housing market based on the HUD definition.... Our turnover rate is extremely low and 15 years is the average amount of time a family stays with us. We vet families in terms of income and based on the need for a type of housing. So we give the larger three to four bedroom units to larger families. We also use a waiting list for people who aren’t able to get housing during our openings. We tell people on the waiting list that it can take years...It’s astonishing that even in a rental situation where the owner [Esperanza] is benign, the price of housing in the city makes the basic right to shelter unaffordable. (Ibrahim, 2010)

While ECHC contracts out its property management, it keeps close tabs on the ability of tenants to pay and “try [their] best to provide resources to help [tenants] meet the deadlines [for utilities]” (Ibrahim, 2010). Sister Donoghue explains that ECHC is distinct from other housing developers because “we [Esperanza] develop affordable housing for families that need larger units [that are] safe” and “we know the folks that are here” (Donoghue, 2000). According to its online staff page, 91 percent of the Esperanza staff and management is Latino while 82% live in South Central Los Angeles (Esperanza, 2010). Many of the staff members I interviewed were either former or current residents of the Figueroa Corridor. This grasp of the neighborhood is not only critical for ECHC to determine the types of development projects it pursues, but also plays an important role in its health efforts.

PROMOTORAS DE SALUD: HOUSING AND COMMUNITY HEALTH

The state of below-market housing is inextricably linked with the health of the residents. Subpar housing conditions that plague many low-income housing units lead to adverse health results. ECHC uses the model of “Promotoras De Salud”, or Community Health Promoters, through which hundreds of community members are trained for health outreach and awareness (ECHC, “Community Health”). The program was spearheaded and led by Nancy Ibrahim who was recruited into ECHC in 1995 (Ibrahim, 2010). The purpose of the Community Health Promoter training is to provide “avenues for economic advancement for each participant, build capacity in the community for activism, and create a powerful network of educators and advocates working to improve the health of our community” (ECHC, “Community Health”). Many students graduate from the program and move on to health clinics, non-profit organizations, and higher education (ECHC, “Community Health”). About 30% of graduates now own their own home or a business and many go on to serve in local clinics like USC+LAC (Ibrahim, 2010).

Lupe Gonzalez-Hernandez and Norma Benitez, the current Director and Assistant Director of Health, respectively, were both raised in South Los Angeles and participated in the training before being hired as staff (Benitez, 2010; Gonzalez-Hernandez, 2010). They lament the state of housing in the Figueroa Corridor and recount how they have seen families go to clinics to diagnose their children for cockroaches entering through their ears due to infestations. Gonzalez-Hernandez and Benitez believe that part of the appeal of the Promotoras program for the local Latino immigrant community is its name. For Spanish-speakers and immigrants from South and Central Latin America, the term evokes nostalgia and the familiar image of a medical practitioner and community educator that served rural low-income communities.

The Promotoras program has also played an important role in the launch of the grassroots efforts to prevent gentrification. Through the Healthy Homes project, the Promotoras received a grant of nearly a million dollars over a three-year period from the Department of Housing and Urban Development to conduct

a health and housing survey (Ibrahim, 2010). The tract had been identified as a “lead hot zone” because of the high number of reports of children poisoned by lead or showing symptoms of respiratory diseases (Uriarte, 2010). The Promotoras went door-to-door to speak with residents about the issue of lead, but discovered through the process that many residents, some of whom had lived in the community for twenty to thirty-five years, were being evicted. Nancy Ibrahim explains that the “health promoters...went to every—1700 households in this Census tract and...between the baseline survey and the follow-up survey...were already beginning to document how apartment units had flipped from families to an encroachment of student housing” (Ibrahim, 2010). This trend of gentrification created an atmosphere of fear for residents (Boyarsky, 1994; Gonzalez-Hernandez, 2010). The FCCEJ coalition continues to document the number of flipped housing units by going door to door and speaking with tenants.

One of the participants in the Healthy Homes project was Gabriela Gonzalez, a project manager and Promotora. Gonzalez was raised on Main and Slauson in South L.A. in 1978. She recalls the difficulty for families of undocumented immigrants “to relocate if they didn’t have money to rent, or credit, or legal documentation to rent elsewhere” (Gonzalez, 2010). Many feared displacement by local USC students who were targeted by home and apartment owners with illegal signs on sites that would say “rented for USC students only” (Gonzalez, 2010). Gonzalez remembers tenants who saw “repairs going on in their building, [and] knew at any time they would be evicted” (Gonzalez, 2010). She describes the role of the Promotoras as “letting [people] know that they have rights, you know, tenant rights, but also seeing it in the bigger picture that we have human rights...to live in a place that’s...safe for us to live in... and organizing the community to be able to make change and taking ownership” (Gonzalez, 2010).

Monic Uriarte, a resident of the Figueroa Corridor community and an immigrant from Sinaloa, Mexico, also participated in the Healthy Homes project to detect lead poisoning. She was trained as a Promotora in 1997 and graduated a year later. Uriarte worked in the buildings surrounding the Staples Center and heard from residents about the harassment

from the owners of the building that were being approached to sell their properties to accommodate the expansion project.

I remember we did a sample to see how many, how much lead they [had in those] houses and [there] was incredibl[y] high levels of lead. People were really scared because the owners harass[ed] them to try to intimidate them to [avoid] giv[ing] them...relocation money. They treat them like animals because the owners [don't] want to respect their rights...It's too difficult to see [parents] holding...children and say[ing], [what] can I do? Where [do] I need to go because after they contribute paying the rent for so many years, they don't have [any] rights...And, I'm sorry, I get emotional, because I remember that [a] guy cried and sa[id]...because I don't have some paper to show everybody can I have rights? How about my children? How about myself? They treat them like cucaracha (cockroach). (Uriarte, 2010)

Some owners hired guards to stand at the entrance of the building to prevent tenants from entering. They demanded identification and in some of the buildings no one was allowed to enter or leave even if they had already paid the rent. Uriarte notes that as Promotoras, they were “more inclined to the health issues”, but points to the importance of the group in identifying gentrification and illegal evictions in Healthy Homes Project areas (Uriarte, 2010).

The Promotoras brought these issues to the attention of the Executive Directors of Esperanza and Strategic Actions for a Just Economy (SAJE)--a local non-profit that organized the neighborhood around tenant rights and labor issues. This led to increased collaboration between ECHC and SAJE to help tenants facing evictions and slum-housing conditions. Uriarte says that she and other Promotoras “called the media and [were] doing a lot of actions and a lot of meetings and sending letters to the owners...[The owners] decrease[d] [their actions] a little bit, but [there was still] continuous harassment” (Uriarte, 2010).

VIEW OF THE HOUSING MARKET

Uriarte describes the community she saw being displaced as the “ham of the sandwich” and explains that “even though [USC and L.A. Live don't] have any plans to do something in this specific area...speculators came to this area...and they just start[ed] purchas[ing] properties to increase the rent” (Uriarte,

2010). She further explains that the process consists of wealthy developers contributing to political campaigns to then receive approval for large-scale projects. Uriarte refers to this process as a “tango” that forms a “mafia” (Uriarte, 2010). She feels that the community is treated as “puppets” because they “cannot do something big, because [politicians] already make decisions and it's frustrat[ing]” (Uriarte, 2010). Uriarte describes the power imbalance between owners and renters of housing:

Unfortunately, our community, we are renters. We don't have that power to say I don't want to sell. And as Gabby say[s], the owners are not living in this area. They are living in the suburbs or even in other states. For them it's too easy to sell on a really good price because they don't have any feelings or emotions [in] this community, or the roots to this community. As...renters, we [have] created an identity to this community but we don't have root[s]...even though we have cultural groups... [we don't have] that kind of power because we are renters. We are vulnerable because of that. (Uriarte, 2010)

Gonzalez also believes that the development in the Figueroa Corridor is profit-driven. She says “the community just didn't fit into [developers'] plans” and is “in the way of their expansion” (Gonzalez, 2010). She and Uriarte argue that South Los Angeles was beautified and invested in, but “not for the benefit of the community” (Gonzalez, 2010). “I mean who from our community is going to be able to afford a luxury loft? Who in our community will be able to afford to shop or to eat...near the Staples Center”, Gonzalez asks (Gonzalez, 2010). Nancy Ibrahim adds that “the housing market has been predatory and filled with deceit” and points to the “current subprime housing [problems] that the U.S. is facing” (Ibrahim, 2010)

Other developments along the Figueroa Corridor suggest the growing trend of the housing market away from low-income units. Ibrahim expresses dismay at the construction of the “Palmer Project” a 44 story “14 unit market rate luxury housing [development] with open space amenities closed to the public” (Ibrahim, 2010) that will be constructed on the site of a former orthopedic hospital. She also notes that through the survey conducted from ECHC's first Healthy Homes grant, they were able to determine that “within a three year period... apartment units had flipped from families to an encroachment

of student housing” (Ibrahim, 2010). Ibrahim says she does not want to “see a community that’s completely pushed out to make room for a transient dormitory community” and that believes in “putting our energies to making sure that any development that happens in this area be done responsibly and be done with a minimal impact on the environment and on families who live here” (Ibrahim, 2010).

NEGOTIATING THE CBA

The past history of tensions between local residents and labor organizers with USC and large development projects informed the new efforts to influence the L.A. Live expansion plans (Cummings, 2008, pp. 60-61). The “community-labor cooperation” fostered by unions such as the Service Employees International Union (SEIU) along with labor advocacy groups like Los Angeles Alliance for a New Economy served as a foundation for activism between local grassroots groups, religious and faith-based organizations, students, and immigrant workers, among others (Cummings, 2008, p. 61). Meanwhile, SAJE brought together USC students and employees, the Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees (HERE) Union Local 11, local churches, community organizations, block clubs, and residents to form the Coalition for a Responsible USC (Cummings, 2008, p. 61). These efforts solidified the connected interests of a diverse array of community organizations and established a model of coalition building that would be instrumental to the success of the CBA negotiations.

Sandra McNeill, who worked at SAJE from the time of its formation to the negotiation of the CBA, served as the coalition coordinator of the FCCEJ. Her efforts were instrumental in the reconvening of the Coalition for a Responsible USC and its reformation as the Figueroa Corridor Coalition for Economic Justice in 1999. She describes the operation of the coalition as follows:

So we were staffed by 5 or 6 organizations. Um, different organizations with different amounts of time on the project. But we would convene our own staff that basically became the staff for the campaign, to do a level of planning work and community development and research and then we did the coalition building work. So we would go out and reached out

to various organizations and brought them in formally into the coalition. We worked on building a decision making structure that involved both the coalition, the organizational partners and then the grassroots members so we were actually, at the time, signing up individual residents in the neighborhood as members of the coalition...There were originally 19 buildings in downtown at the time... we had representatives...in the south end of downtown...and we had residents in the majority of those buildings. (McNeill, 2010)

Four of the buildings with FCCEJ members were across from the Staples Center while the others were on the southern end of Downtown Los Angeles. The inclusion of individual members seem important to McNeill who throughout the interview stresses the need for community input not only in the L.A. Live project, but in the direction and work of the coalition. McNeill cites this grassroots outreach to individuals in the community as a significant point of leverage when the conversation with the developers began. The process began with the development of a “broad platform and set of demands” that was crafted with the support and input of community members and organizational partners (McNeill, 2010). City Councilwoman Rita Walters arranged the first meeting between the FCCEJ and Timothy J. Leiwicke, President of the Staples Center, and his staff at their offices (Newton, 1999). McNeill says that she could “just tell...[Leiwicke’s] just a mean guy” (McNeill, 2010). Gabriela Gonzalez recalls seeing about ten people who were part of the staff on stage and about forty community members—some of whom had skipped work to participate (Gonzalez, 2010). Monic Uriarte recounts that as coalition representatives began reading the platform of demands of benefits for the community, one of the representatives “laughed in our face and...said...we [didn’t] have power...and he started laughing about us as a community” (Uriarte, 2010). “[I] was very depressed to see...how one guy, because he has a lot of money embarrass[ed] us as, as, people because we don’t have money” Uriarte explains.

A second meeting was held at the First Methodist Church, but Leiwicke cancelled only hours before the scheduled time and sent five representatives in his place. “People were really pissed off”, McNeill says, “and we did a whole analysis of community problems...[and the] kind of issues [that] had been

created since Staples...showed up” (McNeill, 2010). The coalition refused to speak with Ted Tanner, one of the representatives sent in Leiwicke’s place, unless he was given the ability to enter into direct negotiations without having to constantly get approval for important decisions. At the third meeting, Tanner was granted increased negotiating powers and could speak directly with the coalition to make decisions. McNeill describes the encounter:

He made a presentation in Spanish. And he had obviously practiced really hard in order to be able to do it. And the people were really confused, it was so funny because we had simultaneous translation and the translator will switch back and forth between English and Spanish depending on what everyone was speaking ...He started speaking in Spanish, she switched to English and people were like okay, what’s going on, so they take the headphones off to listen and this guy’s speaking really bad Spanish [McNeill laughs] and they’re like “wait but that’s not anything I can understand”. They were so confused. It was highly entertaining. But...it said something, right? That he felt... it was required of him to step up to enhance communication. (McNeill, 2010)

McNeill feels that the show of community power through the meetings was critical to pushing the developer for demands. She notes that at that point, some coalition members were frustrated and felt that they should be engaged in protests on the street (2010). However, at the urging of HERE, SEIU, and other unions, they agreed to begin a conversation directly with the AEG.

Simultaneously, another critical point of leverage-- the Draft Environmental Impact Report (DEIR) process-- was being used to apply pressure on the developer to address community benefit demands. A DEIR is a mandatory part of the planning process in which a developer, in collaboration with the city planning department, provides a report on the environmental effects of a development project on its surrounding area. The report is available for specified time period for public comment and objections. Objections that are raised are then required to be addressed by the developer before the project receives approval to move forward. The FCCEJ worked with the Environmental Defense Council to call attention to housing, jobs, and environmental issues. This is noteworthy because the coalition

first raised the housing piece of the benefits agreement through the DEIR process and the comments by the FCCEJ strategically delayed the process of project approval. McNeill reveals that the final EIR was insufficient because the developers “didn’t address fully some of the climate and air quality issues” which was only recognized after the DEIR was approved (McNeill, 2010). She believes that this “gave us [the FCCEJ] very substantial leverage in the final negotiations” in that “it could have been litigated” (McNeill, 2010).

While McNeill highlights the importance of the grassroots nature of the campaign and the use of the DEIR process to the advantage of activists, she acknowledges two of the less successful aspects of the campaign. One of her critiques was on the small number of people in the room when the decision was made on who would represent the coalition in the negotiations with the developers. “It was almost all white people [that met with the developers]” McNeill says, and this committee “was not representative of the community” (McNeill, 2010). Additionally, she notes that, “there were immigrant rights organizations that were very involved with the coalition at the time, but weren’t in the room by the time we started negotiations” (McNeill, 2010). Although the process of organizing and creating a platform of demands originated and incorporated a diverse set of community views, the actual people present in the negotiating room with AEG was narrow.

The second critique McNeill makes of the CBA deliberations was the lack of experts “that were day-to-day involved in building housing” (McNeill, 2010). While Sister Diane Donoghue was involved in the negotiations, McNeill explains that “she’s very powerful politically throughout the course of all of this...but in terms of the details of the housing... Sister Diane’s work was not the technical side” (2010). At the time of the negotiations, while other organizations had successfully created models for the jobs component of the CBA, there were no models for other aspects such as housing. As a result, the final CBA suffers from gaps for its enforcement. McNeill believes that the coalition could have used language from an inclusionary zoning policy in Central City West to strengthen the developer’s financial contributions affordable housing. Additionally, when residents asked for affordable housing units to be built offsite

and away from the L.A. Live expansion, the coalition did not demand an “in-lieu” fee for AEG and its partner developers in the case that they wanted transfer their 20 percent housing obligation to an affordable housing developer.

Williams and Dane, one of the developers with a 20 percent affordable housing obligation, “asked the city to be relieved... [of the requirement] in light of a preexisting agreement to contribute \$8 million towards the YWCA’s development affordable housing project in the downtown area” (Cummings, 2008, p. 68). The developer received 200 units of affordable housing credit and agreed to contribute \$400,000 to the Figueroa Corridor Community Land Trust (FCCLT) and potentially \$700,000 to a future affordable housing development (Cummings, 2008, p. 68). It was also agreed upon by the parties involved with this renegotiation that “new purchasers of development rights in the sports and entertainment district may discharge their affordable housing obligations by providing a \$40,000 payment for each required affordable unit to the land trust or other community-based developer in the Figueroa Corridor” (Cummings, 2008, p. 68). This \$40,000 per unit deal was solidified in an agreement with Moynihan Group, in which the L.A. Live developer transferred a part of its obligation to the FCCLT. McNeill argues that this amount is insufficient considering the \$480,000 cost of a single two-bedroom unit. “Given land values and [that] they [the affordable housing units] have to be built within [a] 3 mile radius of 11th [Street] and Fig[eu]roa... it requires the CRA to fill in the gap” she said (McNeill, 2010). McNeill adds that CRA funding “is just limited” particularly because of the high demand “in these expensive markets” and the need for the agency to pay off past affordable housing (McNeill, 2010). Not only could the 20 percent housing obligation be transferred, but also cut to as low as 15 percent if affordable housing developers used the \$650,000 revolving loan fund to construct additional units.

McNeill believes that while at the time of the negotiations she thought the loan fund amount “was significant”, after getting more involved with development, she feels that “it was just way too small” (McNeill, 2010). “One of the... intentions with the housing [negotiations] was to be upfront about land development...[and figure out] how do we get ahead

of it” McNeill explains (McNeill, 2010). However she fears that “other than the affordable covenanted properties, we’ve lost pretty much everything Downtown...in the south end” (McNeill, 2010). Monic Uriarte agrees with McNeill’s assessment of the final amount negotiated, and states that “we learned then that we can demand more in...future community agreements” and that “we can be more aggressive” (Uriarte, 2010). Esperanza has used \$350,000 from the affordable housing loan fund to rehabilitate the Alegria apartment. According to a 2006 report by the Environmental Defense Fund, a total of 198 units of affordable housing have been constructed or rehabilitated partially using CBA funding (EDF, 2006) .

Although interviewees suggested that the deal that was agreed upon and renegotiated should have been more substantial, they also praised other aspects of the CBA process. While McNeill believes that a CBA should not be assumed to be the “way to do business with developers”, she acknowledges that “the way we did the organizing work was I think a model... And as a private negotiation that we later took to the city, as a model of that, I think it worked” (McNeill, 2010). Uriarte also recognizes the important precedent set by the L.A. Live CBA. “We are pioneers to be recognized nation-wide for this CBA...It’s a big victory”, she says (Uriarte, 2010). Additionally, explains Gabriela Gonzalez, “We’ve created awareness among the community that they’re not alone, that there’s agencies and people that care about their well being. I think we also created awareness for Staples Center, for USC—that they know that there’s community out there and that they need to involve [it]” (Gonzalez, 2010).

DISCUSSION

Fundamentally, the community activist background of Sister Donoghue and the grassroots origin story of Esperanza represent and inform the organization’s mission and methods. Five of the eight staff members I interviewed considered themselves to be current or past residents of South Los Angeles. Four of the five were hired out of the Promotora de Salud program. These numbers demonstrate the organization’s commitment to

developing an on-the-ground connection and understanding of the immediate neighborhood. The Healthy Homes program survey, which led to organizing efforts to demand a CBA, further solidifies the grassroots nature of ECHC. Seeking out and organizing around community concerns allows CBOs like Esperanza to demonstrate the legitimacy of their demands.

Additionally, ECHC's role in resisting the increase of industrial buildings, student population, and the housing prices defines its efforts to slow growth. While Logan and Molotch discuss the rise of slow-growth movements within cities, they often occur in neighborhoods with higher affluence and political power. This distinguishes groups like Esperanza and FCCEJ, which work to resist growth in low-income immigrant communities. These communities are also mostly renters, which further decreases their leverage amongst the political and economic elite. Whereas owners of land might resist selling a property to slow growth, a tenant is left with little choice or power if a property goes under new management or a new owner. The rise of CBOs and a recognition of the importance of collaboration in these communities falls in line with the trends identified by scholars (Pastor, 2009). CBOs like Esperanza have regained power by using political processes like rezoning, DEIRs, and ordinance approval to transparently apply pressure on growth coalitions.

Also significant is the awareness amongst the staff and community residents of the city's operation as a growth machine. Although interviewees did not use the language in the literature to describe the forces they were resisting, they clearly understood the effects and agents of growth. Monic Uriarte's use of the term "mafia" to represent the collaboration of government and economic elites indicates her suspicion towards the growth coalition. Sister Donoghue's view of City Councilmember Lindsay as a friend to industrial development elucidates her perspective on the growth coalition connection. When explaining their views on the housing market, many interviewees expressed dismay at the perpetual pursuit of profit that Nancy Ibrahim describes as "predatory". Interviewees also observe the rapid pace of development for students and the higher end of the housing market and the loss of affordable housing units in the central business district of the city. These observations

align with the views amongst scholars that for-profit housing largely ignores the lower end of market and that urban renewal and reinvestment can destroy affordable housing units (Bratt, et al., 2006; Feagin & Parker, 1990)). They demonstrate the organization's self-perceived role in opposing the growth coalition and form a slow-growth ideology to counter it.

Esperanza connects health issues to housing as part of its strategy to counter growth. By training community members professionally as Promotoras, engaging others through advocacy around housing rights, and using Healthy Housing surveys, Esperanza creates a pipeline for activism. ECHC rehabs buildings out of repair, constructs new affordable housing units, and builds parks and areas for families to convene to promote healthy housing, but in the process, elevates the visibility of land-use issues and increases community access to spaces. This is the direct contrast between ECHC as a housing developer and the traditional growth machine developers. While the latter emphasizes the exchange value of land, Esperanza focuses on the use-value (Logan & Molotch, 1987). ECHC positions itself a health advocate, but also accumulates capital and property that can be preserved for affordability. Scholars have similarly pushed for a more holistic view of affordable housing, explaining that the cost of housing is related to its health conditions (Bratt, et al., 2006)

Functioning as a CDC does not come without its complications. ECHC is limited in its resources and must actively search for funding. It faces financial difficulties, struggling to repay interest for its housing units, find a new location for its headquarters, and ensure that its tenants continue to pay the rent. The high demand for affordable housing in the area also means, as several interviewees mentioned, a long waiting list to rent units. These challenges reflect the evolution of housing that has increased construction responsibility going to local housing developers and forced them to piece together various funding sources (Orlebeke, 2000).

Interviews with Esperanza staff and Sandra McNeill also reveal findings that add and run somewhat contrary to the literature on CBAs. The findings show that the L.A. Live CBA, although certainly groundbreaking, is considered by some participants to be insufficient. Also, while Cummings writes

that the renegotiations yielded positive results in the \$40,000 in-lieu fee per unit of affordable housing, the fee was wholly insufficient for the estimated costs of constructing a single unit in an inflating housing market. McNeill stresses that the lack of experts in crafting demands in housing and its renegotiations resulted in the insufficiency of that CBA component. She also points out the lack of diversity in the negotiations room. This supports the view of CDC scholars that the technical role of these organizations may stifle democratic participation.

CONCLUSION

Esperanza served an instrumental role as a coalition member during the L.A. Live CBA negotiations. Although it did not use a substantial amount of money from the revolving loan fund set up by the CBA, staff members empowered residents of the neighborhood to participate in the process of negotiations. Promotoras helped identify the connection between health and housing issues in South Los Angeles through the Healthy Homes survey and found displacement to be a grave concern for local residents. Then-Executive Director Sister Donoghue also contributed to the deliberations as a veteran of the city's political process after previous battles for affordable housing. Future research should more closely examine other affordable housing developers that participated in the process of forming the community demands and utilizing the CBA for development. Interviewees suggest that 1010 Hope Development Corporation, although a major benefactor from the CBA, was initially unsupportive of the coalition. Understanding the tensions between individual organizations could provide a clearer picture of the ideological or strategic disagreements within the coalition. Additionally, while there are many accounts of the process that led up to the CBA, current research does not describe in detail the process of renegotiations that have had a significant impact on the terms of the agreement—particularly in-lieu fees. The process of implementing and monitoring the CBA housing component should also be further explored in future studies to gauge the effectiveness of the agreement. In line with evaluating the CBA, current literature also has not assessed the CBA's

quantitative impact on housing affordability in the Figueroa Corridor, where it was meant to allow CBOs to get ahead of high-end development projects.

As a proponent of housing rights and community health, ECHC has positioned itself as one of the opponents of the growth coalition. However, this does not seem to indicate any shift away from the prevailing political economic view of the city as a growth machine. Rather, Esperanza's rise is a small sign of increasing recognition and action against the forces of development in urban cores. Its challenges fall in line with a power structure that favors growth and a housing market that serves the upper class. Its successes demonstrate the power of organizing people in the face of wealth, the power of the elite, and the perpetual push for cities to grow. The increased use of the CBA signals not a sea change in a still-growth-driven Los Angeles, but a new wave of citizen-driven advocacy in urban development.

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THE SOCIAL WORKER'S PERSPECTIVE OF CULTURAL COMPETENCE IN EDUCATION, TRAINING, AND IN THE FIELD



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This study addresses the failure of previous research to qualitatively explore social workers' perspective of cultural competence in respect to education and training. In social work, culturally competent practice is responsive to the needs of diverse populations and promotes effective work in cross-cultural situations. Ten semi-structured interviews were conducted with social workers from the Department of Children and Family Services (DCFS) and Saint John's Child and Family Development Center (CDFC) to understand themes in their attitudes towards cultural competence and the methods they use to cater to diverse populations. Variations among social workers' perspectives are highlighted and the definition of cultural competence is explored in detail. Specific attention is given to workers' personal views of cultural competence and how this translates into techniques that are applied when working with multi-cultural clients. Finally, suggestions are made on how to accurately reflect the needs and attitudes of social workers in education and training. Findings are significant for educators, policy makers, patients, and field workers who are in constant contact with the dynamics of social work and cultural competence.

INTRODUCTION

Child abuse and neglect is a critical problem in the United States. Each year a disturbing amount of children are physically, emotionally, and verbally abused. Child Protective Service (CPS) agencies remedy harmful conditions brought to their attention and aim to prevent future instances of child abuse and neglect. During the 2008 fiscal year, CPS agencies received approximately 3.3 million referrals of child abuse and neglect (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, [U.S. DHHS], 2008). Approximately 24% of these referrals were deemed substantial cases where at least one child was determined to be a victim of abuse and neglect (DHHS, 2008). The significance of this problem is reflected in emerging research, state and federal legislation, and the rise in social welfare programs dedicated to helping families whose children are victims of child maltreatment. Changing demographics in the United States along with a rise in multi-cultural issues in child welfare have triggered culturally based research in this field. The U.S. Census Bureau projects, that the 24.3% Hispanic growth rate between 2000 and 2006 was more than three times the 6.1% growth rate of the total population. Although not as extreme, similar trends are also found among other growing minority groups (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010). This reinforces the need to give specific attention to parenting as a culturally constructed phenomenon (Denby and Alford, 1996), cultural values in respect to child abuse, and defining abuse in a cultural context (Brissett-Chapman 1997; Derezotes and Snowden, 1990; Ibanez et al, 2006; Rodriguez, 2007; Waites et al, 2004). Studies have shown that ethnic minorities, particularly Latinos, African Americans, and Asians, do not share the same cultural values as those of the dominant U.S. culture (Rodriguez, 2007). Such findings translate into a need for child welfare programs that are inclusive and respectful of cultural differences, and child protective workers who can successfully meet these standards. Consequently, there is a need for social workers to be culturally competent when working with diverse populations.

Cultural competence, though it can vary in meaning and context, is generally defined as possessing a knowledge base of various cultures, and in practice, providing services to diverse populations while being sensitive to clients' cultures (Johnson

and Munch, 2009; Krentzman and Townsend, 2008; NASW, 2001; Organista, 2009). Waites et al (2004) define culturally competent social workers as those who apply their social work skills in ways that are both respectful and knowledgeable of their client's culture. Conducive to these standards, social workers must be aware of their client's culture as well as the worldviews associated with it. They must be able to recognize their personal biases and assumptions and apply appropriate skills when handling cases of diverse ethnic backgrounds (Waites et al, 2004).

Many researchers argue it is vital to implement culturally competent social service programs that incorporate diversity into their mission, policies, and training, thus facilitating culturally based relationships with clients (Armour et al, 2004; Blunt, 2007; Boyle and Springer, 2001; Dalton, 2005; Lu et al, 2005; Organista, 2009). Numerous questionnaires and scales have been designed to measure cultural competence in social work and various other professions (Krentzman and Townsend, 2008). It becomes critical that cultural competence be included in social work education if it is to be effectively incorporated into social work practice. In line with these efforts, the 2008 Council on Social Work Education (CSWE) mandated that bachelor and master's students be educated on 10 core competencies. Two of the 10 competencies are specific to the influence of culture on human development and identity, a clear indicator of the extent to which cultural education in social work is held in high regard (CSWE, 2008). As cultural competence becomes increasingly significant in the social work field, it becomes important to also explore if child protection workers feel they have received an adequate level of cultural education and training in order to better serve multi-cultural clients.

The goal of this study is to refine our current understanding of cultural competence in education, training, and in the field but to do so from the social worker's perspective. This is of great importance because while the educational and professional perspectives have been researched in depth, little has been done that explores how social workers feel about applying cultural competence in their work. This work is significant because with their knowledge of cultural competence, child protective workers will gain a better understanding of differences in parenting styles. While the number of clients social workers

deal with on an annual basis may remain constant, the number of cases deemed be substantial to decrease. Such findings are relevant for educators, policy makers, patients, and field workers who are in constant contact with the dynamics of social work and cultural competence. Additionally, this research will assure that the needs and attitudes of social workers are accurately reflected in education and training.

LITERATURE REVIEW

DEFINING CULTURAL COMPETENCE

Similar to concepts of race and ethnicity, the definition of cultural competence continues to evolve as theorists from across the social sciences shed new light on how it impacts the world. For example, in the healthcare system, cultural competence is defined as “one that acknowledges and incorporates – at all levels – the importance of culture, assessment of cultural relations, vigilance toward the dynamics that result from cultural differences, expansion of cultural knowledge, and adaptation of services to meet culturally unique needs” (Betancourt et al, 2003, p. 299). Psychologists, however, extend the term cultural competence to denote cultural experiences beyond the individual person, and include organizational and societal levels where behavior is explained by culturally learned perspectives (Wing Sue, 2001).

Definitions of cultural competence within social work may differ from one another just as definitions vary between disciplines. The National Association of Social Workers (NASW) defines cultural competence as a “set of congruent behaviors, attitudes, and policies that come together in a system or agency or among professionals and enable the system, agency, or professionals to work effectively in cross cultural situations”. (NASW, 2000, p.61). Amy Krentzman and Aloen Townsend (2008) draw from the NASW’s definition of cultural competence but specifically define cultural competence in social work as possessing the beliefs, skills, and knowledge essential to effectively work with individuals different from themselves. Similarly, Kurt Organista (2009) recognize the importance of knowledge and skills in cultural competence but instead emphasizes the importance of commitment toward

ongoing professional development and keeping current with transformations in diversity-related practice. The NASW (2001), however, asserts a critical component of cultural competence is that beliefs, skills, knowledge, and commitment be appropriately integrated into social work attitudes, practices, standards, and policies. Doing so increases service quality for social workers dealing with diverse populations (NASW, 2001). All the cultural competence definitions share the common understanding that social work needs to be responsive to diverse clients needs. The next step is therefore to explore how employers and trainings connect cultural competence to social work practice.

James Green (1999) describes cultural competence as social work practice where diverse clients recognize a practitioner’s behavior as congruent with their expectations and deem it appropriate. Likewise, Dana, Behn, and Gonwa (1992) assert cultural competence is “an ability to provide services that are perceived as legitimate from problems experienced by culturally diverse populations” (p. 221). Lastly, McPhatter (1997) notes that cultural competence is the “ability to transform knowledge and cultural awareness into health and/or psychosocial interventions that support and sustain healthy client-system functioning within the appropriate cultural context” (p. 261). What can be gathered from the multitude of cultural competence definitions is that each brings in a unique perspective on how intervention should be designed so it is relevant for members of all cultural backgrounds.

CULTURAL COMPETENCE IN SOCIAL WORK EDUCATION

Researchers have continued to show the different ways cultural competence can be incorporated into social work education (Gutierrez et. al, 1999; Hooyman, 1995; Walter and Staton, 2000; Webster, 2002), the difficulties encountered by educators (Armour, Bain, and Rubio, 2004; Blunt, 2007; Diggs, 1992;), and whether or not social workers can apply what they have learned in the classroom when working with diverse clients in the field (Petrovich and Lowe, 2005; Schesinger and Devore, 1995; Walls, 2005). The Council of Social Work Education (CSWE) has implemented guidelines to include cultural competence education in the curriculum (CSWE, 2002). Nancy Hooyman (1995) expresses concern over the vagueness of these

guidelines and how they are integrated into the curriculum, and claims social work programs only have to demonstrate using culturally competent material in readings and through course titles. This does not necessarily translate to introducing multicultural content to the curriculum and measuring understanding. It is important to note that the inclusion of cultural competence education in social work curriculum is dependent on the instructor's perceptions. Lorraine Gutierrez, Karen Fredricksen, and Steve Soifer (1999) maintain that the mismatch between CSWE standards and faculty opinions affects how cultural competence material is incorporated in the classroom setting. Likewise, Carmen Aponte (1995) asserts that social work education is embedded with 'monocultural' methods and is indifferent to populations of diverse cultural and ethnic backgrounds. While some social work educators may choose to organize cultural competence material by cultural group, Walter and Staton (2000) argue against this approach and claim multiculturalism is not simply a body of knowledge where all possible cultures can be mastered. Alternatively, Webster (2002) puts forward a human-centric perspective that diverts from the focus on multiculturalism and diversity, and instead focuses on similarities between people.

Despite differences in methods used to teach cultural competence, educators are confronted with various other obstacles, such as limited relevant texts and difficulty integrating content into social work courses. Changing demographics, for example, make it exceptionally difficult on social work educators who must always be in response to the needs of diverse populations. Kesha Blunt (2007) argues that social work educators are challenged to teach effective strategies on incorporating cultural competence when working with multicultural populations. Diggs (1992) furthers this argument by claiming that although social work educators feel it is necessary to include multicultural content, limited availability of content in texts and literature, as well as educators' personal comfort level of teaching about minorities can hinder this process. Blunt (2007) therefore argues that transformative education, which requires educators to teach cultural competence and incorporate it when working with graduate students of diverse backgrounds, is critical in exemplifying the importance of cultural competence. These findings correspond to Armour, Bain, and Rubio's (2004)

model of diversity training, which proposes methods of how to guide social work field instructors when infusing cultural diversity issues into their teaching.

According to Patricia Walls (2009), senior Baccalaureate Social Work (BSW) students score higher than entry-level BSW students and non-social work majors on scales of cultural competence. While these findings suggest BSW students do receive multi-cultural education, high scores for BSW students were only significant in the context of their comparison group, non-social work majors (Walls, 2009). Based on these findings, it is difficult to determine whether BSW students are indeed culturally competent or whether they would be able to provide culturally competent services in everyday practice upon graduation. Anne Petrovich and Mitzi Lowe (2005), in contrast, found that first year social work students emphasize self-awareness of understanding others while second year students go beyond self-awareness and incorporate an attitude of respect and acceptance toward other cultures. Alumni, however, view cultural competence as a challenge throughout their career and stress the need for confidence and the ability to maintain an attitude of respect when applying graduate level skills (Petrovich and Lowe, 2005). The challenges faced by alumni, argue Elfriede Schlesinger and Wynetta Devore (1995), is representative of how cultural competence education received by social work students does not adequately translate into skills for working with diverse populations.

CULTURAL COMPETENCE IN SOCIAL WORK TRAINING

The growing body of literature on training social workers to be culturally competent fills the gap between education and the work force. David Boyle and Alyson Springer (2001) argue there is an existing gap between using education to develop culturally competent social work practitioners and the ability to measure this competence in the field. This may be due to the broad definition of cultural competence, the shortage of culture-specific training, and the slow evolution of instruments that accurately measure cultural competence (Boyle and Springer, 2001). Consequently, trainers must provide social workers with cultural frameworks that allow them to assess cultural traits and understand how these traits influence their work with diverse

clients.

As previously mentioned, Carmen Aponte (1995) asserts social work training and services are embedded with 'monocultural' methods and are indifferent to populations of diverse cultural and ethnic backgrounds. As reported by Bruce Dalton (2005), however, diversity exists not only between cultures but also among cultures. Social workers should therefore be trained in a manner that teaches them not to assume cultural congruity when working with clients from the same ethnic background as themselves. Doing so, claims Dalton, may lead to stereotyping if the social worker fails to check whether the clients values are similar to those they have learned as being typical values for their culture (2005). Likewise, Lu, Dane, and Gellman (2005) argue social workers must be trained to expect confrontation with unfamiliar worldviews and be capable of developing, understanding, and demonstrating cross-cultural empathy when assisting diverse clients.

In contrast to Lu et al's claim that social workers must be trained in cultural competence, Yvonne Johnson and Shari Munch (2009) argue cultural competence is contradictory to social work practice and it is therefore unnecessary to incorporate it into education and training. Cultural competence suggests that social workers learn about cultures beforehand, claim Johnson and Munch, which therefore discredit and oppose the position of learning from the client, a highly valued characteristic of social workers (2009). Walls (2009), however, argues social workers must take on a dual perspective where they recognize that individuals from minority groups experience the world biculturally and consciously allow both perspectives to influence their work in order to effectively work with a diverse population. This includes both having knowledge of different cultures ahead of time and taking the time to learn from the client and their personal experiences (Walls, 2009).

Despite the substantial amount of research focusing on educating and training social workers in cultural competence, little research has been done on the personal experiences of social workers that apply cultural competence when working with diverse clients. This study seeks to fill this specific gap in the literature and explores how educational and professional training in cultural competence translates into the working world of social workers.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Three research questions are addressed in this paper. The primary research question is: 1) How do social workers feel about cultural competence in education, training, and in the field?; 2) The secondary research question is: What methods, if any, do social workers utilize to better serve diverse populations?; and 3) The tertiary question addressed in this paper is: what is the relationship between social work and cultural competence?

METHODS

This study utilized qualitative methodology to explore how child protective social workers incorporate cultural competence when working with diverse populations. Semi-structured interviews, obtained through snowball sampling, were conducted with ten child protective social workers. Interviews were conducted in the professional work environment of each social work participant and lasted approximately forty-five minutes to an hour. Questions were divided into six different subsections: Educational and Career Background, Personal Views of Cultural Competence, Cultural Competence in Education and Training, Culture Specific Questions, Implementation of Cultural Competence, and Culture and Abuse.

SUBJECT PARTICIPANTS

Three research participants were Latina female clinical social workers in Saint John's Child and Family Development Center (CFDC). The CFDC provides a comprehensive range of culturally sensitive services to children, adolescents, and their families. Two had obtained their Masters in Social Work (MSW) within the last five years, and the third within the last fifteen years. All have been employed by CFDC for at least three years working as Clinical Therapists.

The remaining seven interview respondents were child protective workers from the Department of Children and Family Services (DCFS) in LA County. DCFS aims to provide quality child welfare services to families with the assistance of public, private, and community partners. Five of the seven social workers interviewed from DCFS were Latina females, one was a Latino male, and one was an African American male. All, excluding

one, had obtained an MSW; the remaining interview respondent received her BA in Child Development.

DATA ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

DEFINING CULTURAL COMPETENCE: KNOWING VERSUS LEARNING THE CULTURE

Researchers that reference the importance of cultural competence in social work each have a unique way of defining cultural competence. A common theme shared by all definitions is that field workers must be able to provide services that are responsive to client's cultural needs (Green, 1999; Krentzman & Townsend, 2008; Organista, 2009). How field workers define cultural competence, however, differs greatly from the definitions given in academia. Definitions given by interview respondents in this study can be divided into three different categories, those that believe it is essential to have an understanding of a client's culture before working with them, those who prefer to learn about a culture from each individual client, and those who gave a combination of the two.

Child social workers from the Department of Children and Family Services revealed when Latino caseworkers had a caseload that consisted only of Hispanic clients', it impacted their personal definitions of cultural competence. For these social workers, cultural competence was inclusive of sharing the same culture as the client and being able to speak their language. For example, when asked to define cultural competence, Maribel responded:

First of all, I think you have to be Hispanic or Latino. You need to know the culture, you need to understand it, you know. ... It's just like when I go to a Black family, I'm not Black, and even though I was born in this country and have many years of experience, the bottom line is, I'm not Black and you're going to see me as a stranger, you know. I'm never going to be Black and their culture has other things that I'm not familiar with. ... It's just a whole different culture.

What can be gathered from Maribel's response is that for some child protective workers there is an association between being of the same culture and being culturally competent. Maribel not only believes you have to be of the same culture and speak the same language but also does not feel she can

provide culturally competent services to African American families because she is not African American. Further into her interview Maribel revealed that she considers herself a culturally competent social worker despite her narrow focus of who she can be culturally sensitive too. This may be due to the fact that her clients are only Latinos. She may not see the need to provide culturally responsive services to people of all different cultures because she is never exposed to non-Latino clients. I found this to be the case only among DCFS employees, and only among Latino employees who were not exposed to diverse family cases. In contrast to the belief that being culturally competent requires sharing the same culture with clients, social workers who were exposed to diverse clients defined cultural competence as openness to learning about different cultures from their clients. CDFC social worker, Belen, defines cultural competence as:

Being open to whatever they [clients] bring to you, whether it's their values, where they come from, their beliefs, and not just the exterior. It's not necessarily the color of their skin or where they were born, but how they define it [their culture] to me. ... So to me cultural competence is openness on your behalf to learn from them, they're the experts, they're the ones that know where they came from.

Similar to Maribel, Belen works primarily with Spanish speaking clients; however, Belen occasionally works with English speaking clients while Maribel does not. Belen, unlike Maribel, did not define cultural competence as being dependent on the cultural congruence. Instead, Belen focuses on the client's background, values, and beliefs. The range of clientele social workers can serve expands when social workers view cultural competence from this perspective. Being of a different culture than their clients is not seen as a barrier for providing culturally responsive services, rather as a learning point that must be assessed with each individual family. As Belen stated, it is openness to the clients and what they are willing to teach the social worker about their culture.

The primary distinction that can be made between Maribel and Belen's definition of cultural competence is the emphasis of knowing about versus learning from the client. Johnson and Munch (2009) discuss this contrast in detail and argue that the concept of knowing about cultures is contradictory to social work standards because they are forced to subscribe to

a process of gathering information and developing specialized knowledge of families. Doing so, however, does not take into account family differences, even among those who are of the same culture, a point made in Belen's definition of cultural competence.

Still others described cultural competence as being the middle ground between having pre-existing knowledge about cultures and learning cultural values from the client. Camille, for example, defined a culturally competent social worker as: someone who is really sensitive to the needs of a certain population; linguistically sensitive, culturally sensitive, being aware of the obstacles and the challenges that occur in that particular group of people, also just being open. I think part of being culturally competent is being okay with the not knowing.... Surrendering yourself to the not knowing and allowing yourself to be taught by the client... and letting it inform your work.

Camille's definition, while different, could be seen as a combination of both Maribel and Belen's. Her definition is inclusive of two important requirements for cultural competence: linguistic sensitivity and awareness of population-specific obstacles. This reflects Maribel's definition of cultural competence that emphasizes knowing about culture before meeting the client. In contrast, Camille's definition emphasizes Belen's acceptance of "not knowing" but willing to learn, which is yet another important aspect of cultural competence.

CULTURAL COMPETENCE IN SOCIAL WORK EDUCATION

Among the various factors that can impact social workers' perceptions of cultural competence is how educators incorporate it into graduate level curriculum. Nine of the ten social workers interviewed had earned their Masters in Social Work (MSW) and had similar recollections of the role cultural competence played in their education.

The majority of interview respondents, seven out of nine, felt their graduate education did not fully prepare them to work with diverse clients. For some students, cultural competence was not highly emphasized and instead became something that was discussed in passing. Abigail specified:

It really was a small part of the curriculum, it's not like we had a full course on cultural competency. It's always kind of

like the last thing, like let's address culture in the last two classes.

For Abigail, learning about cultural competence played only a minor role in her social work education. Abigail's experience is not an unfamiliar one, it is in accordance with Hooymans's (1995) argument that guidelines mandating cultural competence education in social work curriculum are not enforced and can be demonstrated merely through textbook readings and course titles. If little emphasis is placed on cultural competence in graduate level courses, social work students may not become aware of its importance in the field. Social work education is where students are first introduced to the concept of cultural competence but if its importance is not stressed within the classroom, students will be unable to apply the concepts they are supposed to be learning outside of where it is most relevant, in the field. This in turn affects the services diverse clientele receive from their caseworkers.

Gutierrez et al (1999) found that the inclusion of culturally competent education at the graduate level is dependent on educators' individual perceptions and comfort levels. In accordance with this finding are the experiences of Mark and Camille. Mark, an African American DCFS Child Social Worker, and Camille, a Latina Outpatient Director for CDCF, both recall having professors who relied on students about the concept of cultural competence and how it is best applied when working with families of different backgrounds. Mark and Camille shared similar experiences.

Mark: But that's not good for everyone. Just because I'm Black doesn't mean I'm the spokesperson of the Black Culture. Just because you're Latino doesn't mean you represent the Latino culture. Culture is something different in every family.

Camille: I would have preferred for the professor to give their own thoughts about what they think it is being a Latino family, you know, and if they wanted to know from the classroom any opinions then I would have jumped in, but it almost felt like they didn't have to take the time to really think about it because they just hoped that the student in their class is going to do it for them. ... So sometimes it felt like, so do you really know, have you really put in the time, have you worked with this population?

It is clear that neither Mark nor Camille approved of this approach. Mark, for example, is aware that one person is not representative of an entire culture and therefore cannot teach

the rest of the classroom which methods should be used when working with families that share their particular culture. He acknowledges that each family is different and that this approach of teaching students to be culturally competent is not beneficial to everyone in the classroom. Camille, in contrast, emphasizes the role she believes professors should take, first sharing their experiences then asking for student input.

Incorporating culturally competent education into social work courses has the potential to make minority students feel uncomfortable in the classroom setting and undermines the educators' ability. Mark and Camille's experience was found primarily among minority social workers being taught by Caucasian professors who they believed felt uncomfortable speaking about minority populations. Such actions on behalf of educators, argue Colvin-Burque et al (2007), can appear as characterizations and stereotyping of students. Educators should instead focus on cultural diversity and encourage students to share their familiarity of specific ethnic groups as opposed to relying on their experiences completely.

Camille suggests there is a difference between providing a textbook approach to teaching cultural competence and teaching students how to directly work with culturally diverse clients. The disconnect, she claims, is found among educators who focus on teaching and research in comparison to those who still work in the field. In other words, professors who are no longer working in the field and haven't been for years are less likely to make the connection of what it is like to work with diverse, underserved populations. These professors are unsuccessful in bringing cultural competence to life in a way so students can truly understand its significance in social work practice. Despite these experiences in social work education, not all respondents were disappointed with the methods used to teach cultural competence.

For those who felt their graduate education did prepare them to work with diverse clientele, the emphasis was placed primarily on their experiences during their second year internship. Students in graduate level social work programs are required to do a 1-year internship during their second year and complete a specific amount of hours in the field (amount varies by University) before graduation. It is from this internship, working in underserved communities with diverse clients, that

respondents felt their graduate education had prepared them to work with diverse clientele in culturally competent methods. It is important to question, however, whether these social workers felt prepared when beginning their internships as opposed to after completion. If upon entering they did not feel prepared, this would be a reflection of the educators' ability to teach cultural competence, or lack thereof, in social work education.

CULTURAL COMPETENCE IN SOCIAL WORK TRAINING

Researchers emphasize the need for cultural competence trainings after students have received their MSW (Dalton, 2005; Lu et al, 2005; Walls, 2009). This bears light on the need for ongoing training upon completion of graduate level social work programs and throughout a social worker's career. All interview respondents were asked if their agency promotes cultural competence on an ongoing basis. Overall, the interviews revealed that DCFS provides little to no training on cultural competence, whereas Saint John's CFDC workers are highly trained on how to work with diverse clients.

CDFC child social workers explained that aside from monthly trainings that incorporate diversity issues, every March is "Cultural Diversity Month" where different themes of cultural issues are covered each week. Together, Belen, Abigail, and Camille explained the different aspects of Cultural Diversity Month. The staff is surveyed a year before training directors create the agenda, therefore allowing the requests of the social workers to be met. Training during the first week consists of guest speakers, a panel is brought to speak and answer questions during the second week, and during the last two weeks staff break up into diagnostic groups and present their cases, specifically sharing the culture of the family. Furthermore, Abigail explained that incoming social workers each receive two articles, "MECA: A Meeting Place for Culture and Therapy" and "Culture in Family Therapy: New Variations on a Fundamental Theme" (Falicove, 2003). Both give in-depth explanations of the theoretical frameworks CDFC workers are trained to use, these articles specifically elaborate on cultural competence issues as they relate to their work and client populations.

In contrast, DCFS workers expressed they rarely receive trainings that incorporate cultural competence. Social workers

interviewed from DCFS came from five different locations: West Compton, Vermont Corridor, Belvedere, Commerce, and Corporate DCFS. These child protective workers work primarily with minority populations but despite frequent contact with diverse clientele, they are only trained on how to incorporate culturally competent services during their initial training period, never on an ongoing basis. When asked how often DCFS conducts trainings that incorporate cultural competence, Isabel responded:

Not often. If anything, I got it in academy, which started in September, and academy can vary, it can be like nine weeks and within that nine weeks you can have two days where you learn about cultural competence, if you do learn about it. They try to incorporate it but it isn't heavily emphasized.

Isabel's response is representative of most DCFS workers experience of cultural competence trainings, or lack thereof. When an agency as diverse as DCFS neglects to train social workers in a much-needed area such as cultural competence, child protective workers become highly aware of its significance. After informing me the West Compton office does not promote cultural competence on an ongoing basis, I asked Jacob if he had received training in academy when he first began working with DCFS. Following is his response:

No. I even offered to train our unit several times on cultural competency and it never got into the training schedule. That's just something I realized, we're busy, but it is something we all need. I even need the training. I'm not saying I'm any different than anyone else, but I thought I had a lot to offer in regards to teaching cultural competence and raising some eyebrows, but it never got there.

Jacob felt the need for cultural competence training was so great that he himself offered to conduct the trainings. Unfortunately, his department did not respond to his requests and cultural competence trainings were therefore not incorporated. Although researchers highlight the different approaches that can be taken to train social workers to be culturally competent when working with diverse populations, interviews with DCFS social workers show such agencies may not take academia's suggestions into consideration. DCFS is only one agency and this is clearly not the case with CDFC. Continued research on the importance of social work trainings on cultural competence can emphasize

how it effectively contributes to the establishment of healthy relationships between social workers and diverse clients.

IMPLEMENTATION

Having explored interview respondents experiences of cultural competence in education and training, it is now important to analyze how DCFS and CDFC social workers translate the information they receive and implement it in their work. Every social worker interviewed for this study believes culturally competent social work is achievable. Many interview respondents emphasized that culturally competent social work is not a milestone that can be reached, rather it is an ongoing process that continues to evolve as social work develops. For example, when asked if culturally competent social work is achievable, Camille stated.

I think so. I don't think it ever stops. I don't think there is a cap. Is it achievable? Yes, in phases. From one year to the next you can be more culturally competent than you were the year before but I don't think it's anything you can just stop doing.

Camille expresses her belief that you can become more culturally competent as time progresses and stresses that culturally competent social work can be achieved but is done so in phases. Camille's response is indicative of the importance of ongoing trainings in cultural competence that promote social workers' ability to serve the needs of diverse clients. Just as cultures change, so do the methods social workers use to reach out to diverse clients, which should serve as a source of encouragement for agencies to include trainings of cultural competence throughout their employees' time with them.

A distinction can be made, however, between culturally competent social work and considering oneself a culturally competent social worker. When asked, "would you consider yourself a culturally competent social worker?", four social workers responded with a firm yes, three think they are, two stated they try, and one considers himself in the process of learning. The reasons behind considering oneself a culturally competent social worker varied by respondent but a common theme found among interviewees was the ability to improve. Bethany's response is indicative of this finding.

Because I think I don't leave anything up in the air. I'll ask what do certain things mean. I mean, is there room for

improvement? Absolutely! I think there's always room to be more aware of how I can be better.

Bethany, who considers herself a culturally competent social worker, recognizes the importance of covering every aspect of a family's case but also acknowledges that there is always room for improvement when providing services to clients. This acknowledgement is key to social workers providing culturally competent services.

BIASES WHEN WORKING WITH DIVERSE CLIENTS

As respondents answered interview questions, a series of biases on the social workers' behalf became evident. Latino social workers that work primarily with Spanish speaking Latino clients revealed greater biases in favor of their clients. Maribel shared:

When I work with Latinos I'm more biased, I give them more. I help everybody but with the Hispanic people, I work hard with them, and it's because they need more help.

From this response it can be gathered that Maribel feels it is okay to be biased when working with Latinos because in her eyes, these are the clients that are in need of the greatest assistance. Maribel later shared that when she works with Latino clients she ignores factors such as parents being undocumented immigrants, using false social security cards, or driving without a license. She does point out, however, that she does so because she recognizes these as survival skills being utilized by the families who need to work and provide for their families.

Another bias portrayed was by Jacob, who revealed colleagues make jokes with each other across races in order to avoid burnout in a challenging field that may become overwhelming. He stated:

Like one of my friends will show up and say, oh god, your people again. So we'll say things like, oh, a black family, what's the drug, weed? Yeah. Cause we rarely see families [African American families] with cocaine.... So we make jokes about it."

For Jacob, years of experience in the field of social work means he is exposed to recurring problems among families. The use of weed in African American families who are referred for drug and child abuse is one of many. These two examples of

biases are very culture specific and are both shared by minority group social workers in relation to clients of their same culture. Maribel expresses her biases as being in favor of Latino clients while Jacob's biases have an underlying sense of stereotyping toward African Americans.

Not all social workers that reported being aware of their biases aimed them specifically toward clients of their same cultural background. For some social workers biases emerge toward people who possess certain characteristics as opposed to people who belong to a specific cultural group. Examples of biases toward certain people include sexually abusive fathers, uninvolved parents, and ignorant people, defined by James as "someone who is not willing or accepting of logic and rationale".

TEACHING THE CLIENT

Several social workers emphasized the need to teach clients who are either newly immigrated or unfamiliar with American norms. Along with teaching the client comes an awareness of a client's cultural beliefs and traditions because culture influences both parenting styles and parent-child relationships. Rodriguez (2007), for instance, reports that there are differences in how different cultures parent their children, some having harsher forms of punishments than others. This claim was supported by several interviewees' responses that noted parenting and discipline styles vary from culture to culture. Cupping, Jacob explains, is a traditional Asian health remedy used to heal body pain. In cupping, heated suction cups are used on acupuncture points, but this process may sometimes leave bruises on children's bodies, specifically their backs. There have been many cases where cupping is reported as child abuse and it is not until the family is investigated by child protective services that it becomes known that this is a traditional health practice in Asian cultures.

How a social worker approaches situations such as these may vary. Two distinct approaches were discussed throughout interviews, each presenting a different method on how to educate clients. The first approach, explained by Jacob, consists of explaining the consequences of family actions to clients. Jacob shared that he incorporates American norms when working with clients of cultures who have different beliefs by:

Using examples of how they could do it but also

explaining the risks they put themselves in and tell them that even though I'm not here to change their beliefs they do put themselves at risk.

Jacob's approach is respectful but also implies a need for change. He acknowledges the family's beliefs but also points out that risks emerge when they do not abide to the standards of American culture. Marissa, in contrast, explained a second approach to teaching clients. Her approach emphasized learning about the clients past experiences as is noted below:

First I review what you can and cannot do in America, then I ask them how they were disciplined, how they grew up, so that way I can understand their culture and why it is they are disciplining their child that way, and then I try to educate them about acceptable forms of discipline here.

Marissa's approach takes many factors into consideration. She explores the client's background in order to get an understanding of their discipline practices and then goes on to educate them about what can and cannot be done in the United States.

Each social worker may take a different approach, but their approach must be sensitive to the client's culture, tradition, and beliefs.

CONCLUSION

Cultural competence in social work is beneficial for both clients and caseworkers. To better implement cultural competence, instructors who are comfortable teaching diverse students about diverse populations must educate social workers. This will help reduce instructor dependence on minority students to explain how diverse populations should be helped. Exposure to culturally competent services will help limit the biases caseworkers hold toward their clients and they may opt to learn about each client's family culture individually. This approach, along with continued training in cultural competence throughout social worker's careers, will enhance the experiences of clients and caseworkers.

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SCHOOL COUNSELORS & POLICY MEDIATION: UNDERSTANDING AND AFFECTING URBAN STUDENT OUTCOMES



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Within the past few decades, the educational climate in the United States has shifted. According to nationally recognized leaders, one of the main purposes of the American educational pipeline has now become to fulfill American interests nationally and abroad. Based on the literature, this shift in climate has rendered a myriad of academic and disciplinary policies implemented on national and local levels to maximize the potential benefits of the educational system. Simultaneously, a shift in outcomes has occurred. Thus, achievement gaps are widening between students in urban settings— primarily students of color—and other students. Because of the required training and the responsibilities they are given once they begin working at urban high schools, it is important to study the roles of high school counselors in mediating academic and disciplinary policies in order to understand how they can best affect favorable student outcomes. Utilizing interviews with urban school counselors, this study assesses urban counselor perceptions of the adequacy of counselor preparation, as well as the role of counselors in mediating school policies and ultimately, in determining student outcomes. The findings, in conversation with existing literature, support the idea that urban high school counselors have the potential to maximize their roles in mediating academic and disciplinary policies, which in turn and according to scholars, can guide student outcomes. Such insight is necessary for the drafting of future policies and requirements for urban counselor training.

INTRODUCTION

California is a minority-majority state; Latino and African Americans combined make up over 43 percent of the population (U.S. Census Bureau, 2009). Yet in public schooling, a disproportionate amount of Latino and African American students fail in high school diploma attainment and are underperforming compared to Asian and White students. African American and Latino students consistently fail to graduate high school, and are commonly not college-ready when they do complete secondary education. Of these student populations, 51 percent of African American and 52 percent of Latino students graduate from high school. Furthermore, the percentage of African American and Latino students who graduate high school college-ready, as deduced by Greene and Forster, are 20 percent and 16 percent respectively, compared to 37 percent and 38 percent for their White and Asian counterparts (Greene & Forster, 2003). The failure of African American and Latino students in the public education system to perform up to par with Asian and White students has led to scholarly conclusions relating their sub-par educational attainment to cultural tendencies, systemic biases, and often, individual incompetence.

Berkner and Chavez (1997) argue that such disparities are evidence of low educational expectations, poor preparation, lack of information about financial aid and failure to take entrance exams. These factors largely place onus solely on individual students instead of education officials. Greene and Forster (2003) posit that student failure is a result of a failed public K-12 system. However, to abstractly place blame on individual will or red-taped bureaucratic institutions is not effective in bringing about change within a system that continuously fails to support the standard educational attainment of students of color.

This qualitative study investigates the possible links between urban high school guidance counselors and student outcomes. Specifically, this study looks at how school counselors have potential to mediate academic and disciplinary school policies in order to affect the educational outcomes of African American and Latino students.

This study examines counselors' perceptions of their roles in urban school district that caters primarily to African

American and Latino students. Comparing these perceptions with the literature gathered about the topic will offer a holistic understanding of the significance of a guidance counselor. This study focuses on counselors' use of and interactions with policies to fit their schools' needs and what their attitudes are towards the policies. Institutional mandates reviewed include zero tolerance and truancy policies, course requirements, and other such disciplinary and academic procedures.

This study also searches for themes connecting the interaction of urban school counselors, academic and disciplinary policies, and student outcomes. The findings of this study are relevant to guidance counselors and to their heightened responsibility of maximizing their benefit to their students' outcomes. The research serves to inform training and qualification requirements for guidance counselors in urban environments and may also inform future district and school-wide policy implementation with regard to flexibility, possibility for adjustment or standardization and absolute necessity. Such research is urgent if the increasingly failing American educational pipeline, particularly for students of color, is to begin a stable path towards improvement.

LITERATURE REVIEW

SCHOOL COUNSELING & URBAN ENVIRONMENTS

The functions of counselors are to provide information to help nurture and sustain aspirations, guidance on course selection for maximal academic preparation, motivation to achieve, and advice on how to investigate and choose a college (McDonough, 2005). McDonough (2005) asserts that "research clearly shows that counselors, when consistently and frequently available and authorized to provide direct services to students and parents, can be a highly effective group of professionals who impact students' aspirations, achievements, college enrollments, and financial aid knowledge" (p. 30). Oakes (2004) asserts urban students of color attend low-performing schools that are drastically subpar in their learning essentials. An improvement in the quality of school counseling would have a drastic effect

on college access for low-income, urban and students of color (McDonough, 2005).

Scholars have assessed student attitudes towards their own outcomes as functions of their perceptions of the costs of college. McDonough (2006) analyzes how college affordability influences the attitudes towards educational achievement among students and parents of African-American and Latino backgrounds. She claims the importance of using college counselors as legitimate sources that can adequately represent the deliberations that go on among families and students of color and from low-income neighborhoods (McDonough, 2006).

Urban school counseling is evolving from previously referring to helping inner city students with traditional urban problems, such as low achievement, violence and poverty to using the cultural capital of the urban setting as a facet for teaching and learning through diversity that can promote growth and development for all students (Green, Conley & Barnett, 2005; Sink, 2002). Green and colleagues (2005) define urban school counseling as “personnel and programmatic services that are specifically geared toward meeting the multiple and often complex needs of students living and attending school in culturally diverse environments” (p. 189). However, a simplistic perception of urban counselors often leads to an attached connotation of teaching low status people (Green, Conley & Barnett, 2005, p. 190). Such a reductive definition ignores the socio-ecological factors that have led to crime, violence and poverty-ridden urban environments.

In order to completely understand urban school counseling, it is imperative to comprehend urban environments altogether. Gordon (2003) defines urban environments as those characterized by “diversity, conflicting lifestyles, cultural richness, a high concentration of material resources, rapid communication and travel, and the coexistence of fluidity and rigidity in institutional and personal behavior (p. 189). Gordon (2003) asserts that supplemental to standard education, urban education must teach students the dominant and accepted practices of society in order to be successful. Further, Holcomb-McCoy (1998) defines urban schools and students by six characterizing factors: student diversity, lack of resources, poverty, family issues, violence, and high dropout rates.

Whereas more traditional approaches to urban school

counseling focused on single issues that affected minority students’ outcomes, Green and colleagues (2005) use this array of definitions to conclude that urban environments need an ecological perspective in order to better understand student needs and more effectively produce school counseling programs. Such a broader perspective will encourage more effective counseling by acknowledging the needs of disenfranchised people while also addressing the deeper roots of such complexities (Green et al., 2005). Green and colleagues (2005) discuss future steps for urban counselors to include standards-based specialized training for urban students. The first step, however, is the development of an ecological perspective that moves from blaming students and parents as individuals that fail to perform to a more holistic view that acknowledges circumstances as part of a broader process.

At present, in order to be accredited by the Council for Accreditation and Related Educational Programs (CACREP) counselor education preparation programs must require its graduate students to conduct a minimum number of required field hours (CACREP, 2001). The number of required hours varies from state to state but on average is between 48 and 60 hours, although the CACREP is considering increasing the required numbers to at least 60 hours in each state (Henriksen, Wiesner III, & Kinsworthy, 2008). In addition, professional counseling organizations require counselors to train in order to familiarize themselves with diversity and multiculturalism, in addition to their requirements with semester field hours.

According to the CACREP (2001), most urban school counseling programs train enrolled students in general areas such as professional identity, cultural diversity, group work, program evaluation, and others. There exist specialized programs that give a more specific urban perspective within such courses. The American Counseling Association (ACA) has set similar ethical guidelines counselors are expected to meet. Such guidelines include cultural sensitivity, diversity, multicultural issues, considerations and competence (ACA, 2005). The American School Counseling Association (ASCA) has set similar standards relating to multiculturalism that are to be taught in counselor education programs (ASCA, 2004). Such requirements compare with guidelines that scholars are beginning to recommend to counselor education programs. Green and Keys (2001) have presented a list of principles

necessary for counselor preparation, including promotion of self and contextual awareness, embodiment of an ecological framework for problem solving, alignment of school counseling goals with local reform and improvement strategies, and use of outcome based evaluation strategies. Guidelines for program accreditation as well as emerging topics in the literature indicate the increased acknowledgement among scholars and professionals of the significance of educating future counselors to be prepared to work with diverse (Jasinski, 2009).

ACADEMIC POLICIES

Scholars argue that academic policies have emerged over the past three decades with the intention of improving America's position as a world power, but instead had an adverse effect on poorly performing students. The National Commission on Excellence in Education (1983) produced *A Nation At Risk*, a report published as a major warning about the risk our country was facing as a world power because of "a rising tide of mediocrity that threatens our very future as a Nation and a people" (Singer, 2009, p. 56). The report asserts the new Information Age, the function of education in the United States is to position its economic standing and power; further, it clarified that "individuals in our society who do not possess the levels of skill, literacy, and training essential to this new era will be effectively disenfranchised, not simply from the material rewards that accompany competent performance, but also from the chance to participate fully in our national life" (Singer, 2009, p. 56).

The ramifications of a change in the American educational atmosphere are evident in subsequent reports and policies. The Reagan administration's Task Force on Education for Economic Growth's *Action for Excellence* report made a push for partnerships between academic and business entities. Further, Clinton's *School-to-Work Opportunities Act of 1994* is evidence of national policy that, by tailoring local education programs to local businesses, helped shaped the shift of student outcomes. Such policies "homogenized and simplified" the focus of education to pressure students to perform on standardized tests and cut multicultural and bilingual programs (Singer, 2009, p. 59).

Similarly, scholars have argued that more recent

policies, such as the No Child Left Behind (NCLB) Act of 2001 have adversely affected disadvantaged students. Hursh (2007) argues that NCLB is detrimental to students of color by punishing schools in predominately urban communities, which are thereby more likely to serve students of color, by advocating and increasing the implementation of standardized tests. In addition, Hursh (2007) states that NCLB is "unreliable and invalid means of assessing student learning," by narrowing school curriculum and thereby reducing opportunities for teachers to relate to students' lives and cultures. Moreover, Leonardo (2007) states that NCLB is "whiteness turned into policy" by using a color-blind standard of whiteness to assess student performance. Scholars assert that placing such high pressures on teachers to perform on standardized testing has served to separate students on a basis of their "capacity." Apple (2006) asserts that "students who produce higher scores, are also seen as much more valuable" while those who perform lower are subjected to "drill and test" styles of teaching that reduce education to memorization and practicing exams (p. 93).

Scholars argue the levels of performance are evident in school tracking systems. Since the decline of the blue-collar workforce in the United States, tracking has been less concerned with vocational preparation and more concerned with labeling students under different levels of academic rigor such as remedial, regular and accelerated. This is justified by the idea that content will be best suited for uniform levels of performance (Singer, 2009). Oakes (2005) study of academic tracking found that lower tracked students are significantly disadvantaged as a result of disparities in access and exposure to higher levels of critical thinking, active learning and mobility between tracks. Singer (2009) asserts that "school tracking programs, which separate students into different types and levels of courses, have negatively impacted the educational outcomes of minority students" (p. 60).

DISCIPLINARY POLICIES

Scholars argue that recent disciplinary policies have begun to play nontraditional roles in funneling students into outcome pathways. Such conclusions explore how school policies and practices related to standardized curriculum, accountability testing, tracking, zero tolerance policies and other such procedures essentially push students onto the school-to-

prison pipeline (Singer, 2009). By pushing students out of public education and limiting their options, “these policies make it increasingly difficult for students to complete high school and rather than preventing incarceration, contribute to rising incarceration rates” (Singer, 2009, p. 9). According to Singer, schools and prisons work together to support crisis management in an era of capitalism because schools funnel students into prisons in order solve problems that hinder economic prosperity. Moreover, Singer’s (2009) study discusses disproportionate affects of these practices on minority students (pp. 9-12).

Furthermore, there exist connections throughout the public educational experience that move a child from educational success towards incarceration. Scholars argue that the pipeline is composed of state and national policies that encourage scholastic exclusion (Child Welfare League of America, 2008). Such policies are both directly and indirectly tied to the act of being “pushed out” of school. Directly, policies that encourage the presence of police in schools as a means of controlling student misconduct are now pathways into the juvenile justice system. Such policies result in increased on-campus arrests (Child Welfare League of America, 2008). For example, the 1994 Gun-Free Schools Act made federal government school aid dependent on the adoption of zero-tolerance policies. This rendered mass adoption of policies that require yearlong expulsions for weapon possession. As a result, many schools and even entire districts adopted similar zero tolerance policies for drugs, fighting and even dress code violations (Child Welfare League of America, 2008). Localized disciplinary policies such as suspensions and expulsions, which have risen greatly over the past decade, are now being implemented as disciplinary measures for a wide range of misbehavior, including non-violent “disruptive behavior.” Further, the severity of misconduct is increasingly inconsistent. For example, some districts (but not all) consider body limbs as “personal weapons” involved in what is now deemed ominous assault—previously known as fighting (Child Welfare League of America, 2008).

Such disciplinary policies are growing dramatically across the country and are affecting students of color in disproportionate ways. In Chicago during 2003, African American students made up 77 percent of all student arrests despite being only 50 percent of the student population. Similarly,

Palm Beach Florida in 2003 African American students made up 64 percent of total student arrests while making up 29 percent of the total student population (Advancement Project, 2005). According to the U.S. Department of Education, nationally African American students comprise 17 percent of the total student population, however, they represent more than 39 percent of the total suspensions (Kewal Ramani, Gilbertson, Fox & Provasnik, 2007).

STUDENT OUTCOMES

African American and Latino students consistently fail to graduate high school; only 51 and 52 percent of each group respectively, achieve this milestone (Greene & Forster, 2003). Gándara & Contreras (2008) contend Latino students have seen marginal progress in college graduation rates over the past three decades. Furthermore, the percentage of African American and Latino students who graduate high school college-ready—as deduced by Greene by evaluating high school graduation, minimum coursework needed to apply to a four-year college, and basic reading skills—are 20 percent and 16 percent respectively, compared to 37 percent and 38 percent for their White and Asian counterparts (Greene & Forster, 2003). African American and Latino students each represent nine percent of college-ready graduates despite being 14 percent and 17 percent respectively, of the total population of 18-year-olds in the United States. Unsurprisingly, the portion of college freshmen that are African American and Latino, 11 percent and 7 percent respectively, nearly matches the previously deduced numbers (Greene & Forster, 2003). Alternatively, one can refer to Solórzano and Yosso’s Latino educational pipeline in order to understand the state of Latino students in public k – 12 education. Out of 100 Latino students who begin elementary school, 46 graduate from high school, eight graduate from college with a Bachelor’s degree, two earn a graduate or professional degree, and less than one person earns a doctoral degree.

In addition to low graduation and college readiness, outcomes are divided by race and ethnicity in much more overt ways. Discipline policies may play a larger role in determining unfavorable outcomes for African American and Latino students. Students of color have higher rates for suspension than other students, and may relate to dropping out of school (Livingston,

2006). Martin and Halperin (2006) state dropouts are three and a half times more likely than graduates to be incarcerated in their lifetime. Harlow's (2003) study of prison populations reports that 68 percent of prisoners are dropouts. These policies, in turn, are linked to ultimate "individual" failure of students in the educational system as a whole and a subsequent funneling into undesirable pathways.

SCHOLARS' CONCLUSIONS

Students in urban and rural areas are subjected to different circumstances than students in suburban communities are. Policies such as No Child Left Behind, zero tolerance policies, and special education disproportionately disadvantage students of color (Leonardo, 2007). Furthermore, the policies increase the likelihood of academic failure, suspension and expulsion, inevitably leading to dropouts and eventual pathways toward prisons (Singer, 2009). According to Adelman and Taylor (2002), when asked "most days, how many of your students come to class motivationally ready and able to learn?" teachers in schools catering to economically disadvantaged families in urban and rural areas answer that "they are lucky if 10 percent to 15 percent of their students fall into this group," compared to 75 percent in suburban schools (p. 235). Teachers are reliant upon the assistance of counselors in helping with such problems. Other key players in education, such as administrators, board members, parents and students also recognize the importance of counselors in dealing with barriers to learning and thus student outcomes (Adelman & Taylor, 2002). Currently, counselors are not typically involved in planning the schools mission or direction, or who should decide the direction, despite their heavy responsibility and dependence in supporting the administration. Adelman and Taylor (2002) assert that the expertise of counselors must be increasingly used in determining "policy, leadership, and mechanisms for developing school-wide and classroom programs to address barriers to learning and promote healthy development" (p. 247). The following section explains the qualitative methods used to investigate urban high school counselors' use of policy to impact African American and Latinos.

METHODS

I used case study methodology at an urban school district in Southern California. A focus on four urban high schools with African American and Latino students over 50 percent of the total student body were selected. This study includes interviews with high school counselors, institutional data, and analysis of the achievement rates of the students attending the high schools selected. Pseudonyms were used for the counselors, individual schools, school districts, and communities. Baxer and Jack (2008) explain that the benefits of case studies lie in the opportunities they provide to explore a phenomenon in a using a variety of data sources. Case studies provide researchers different lenses, allowing "for multiple facets of the phenomenon to be revealed and understood" (p. 544). The multi-dimensional nature of case studies facilitates the creation of theory, program evaluation and interventions (Baxer & Jack, 2008).

Counselors were contacted via email and phone, as approved by the University of Southern California's Internal Review Board (IRB). A point of interest is that while almost all schools I contacted were in summer session, very few actually had counselors present over the summer to support students. When I asked who was leading the counseling services for the students who were in session, I was usually referred to the program leadership or assistant principal, despite the vastly different responsibilities that each leader plays.

Four high school counselors in urban neighborhoods within one larger metropolitan city agreed to meet for interviews. The counselors agreed to meet either at their work places or at coffee shops near the high schools at which they work. The semi-structured interviews followed an IRB-approved protocol. The semi-structured protocol allowed me to follow the narratives provided by the counselors, who often spoke to additional topics or prompts that were not explicitly asked. The questions were not personal and did not inquire about their roles as counselors. Instead, they required the counselors to share their perceptions of the roles of counselors in general, and more specifically the roles of counselors in urban areas.

Participants

The four counselors interviewed are employed in the City Park School District (CPSD), a system that is broken up

into eight smaller districts, and includes 891 total K-12 schools. Independent charters are not included in these numbers. Of the 891 total schools, 127 are designated as senior high schools, which do not include independent charters, continuation, opportunity high schools or alternative work centers. City Park School District is a minority-majority district; 86 percent of the student population is of a Latino or African American ethnic background. Specifically, 74.2 percent of students are Latino and 10.8 percent are African American (“CPSD District Profile”). No information is available regarding the ethnic breakdown of the faculty, staff, or administration.

Of the total number of suspensions in CPSD in the 2008 – 2009 school year, 27.36 percent were to African American students, while 65.03 percent were of Latino students— totaling 92.39 of all suspensions. Similarly, African American and Latino students comprise 23.45 percent and 67.9 percent respectively, of expulsion referrals (“CPSD District Profile”).

I met Mr. Rodriguez at a coffee shop near High School A, which is located in the City Park Local District 5. According to the institutional profile of District 5, it served 86,037 students in the 2008-09 school year. Of those students, 94 percent are Latino and 2.5 percent are African American (“Local District 5 Profile”). Of suspensions during that year, 98.9 percent were of Latino and African American students. This population also made up 24 out of 25 total expulsion referrals that year. The district contains seven senior high schools and five continuation schools (“Local District 5 Profile”). The table below illustrates statistics on disciplinary actions in the 2008-09 school year at High School A. It is interesting to note that African American students made up nearly 10 percent of suspensions despite being less than one percent of the population, an overrepresentation in suspensions of more than 100 percent (“School A Profile Page”). Additionally, High School A had a 70.2 percent graduation rate and 26.6 percent of its graduates completed courses for UC or CSU admission. The institution has a 255.6:1 counselor to student ratio (School A SARC).

	Population	Suspensions	Expulsions
% Latino	81.1	90.4	50
% African American	.9	10	50

(Source: “School A SARC”)

High School A is located in Mesa Park, CA. This neighborhood is comprised of 70 percent Latinos, 25.2 percent Asian, 2.7 percent White, .4 percent African American, and 1 percent other. A little more than one out of twenty (5.5 percent) of Mesa Park residents have a four-year degree or higher, with the median household income slightly over \$30,000 a year. Additionally, 40 percent of the males and 35 percent of females have never been married in Mesa Park. Single parents head one-fifth of families in the community. Both of these statistics are high, or among the highest in the city. Lastly, more than half of the residents are foreign-born immigrants (Browning, et al., 2010).

I met Mrs. Swanson at a coffee shop near High School B. This school is located in City Park Local District 7. The district contains six senior high schools and three continuation schools and served 69,751 students in the 2008-09 school year. Of these students, 78.3 percent are Latino and 20.8 percent are African American. Of the 3,035 suspensions that year, 45.5 percent were of African American students and 53.7 percent were of Latino students. Of the 22 expulsion referrals in the district, 59.09 percent were for African American students and 40.9 percent were of Latino students. No other students received expulsion referrals (“Local District 7 Profile”). The table below illustrates statistics on disciplinary action at High School B during the 2008-09 school year.

	Population	Suspensions	Expulsions
% Latino	90	71.7	N/A
% African American	9	28.3	N/A

(Source: “School B SARC”)

Student performance on the California Standards Tests indicated that 14 percent of students at High School B were at a proficient level or higher in English/Language Arts and two percent of students were proficient or higher in math in the 2007-08 school year. High School B had a 68 percent graduation rate in 2007-08 and 28.5 percent of students completed all courses for University of California or California State University admission. Lastly, High School B has a 314.7:1 counselor to student ratio (“School B” SARC).

High School B is located in Skyline, CA. The population of this community is made up of 69.8 percent Latinos, 28.1 percent African American, .4 percent White, .4 percent Asian

and 1.3 percent who self-identified as “other”. Less than three percent of residents 25 and older have a four-year degree and the percentage of people 25 and over with less than a high school diploma is among the city’s highest. Never married males and females are also among the city’s highest, with 43.1 percent and 36.2 percent respectively, who have never married (Browning, et al., 2010).

I met Mr. Chesterfield at High School C, which is located in Local District 3. This district served 74,037 students in the 2008–09 school year, and contains seven senior high schools and seven continuation schools. The total population in this district is made of 49.3 percent Latino and 27.5 percent African American students. White students comprised 13.7 percent of the student population. Latino students made up 39.1 percent of suspensions and 26.5 percent of expulsion referrals, while African American students made up 53.5 percent of suspensions and 58.8 percent of expulsion referrals during the 2008–09 school year. White students made up 4.5 percent of suspensions and 8.8 percent of expulsion referrals (“Local District 3 Profile”). The table below illustrates statistics specific to High School C’s disciplinary actions in the 2008–09 school year.

	Population	Suspensions	Expulsions
% Latino	42.5	34.9	0
% African American	56.6	62.2	100 (1 total)

(Source: “School C SARC”)

Performance on California Standards Tests indicated that 17 percent of students at High School C are at a proficient level or higher in English/Language Arts and 3 percent are at a proficient level or above in math. High School C did not meet its Adequate Yearly Progress in 2008–09. This high school had a 62.8 percent graduation rate and 22.8 percent of graduates completed all courses for UC or CSU admission. On the California High School Exit Exam, 69.7 percent of African American students and 77.9 percent of Latino students failed to meet state English/Language Arts standards. In math, 82.3 percent of African American students and 76.6 percent of Latino students failed to meet state standards. Lastly, High School C has a 342.5:1 student to counselor ratio (“School C” SARC).

High School C is located in Enciso, a neighborhood with a population made up of 71.3 percent African Americans

and 17.3 percent Latinos. Asians and Whites make up 4.7 percent and 3.3 percent respectively. Less than a quarter of the residents have obtained a Bachelor’s degree. The percentages of never married women and widowed women are among the highest in the city and county, at 37.4 percent and 13.5 percent respectively. Nearly 41 percent of males have never been married, a figure also among the city’s and the county’s highest (Browning, et al., 2010).

I met Mrs. Maywood at High School D. This high school is a part of a collaborative project between the city and the City Park School District that aims to turn around the city’s lowest performing schools. This partnership operates the schools independently of the smaller local districts schools in CPSD are typically broken down into. Schools within this partnership have improved since it began operating three years ago, but their initial performance was extremely low (Partnership for Schools). The table below illustrates statistics specific to High School D’s disciplinary actions in the 2008–09 school year. It is interesting to note an overrepresentation in expulsions of over 400 percent for African American students (“School D SARC”).

	Population	Suspensions	Expulsions
% Latino	92.4	89.5	66.6
% African American	7.4	10	33.3

(Source: “School D SARC”)

High School D did not meet its Adequate Yearly Progress for 2008–09. It had a 67.3 percent graduation rate and 11.5 percent of students completed the required courses for UC or CSU admission. On the California High School Exit Exam, 87.2 percent of African American students and 81 percent of Latino students failed to meet English/Language Arts standards. In math, 89.6 percent of African American students and 77.2 percent of Latino students failed to meet state standards. High School D has a 511:1 student to counselor ratio (School D SARC).

High School D is located in East City. The population in the neighborhood is 87.2 percent Latino and 10.1 percent African American. A little over three percent of residents 25 and older have a Bachelor’s degree or higher. A little less than half of its male residents have never been married while 36.7 percent of women have never been married. These figures are

among the city's highest. This neighborhood is also among the densest in the county, with almost 20,000 people per square mile (Browning, et al., 2010).

FINDINGS

I organized the findings from my interviews around major themes. The protocol used to guide the interviews reflected the literature reviewed for this study, therefore, the themes overlap with those presented in the literature. The counselors I interviewed had the most to say regarding the topics of counselor preparation, the effects of an urban setting, counselor influences over policies, and counselor influences over student outcomes.

With regards to counselor preparation and training in counselor education programs, there was an agreement among all four counselors that preparation for the work that prospective counselors will face is insufficient. The interview participants agreed that counselors do not spend enough time learning to relate to students and teachers in counselor education programs, especially counselors who will enter the field of education with no prior teaching experience. The participants emphasized the insufficiency of the training for many administrative tasks that counselors face, such as creating master schedules and tracks. Mr. Chesterfield insisted that

“...you always learn more when you jump right into it. A lot of it is good background... you know, uh, for counseling purposes, yes. But counselors don't just counsel, they do a lot of other stuff. And once you start working at a school you find out it's a lot different from what they teach you... especially if you go from college student to counselor. You find out it's not just having students in your class and advising them.”

More clearly, Mrs. Swanson stated, “No, absolutely not... we don't spend nearly enough time learning to relate to students, to navigating schools and understanding classrooms.”

The counselors interviewed within this study affirmed that urban settings undoubtedly affect the educational atmospheres at high schools, and thus alter the roles of counselors at those high schools. They agreed that because of this, successful urban counseling requires different preparation than standard counseling. However, such preparation is not readily available in

regular counselor education programs. Mr. Rodriguez asserted that in terms of proactively preparing students for high educational achievement, urban areas foster a more relaxed attitude among the counselors. Moreover, according to Mr. Rodriguez, parents in urban areas are less apt to pressure counselors and administrators to prepare their students well. When parental pressure lessens, counselors feel less responsibility to focus and prepare their students.

“In an urban setting, because parents usually are not as demanding, the counselor does not... see the urgency in preparing students and focusing students as opposed to if you go [to] a middle class neighborhood, parents will demand that their students are prepared.”

In addition to affecting parental involvement, counselors pointed to many of the problems associated with urban neighborhoods both as detriments and facets for potential counselor influence. Mr. Chesterfield explained that urban environments and the issues they carry should influence how an educator perceives his or her students' actions.

“An urban environment affects it because you have to deal with... you know... what's happening in the city. A lot of time students are ridiculed for not doing this, not doing that, not acting according to how they act in a different area. And you have to know that this... this being an inner city... there's gangs surrounding the whole school. All corners, ok? But the school is good inside. Inside these gates it's fine, outside you have to be able to deal with it. What I'm saying is you have to bring in the students' lives. Maybe they didn't do homework, not because they're defiant but maybe they're keeping low from the gangs next door. They may not feel well because they didn't eat breakfast.”

The circumstances that foster such problems are unordinary for average American teenagers. However, they are what nurture the potential for special relationships between students and counselors. These circumstances are unique to urban settings. Mr. Chesterfield went on to explain that oftentimes as teachers and counselors in urban settings, you may “take students under” and try to help them where there may be voids in their lives. He says while not encouraged or taught, it is not uncommon for counselors to buy students shoes or direct their families to local food kitchens.

On the topic of counselor influences over school policies, there was agreement among all four counselors that they can have at least limited influence over policies. Mr. Chesterfield and Mrs. Maywood agreed more that counselors form one part of executive-like teams with administrators, and being part of that team gives them unmatched influence over enactment and/or adaptation of policies.

Mrs. Swanson and Mr. Rodriguez were more adamant that as individuals, counselors could push influence. Specifically, Mrs. Swanson insisted that “it’s about how respected you are by the administration.” She explained it as a matter of seniority and hierarchy—if a counselor had been there for a long time and was well liked by the administration, he or she could have a “huge” influence. She went on to explain, “If I wanted a student to go, I could make him go. If I wanted a student who was going to be expelled to stay, I could make it happen.”

Mr. Rodriguez saw influence as more inherent to the role of counselors, and less related to respect or hierarchy.

“They have to adhere to the guidelines but they can add to the guidelines. Again, the counselors can do their own thing. If they see that a kid is not doing well... on drugs or whatever... they can have the parent come in... they can place the student on like a... weekly progress report where the teacher gives feedback as to the students progress and behavior and uh... they can also, you know, choose to send the kid to the social worker on campus.”

Further, Mr. Rodriguez asserted that counselors absolutely have an impact over academic policies. He gave the example of the implementation of A-G courses—classes required for UC or CSU admission—requirements for all students, a guideline recently imposed by the City Park School District. He described a system he and other counselors in his local district created that gave students and parents more freedom of choice. The program included mandatory workshops for students and parents to understand the importance of A-G courses in addition to other prerequisites needed to apply for and be admitted to colleges and universities. If students and parents met all requirements, they would then have the choice to opt their student out of the course requirements. Examples such as this, he explained, were proof that counselors undoubtedly have influence over policies. The influence requires more time and

investment than is required of counselors currently.

“If the counselor wants to they can have a huge impact on academic policies because schools now are breaking down into SLCs [small learning communities]. It’s the principal, the coordinator and the counselor who set up the master schedule for that community and encourage or discourage AP classes to be taught by the teachers and encourage or discourage honors classes, which kind of track students”

Similarly, counselors agreed that they have influence over student outcomes because of their influence over policies. Three out of the four counselors I interviewed agreed that counselors must choose to embrace their potential influence, and it is only when they do this that their influence may reach the students they serve. Mr. Rodriguez and Mrs. Maywood explained that it is very dependent on each counselor because accountability for counselors is low. Mr. Chesterfield discussed the importance of reading into situations as a counselor. He explained that if counselors are going to have a significant impact, they have to reach out to students as much as their time allows, given all of their other responsibilities. You can have a big impact and you may not see it but a lot of times students will come back four years later and say ‘thank you’ and you know... you know that really makes all this worth it.”

DISCUSSION

Black student outcomes in the American educational pipeline are becoming increasingly alarming. African American and Latino student populations consistently report fifty percent dropout rates and are but single-digit percentages of freshmen college classes. These outcomes are functions of national and localized policies that have continuously disadvantaged students of color and students in urban areas, despite said intentions to help improve their conditions (Hursh, 2007; Leonardo, 2007; Apple, 2006; Singer, 2009). Policies such as Action for Excellence and the No Child Left Behind Act have been detrimental to the achievement of underserved minority students and have increased dependence on standardized tests (Hursh, 2007). In interviews, school counselors insist that such policies have in fact created an era of “teaching to the test,” a method that prepares students

to know enough to do well on standardized tests, but does not encourage holistic teaching and learning. Additionally, evidence exists suggesting students of color are disproportionately affected by disciplinary measures such as suspension and expulsion, and that there is a link between such discipline and later unfavorable student outcomes (Livingston, 2006). According to counselors, these national policies have become adapted at the local school levels, but counselor influence over how they are implemented and how they affect students cannot be understated.

Literature continuously emphasizes the importance of counselor performance for ensuring positive student performance. However, three out of the four participants interviewed for this study insisted counselors absolutely have the potential to influence student outcomes, but must choose to take on this responsibility. They insisted that counselors might very well choose to not take on this responsibility without undergoing punishment, specifically because of the insufficient accountability counselors are subjected to. Thus, scholars as well as interviews with counselors strongly indicate that academic and disciplinary policies have potential to be unjust, especially for students of color in urban areas. However, there is clear agreement that counselors may be able to curb the effects of these policies by adapting and mediating them in order to best suit the needs of their students.

Scholars and counselors agree that urban settings are vastly different than non-urban settings in the circumstances they create for students and educators alike. Greene (2005) discusses that urban settings rarely divorce themselves from issues concerning poverty, diversity, violence and others. As one interview participant explained, urban settings have their own sets of problems that counselors must learn to navigate if they will have positive effects on their students. However, according to the interview participants, it is also the problematic circumstances that urban settings foster that allow for the forging of atypical mentoring relationships between counselors and students. These dynamics further maximize the potential for influence that the role of a counselor inherently possesses.

Curriculum required for general counselor education programs by accreditation entities is standardized across the board, unless students choose to undertake specialized programs (CACREP, 2001). There is a connection between policies and

student outcomes according to the literature and to counselors. The literature also asserts the growing role of counselors in determining outcomes, and there was general agreement among the counselors interviewed for this study that they have some, at least limited, control over policy implementation and thus student outcomes. The fluidity of these connections indicates there is a need for counselors with specific urban perspective training that teaches them to maximize their effectiveness by harnessing the leverage urban settings present to counselors. Examples of this preparation might include training that would teach counselors how urban schools might allow for modification of academic policies to better cater to the needs of the students at a given school, or how to properly maintain student mentorship relationships that might result from the conditions that are specific to urban schools.

The conclusions of this study suggest two areas in need of major improvement in the field of counselor preparation: program evaluation and urban training requirements. There was an agreement among the participants about the lack of preparation they received in training programs for the work they would face once becoming counselors, thus there is a need for better basic program evaluation. Moreover, after reviewing the literature, I found that there are very few academic sources that speak to the effectiveness of training programs. Instead, most program evaluation information comes from professional publications, such as the American School Counselor Association and the American Counseling Association. There is a need for a greater focus on evaluations and analyses of current procedures and requirements by diverse perspectives, both scholarly and professional.

In addition to program evaluation, my findings suggest that counselors with a specific urban setting preparation would best affect urban student outcomes. In order to ensure that counselors serving such students have this preparation, urban high schools should be required to hire counselors who have undergone the proper preparation via a specialized urban education-training program. Alternatively, accreditation entities should require that urban preparation be standard across the board for all counselor-training programs, alongside requirements such as multicultural competency imposed by the Council for Accreditation of Counselor Related Educational

Programs. Alterations to preparation and evaluation methods in the field of counselor education are necessary if improvements are to be seen in the educational pipeline, specifically for students of color.

CONCLUSIONS

This ongoing study aims to accomplish two major goals. By conducting case studies, interviews and reviewing policies, this study is attempting to understand a current trend in education, to have a practical application on current and future practices. This research is not attempting to bridge the gap in educational achievement as a whole; rather, it is identifying one aspect of the educational pipeline that requires further understanding and, according to literature, has been absent or insufficient, as well as in need of urgent improvement. Understanding the role of urban counselors on student outcomes is imperative because of the potential for influence that counselors possess. Urban student-counselor ratios are particularly significant because they are indicative of the large amount of students each counselor is responsible for. This information is evidenced by the ratios at the schools I studied as well as in the literature. While such statistics are unfavorable for students, they create greater opportunity for influence among the counselors who are present. Additionally, the diverse roles that counselors fill also allow them greater interaction with students outside of the classroom and outside of traditional administrative roles. By understanding the indispensability of school counselors in urban settings we can begin to make changes that will improve their effectiveness. This will allow for a push forward in the African American and Latino educational pipelines.

This study has several directions for the future. In this initial phase, the interviews and preliminary research did not look directly at the implications of race, gender and socio-economic status of counselors. However, after interviewing counselors of diverse backgrounds, I have found it necessary to further my research to include how these dynamics might also affect their potential for influence. I find this to be especially necessary at schools that primarily serve African American and Latino students, such as the ones I looked at within this study.

Adding this element would entail a further preliminary literature review as well as additional interviews with counselors to include the topics of race and ethnicity.

Additionally, the conclusions that this study has drawn about counselor roles would be greatly supplemented by the diversification of perspectives. Thus, future studies will also include interviews with students as well as school faculty in order to determine differences or similarities between participants in perceptions of counselor roles and dynamics. Such additions of topics and participants also call for a quantitative element. Thus, the study will be expanded to include a survey released to counselors, students and school faculty in order to draw specific correlations between participant characteristics, counselor role perceptions, student aspirations, outcomes and other elements. Altogether, the scope of my protocol will shift to include more personal questions and thus would require a human subjects research approval. The growth of this study will expand the reaped benefits and its subsequent potential practical applications on educational policy. This will inevitably lead to improvements for the growing population of African American and Latino students on the educational pipeline, and thus for the American educational pipeline as a whole.

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*Titles of districts, schools and neighborhoods have been changed in citations to protect the identities of interview participants. Links to websites are unaltered.

