UCSB McNair Scholars
Research Journal

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Table of Contents

Letter from Executive Vice Chancellor Gene Lucas

It gives me great pleasure to welcome you to Volume III of the UCSB McNair Scholars Research Journal. This journal recognizes the research accomplishments of a select group of 18 undergraduate scholars from a wide range of disciplines across the campus, who have successfully completed our McNair Scholars Program. Their contributions to this journal are a result of hard work and intellectual creativity, and are representative of the quality of students engaged in this program. We anticipate and expect they will ultimately be leaders in their respective fields, and go on to become faculty mentors who exemplify the dedication of our campus to undergraduate success.

Our McNair Scholars Program aligns with our twin campus goals of improving both the diversity and quality of our students, and preparing them for success beyond their undergraduate experience. By combining undergraduate research with faculty mentoring and academic support services, the McNair Scholars Program provides a path to graduate school for students from families that have not traditionally considered even a college education. In the process, the students develop a strong bond with their mentors, who serve as role models to help the students see what their success can look like.

We're very proud of the success of our students. This dedicated collection of scholarship for publication is something they can and should be proud of as well. I congratulate the McNair Scholars, applaud the faculty mentors, and extend my appreciation to the staff of the McNair Scholars Program for their dedication and work in helping these students achieve success.

With warm regards,

Gene Lucas
Executive Vice Chancellor

Letter from the College of Letters and Sciences Executive Dean L. Melvin Oliver

Welcome to the third issue of the UCSB McNair Scholars Research Journal. The work of the scholars in the two issues of Volume III represents the fruits of an apprenticeship relationship that they shared with a faculty mentor to better understand and learn to carry out research in their respective fields of specialization. The research they have produced represents the result of applying creative ideas to research questions using systematic and rigorous methods of established research protocols in several areas, ranging from the social sciences to mathematics and engineering. I am certain you will agree with me that this research is both impressive and engaging.

The UCSB McNair Scholars were encouraged to advance their education in hopes that they will become the next generation of college and university professors. We have seen scholars in previous cohorts go on to prestigious graduate and professional schools and we have no doubt that, as a consequence of their McNair experience, these scholars too will excel in their graduate program. As first generation, and often underrepresented minorities, they are an important resource for higher education as our student population becomes more diverse and our nation's productivity becomes increasingly reliant on the academic, economic and social success of this multiethnic mosaic.

The UCSB McNair Scholars program has historically been situated in the College of Letters and Sciences, indicating the importance of this effort as part of the College's core belief that diversity and excellence are both necessary to advance knowledge in the 21st century. I salute the Director, Dr. Beth Schneider, the Assistant Director, Monique Limon, Writing Specialist Dr. Ellen Broidy, staff, graduate mentors, and the array of faculty mentors who have selflessly given of their time, for creating the kind of supportive and nurturing environment that has made the production of this

journal possible. And finally, I want to salute the McNair scholar authors who, I hope, will look fondly upon this publication as one of their first in a long line of research publications in a stellar academic career!

Sincerely,

Melvin L. Oliver
Executive Dean, College of Letters and Sciences and
SAGE Sara Miller McCune Dean of Social Sciences

Letter from McNair Program Director, Dr. Beth E. Schneider

Volume III of the UCSB McNair Scholars Research Journal is now in the hands of our students, alumni, faculty mentors, campus allies, and McNair colleagues in California and around the country. As the Director of the McNair Scholars Program since its inception, it is a pleasure to showcase the work of two cohorts of students, some who graduated in 2012, and a majority who graduated in 2013.

These student scholars and authors spent two years with the UCSB McNair Scholars Program. Performance expectations are very high for the UCSB McNair scholars, and all these students met them, presenting their faculty-mentored scholarship at one McNair Scholars National Research Conference as well as offering two or three poster sessions in various venues. Some presented at professional conferences as well. This current group of authors not only presented their work, but they all applied to graduate school in their senior year. Of the six contributors to this volume from among the 2012 seniors, all are currently in graduate school. Of the 12 contributors from the 2013 graduating seniors, eleven applied to graduate school and of those, all will start their programs in September 2013.

The papers published in Volume III are the final versions of manuscripts our graduates were willing to see through to publication. They went the extra mile, writing and rewriting their research papers in response to a steady stream of comments from their mentors and the journal editors. Often, the final revisions were completed during a first term of graduate study, a sacrifice reflecting a serious labor of love. As undergraduate research papers, we expect that these publications will be the first of many manuscripts published by these eight students during their graduate training and in their first academic positions.

The eighteen McNair scholars whose work is showcased in this issue displayed perseverance, patience, and diligence that will

serve them exceedingly well in their continued professional training. For all first-generation, low income, and underrepresented undergraduates, the existence of the journal and the labor it represents will hopefully be an inspiration to seek research opportunities, develop successful mentorships, and take seriously a future in which the McNair Scholars Program played and continues to play an important part.

With special thanks to the UCSB McNair Scholars staff, and great pride in our scholars.

Professor Beth E. Schneider
Director, UCSB McNair Scholars Program

Letter from the Editors
Drs. Ellen Broidy and Beth E. Schneider

The McNair Scholars Program at UCSB is pleased to bring you the first issue of the third volume of the UCSB McNair Scholars Research Journal. A cooperative effort of faculty mentors, McNair staff, and most especially a dedicated cadre of student scholars, the journal represents months of research, writing, editing and reviewing on the part of all the participants.

For our scholars, preparation of their manuscripts for publication in the Journal began as a challenging experience and ended as a rewarding experience. Novices when they started the process, the scholars embarked on lengthy adventure in what it takes to produce academic work suitable for publication. With good humor and extraordinary patience and fortitude, they experienced the frustration of being asked to revise and revise again and then the feeling of elation that comes with a final acceptance. Through this process, the McNair staff was able to provide scholars with a practical hands-on introduction to the types of writing and revision expected of graduate students and academics.

We have never made submission to the journal a requirement for completion of the UCSB McNair Scholars Program so we were enormously gratified that a number of our students, representing both the current 2013 senior cohort and scholars who graduated in 2012 decided to allow their work to be put under the editorial microscope. Previous publications arrangement with faculty mentors meant that some scholars were unable to submit their work while others, having left UCSB to start their graduate programs, were simply not able to take on the additional tasks involved in manuscript revision. The scholars who did contribute worked diligently on their papers, rethinking, rewriting, reorganizing, and in some instances, reconceptualizing core ideas. We applaud them all for their hard work and commitment.

We trust that you will enjoy reading the work of the UCSB McNair Scholars represented in this first of two issues of the third volume of the Journal. We look forward to bringing you the voices of new generations of scholars in subsequent volumes and thank you on behalf of the authors, mentors, and editors who made this publication possible.

Best,

Ellen Broidy
Writing Specialist, UCSB McNair Scholars Program

Beth E. Schneider
Professor, Department of Sociology
Director, UCSB McNair Scholars Program

Restricted Choices
Childbirth Options for Low-Income Women in Santa Barbara County

Adrianna Alexandrian

Mentor: Professor Laury Oaks
Department of Feminist Studies

Abstract

The female body during childbirth is a site of struggle between medicalization and autonomy. Social and personal factors shape a woman's decisions about a model and site of childbirth. My research analyzes low-income women's options for birthing and maternity care in a California coastal county that has a predominantly White and Latino population. Options include doctor or mid-wife-attended hospital birth, mid-wife-attended birthing center, or home-birth. The four hospitals in Santa Barbara County, three without religious affiliation and one Catholic, have different philosophies and services. The Santa Barbara Birth Center (SBBC) provides women with "low-risk" pregnancies an alternative to a hospital birth; however, access to this option is not readily available for every woman. Currently, women must be able to pay out-of-pocket for all birthing care expenses. This limits low-income women's access to this birth center. My question is what access do low-income women have to various childbirth options in Santa Barbara County and how do factors such as class and race impact these options? Research methods include snow-ball sampling and open-ended conversational interviews with health professionals and low-

income women. Preliminary findings indicate that there is a disparity in low-income women's access to midwifery care in Santa Barbara County and that class is a predictor of accessibility. Further randomized interviews and analysis of policies must take place before strong claims are made and better understood.

Introduction

Feminist medical anthropologist Robbie Davis-Floyd (2004) and other feminist scholars analyze the meaning of control and choice during childbirth. This scholarship, however, needs a more thorough examination of how class and race shape what these terms mean for pregnant low-income women (cf. Emily Martin, 1987). My research on Santa Barbara County reveals that layers of institutional/political/legal/structural power are involved in the array of childbirth choices. State laws determine women's choices. In California, the Legislature passed the Licensed Midwifery Practice Act of 1993 designed to legalize midwives as health professionals and with the intention that licensed midwives would provide accessible care to low-income pregnant women.[1] However, as lawyer Sara Hayden notes, the Act has resulted in even less access to midwifery care for low-income women due to the state's failure to require that midwifery care be covered by Medi-Cal and health maintenance organizations (HMOs).[2]

At the local level,[3] women's childbirth choices are structured by ability to pay and the types of institutions available. Until 2003, women in South County had three hospital birthing site options: Cottage, Goleta Valley, St. Francis and a home midwife-attended option. In North County, there are three options, including two hospitals. Marian Medical (Catholic-run) and Lompoc Valley, and midwife-assisted homebirths, are available. In South County, St. Francis closed in 2003 and Goleta Valley labor and delivery was discontinued in 2008, leaving Cottage Hospital as the only

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[1] Sara K. Hayden, "The Business of Birth: Obstacles Facing Low-Income Women in Choosing Midwifery Care After the Licensed Midwifery Practice Act of 1993." *Berkeley Women's Law Journal*. Vol. 19. (2004): 257-258.

[2] Ibid. 258

[3] http://www.stfrancisfoundationsb.org/site/history.html; http://articles.latimes.com/2003/jun/08/local/me-hospital8 http://www.sbch.org/NewsEvents/NewsandPublications/BirthingServicesConsolidatedatSBCH/tabid/992/Default.aspx http://vbactivism.com/news?page=1

hospital option. In 2011, a birthing center opened in the southern portion of Santa Barbara County– a region known for wealth but with a sizable low-income population with 14.3% living below the poverty level[4] Women selecting this option must pay for childbirth care out-of-pocket rather than through Medi-Cal or insurance due to the small patient numbers served at the Santa Barbara Birth Center (SBBC) and the compensation from insurance not correlating with the services the center offers.[5] The Center aims to raise funds to sponsor low-income women, but the financial struggles it faces demonstrate that what is considered a "natural way" of birth is a privilege available to only a few.

My research utilizes a reproductive justice framework, a concept developed by women of color in the U.S.,[6] to analyze the birthing care support in Santa Barbara County, including hospitals and midwife/doula attended births outside of hospitals. Specifically, my research examines the factors that influence the access that low-income women have to various childbirth options in Santa Barbara County. Answers to this question will allow for further understanding of how class stratification works to limit or privilege the accessibility of birthing care options. A supplemental question asks whether low-income pregnant women are routinely seen as "high risk," thus limiting their birthing options. This paper is based on interviews with workers at each birthing care site and low-income women who have given birth or are currently pregnant. I address the ways policies shape women's experiences during pregnancy including the financial and legal barriers that impact access to birthing care options.

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[4] "Santa Barbara Census." Last revised June 7, 2012.
http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/states/06/06083.html
[5] "FAQ." Last modified 2012. http://www.sbbirthcenter.org/information/faq/
[6] "About SisterSong." Last modified 2012.
http://www.sistersong.net/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=25&Itemid=66

Literature Review

Feminist scholars in such fields as sociology, law, public health, nursing, history, economics, and anthropology have studied childbirth. Most of the research has focused on the medicalization of childbirth (Davis-Floyd, 1992, Thomasson & Treber, 2006; Devries et al. 2001; Teijlingen et. al, 2008; Ehrenreich & English, 2005; Block, 2007), natural childbirth as a humane and reasonable childbirth option (Davis-Floyd, 1992; Macdorman M., Matthews T.J., Declercq E., 2012; Hayden, 2004), and stratification of childbirth and accessibility to different types of maternity care (Martin, 1987; Akrich & Pasveer, 2004; Craven, 2007; Solinger, 2001). What is lacking, however, is a more thorough examination of how class and race shape and impact the experience of childbirth in the United States. While some scholars (Martin, 1987; Hayden, 2004; McCormack, 2005; Teijlingen et. al, 2008, Solinger, 2001) have incorporated issues of race and class into their analysis, much more is needed because women's access to various options are facilitated by critical aspects of their life, in particular their economic status.

The Medicalization of Childbirth

Historically, childbirth has been attended by midwives; midwives have delivered babies for centuries. In their research using city-level data for Baltimore over the period 1928-1940, economists Thomasson and Treber (2006)[7] studied the impact on maternal mortality resulting from the shift from home to hospital birth. They found that medical doctors did not get involved with childbirth until the early 20th century and that the participation of medical doctors did not significantly decrease infant mortality

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[7] Melissa A. Thomasson and Jaret Treber. 2008 "From home to hospital: The evolution of childbirth in the United States, 1928-1940." *Explorations In Economic History* 45, no. 1:76-99. *Academic Search Complete*, EBSCO *host* (accessed July 17, 2012).

rates. Technology was responsible for improving maternity care when sulfa drugs were developed in the late 1930s. Pregnant women did not go to the hospital for maternity care until doctors recommended that women to do so, a move designed to create economic gains for medical doctors.

Barbara Ehrenreich and Deidre English (2005)[8] recount this transition from home to hospital, pointing out that healthcare laws were promulgated to limit midwifery care by categorizing midwives as untrained. The medicalization of childbirth did not necessarily occur solely because of a belief that midwives were providing inadequate care, but rather as a way to make the medical field appear superior and benefit medical practitioners economically. While providing information about the transition from home to hospital birth in the United States, this study did not analyze the implications it had on different communities with regards to race and class which is an area my research seeks to further examine.

Devries et. al (2001)[9] further explore the implications of medicalized childbirth through their anthropological studies on childbirth in the United States and Canada. They found that the decline in the availability of traditional birthing options such as midwifery has resulted in the expansion of medicalized childbirth care that overlooks the needs of women in order to support standardized approaches. While this study analyzes how medicalized birth neglects the needs of women, there is not much consideration about why most women have hospital births.

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[8] Barbara Ehrenreich and Deidre English, *For Her Own Good: Two Centuries of the Experts Advice to Women*, (Garden City: Anchor Books, 2005).
[9] Raymond Devries, Edwin van Teijlingen, Sirpa Wrede, Cecilia Benoit, and Jane Sandall, "Born in the USA: Exceptionalism in Maternity Care Organisation Among High-Income Countries." Sociological Research Online, 14, no. 1 (2009): 1-13, http://www.socresonline.org.uk/14/1/5.html (accessed).

Other researchers, including Davis-Floyd (1992)[10] and Macdorman, Matthews, and Declerq (2012)[11] further investigated that issue and found that while pregnant women are disempowered when it comes to giving birth in a hospital, more than 99% of women *choose* hospital births, even when they have financial and social support to pursue other options. These studies find that medicalized childbirth has become the widely accepted norm. While scholarship on medicalized childbirth details the changes in childbirth and the negative impacts this has on women such as feeling powerless, there is little analysis specifically on how the race and class of the pregnant woman has contributed to the acceptance of or resistance to medicalized childbirth.

Concept of Choice

All of the above studies on childbirth revolve around the concept of choice, which is central to understanding accessibility to birthing care options. Choices concerning childbirth, which range from decisions relating to a woman's birth plan to where to give birth or what if any procedures can take place during childbirth, are often facilitated or limited by class and race barriers. Thus, there is a need for further examination of women's childbirth choices to contest the assumption that they are, at all times, freely made. Historian Rickie Solinger (2001)[12] and anthropologist Christa Craven (2007)[13] argue that there has been a transition in

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[10] Robbie Davis-Floyd. *Birth as an Amercan Rite of Passage*. Berkeley: University of California, 1992.

[11] M.F. MacDorman, T.J Mathews., E. Declercq. "Home births in the United States, 1990–2009." *NCHS data brief*, no 84. Hyattsville, MD: National Center for Health Statistics. 2012.

[12] Rickie Solinger. *Beggars and Choosers: How the Politics of Choice Shapes Adoption, Abortion, and Welfare in the United States.* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2001).

[13] Christa Craven. "A Consumer's Right" To Choose a Midwife: Shifting Meanings for Reproductive Rights Under Neoliberalism." *American Anthropologist* 109.4 (2007): 701-712. *Academic Search Complete*.

the United States from childbirth options being a reproductive right to a consumer right. Solinger's research methodology included analysis of public discourse such mainstream media messages and popular discussion, policies, and interviews with various women and policy makers across the United States.

This discussion of the concept of choice is very important in theorizing natural childbirth because this option is not easily available to low-income women, in particular women of color, in the U.S. For example, Solinger points out that the use of consumer language such as "the right to choose" when discussing access to midwifery supports neoliberal policies which ultimately alienate low-income women and makes midwifery a class privilege. This occurs when some midwifery advocates equate the right to choose a childbirth option with one's economic purchasing power. It is important to see the impact of race and class stratification not only on access to birthing care options, but also on the way these variables influence the meaning of control, power, and embodiment for pregnant women. The inclusion of race and class into the scholarly discussion of childbirth would allow for a more complete understanding of how childbirth is both experienced and constructed in the United States.

The Argument for Accessibility to Natural Childbirth Options

The next section reviews scholarly discussions on the prevalence of natural childbirth and its conceptualization as a more humane and reasonable option for women. Despite the vast majority of births taking place in hospitals, natural childbirth, meaning low-tech midwife-attended births at home or in birthing centers, is a birthing care option that women do explore. Anthropologist Davis-Floyd (1992)[14] conducted interviews with mothers, midwives, and obstetric-gynecologists and found that

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[14] Robbie Davis-Floyd. *Birth as an Amercan Rite of Passage*. Berkeley: University of California, 1992. 45-50.

many women feel they lack power over the conditions of their childbirth in a hospital setting. She argues that the preference for natural childbirth stems not just from a preference for less medical intervention, but also from a woman's a desire to have more agency and presence during birth.

Lisa Koers's (2008)[15] dissertation extends the argument for more access to natural childbirth options by observing that increased utilization of midwifery skills and enhanced collaboration between obstetricians and midwives will help improve the birth outcomes in the United States. Koer, like Davis-Floyd, enumerates the benefits of midwifery care, including individualized care, empowerment, and long-term advising and support as well as risk management throughout the entire pregnancy. Her research methods involved analysis of various reports from international health organizations and American medical authorities on the quality of childbirth care, as well as interviews with low-income women about their experiences. Koer's research is significant for my topic because her argument calls for increased accessibility to midwifery care for low-income women. She did an analysis of a case study in Indiana where midwifery care is covered by Medicaid. This is currently not the case for low-income women in California. I hope my research will increase understanding of the necessity of expanding coverage of natural childbirth options like midwifery.

Journalist Jennifer Block (2007)[16] also argues for current childbirth policy to be restructured and less medicalized. Block's research on maternity care and childbirth was largely done through widespread investigation and interviews with various women as

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[15] Lisa Koers. Benefits of Midwifery for Low-Income Women [dissertation]. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University; 2008.
[16] Susan Block. *Pushed: The Painful Truth about Childbirth and Modern Maternity Care.* New York: Da Capo Press, 2007.

well as health professionals. In her discussion of natural childbirth, Block declares it is vital to take into consideration views on maternity care practices in countries other than the United States, for this will allow a better understanding of how the childbirth process is viewed cross-culturally. Many industrialized nations such as the United Kingdom have a maternity system that is mainly carried out by midwives and/or doulas. Midwife-assisted births and natural childbirths are not uncommon in many nations; in fact, the World Health Organization (WHO) categorizes midwives as being most suitable primary health providers for women during childbirth.

Block mentions that the United States, one of the wealthiest nations, ranks second to last among thirty-three industrialized nations when it comes to maternity care services. This ranking clearly points out the need for a re-evaluation of the U.S. maternity system. Women and leading health care professionals from the World Health Organization view natural childbirth as more empowering and beneficial to women, and thus there is a need to implement it as a practical and necessary option for women to have. Ultimately, Block's work is useful for my research because it includes women's voices and perspectives on childbirth and touches upon the disparities between the U.S. maternity system and other nations.

Sociologists Heather Hartley and Christina Gasbarro (2002)[17] conducted research on the factors that contributed to increased coverage of homebirths in Washington State compared to other states and serves as a useful case study for determining how health insurance coverage policies can evolve in California.

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[17] Heather Harley, and Christina Gashbarro. 2002. "Forces Promoting Health Insurance Coverage of Homebirth: A Case Study in Washington State." *Women & Health* 36, no. 3: 13. *Academic Search Complete*. EBSCO *host* (accessed July 9, 2012).

Hartley and Gasbarro conducted interviews with state officials, midwife associations, and health officials and analyzed historical policies. Ultimately, they found that widespread health insurance coverage for homebirth in Washington State was prompted by consumer demand and professional mobilization and licensed midwives' alliances with other natural health care providers such as chiropractors to promote coverage for their services. The policies such as "Every Category of Provider" and "Direct Access Law" are what helped propel most insurance companies in Washington to cover midwifery and enabled women to have better access to this option. I am interested in further analyzing California policies to see if there are currently similar policies in California in place.

The Stratification of Childbirth

Anthropologist Emily Martin (1987)[18] is a scholar known for her research on the stratification of childbirth and the differences in access to childbirth care due to various class and race backgrounds, as she explores the different representations of reproduction in American culture. She argues that traditional cultures validate women's bodily functions, while industrial society requires women to deny the reality of their bodies in order to view themselves as separate from their body. Martin's work is one of the centerpieces of my research as it helped me in my approach to interviewing women and learning about their experiences. Martin utilized qualitative research methods such as interviews and surveys. In her research she sought to uncover the ideas and attitudes of the women she surveyed to determine whether class and age differences impacted their acceptance (or rejection) of dominant medical readings of the female body and their own perceptions of themselves. Martin, like other scholars I have read, including Robbie Davis-Floyd and Christa Craven, are useful to

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[18] Emily Martin. *The Woman in the Body: A Cultural Analysis of Reproduction.* Boston: Beacon, 1987.

me because they take into consideration women's experiences and ultimately seek to understand how race and class impact childbirth experiences.

Lawyer Sara K. Hayden (2004)[19] details how the stratification of childbirth options occurred when the California Legislature passed the Licensed Midwifery Practice Act of 1993 with the intent that licensed midwives would provide accessible care to low-income pregnant women, often women of color. Hayden analyzed state policies and historical background information. She notes that the Act has resulted in even less access to midwifery care for low-income women due to the state's failure to require that midwifery care be covered by Medi-Cal and health maintenance organizations (HMOs). This serves as a concrete example of a state policy that actually limits low-income women's reproductive health options in addition to placing legal barriers on midwives which prevents them from providing services to a wide-range of women. Women need to pay out-of-pocket for midwifery services, as most insurance companies and Medi-Cal do not cover that option. Therefore, the only women who have real access to the services are those with the financial means to do so. Hayden's research relates back to Solinger because Hayden, too, demonstrates that access to childbirth options such as midwifery care is increasingly viewed as a consumer privilege.

A recent National Center for Health Statistics report (Macdorman, Matthews and Declercq, 2012)[20] on home births in the United States found that in 2009, only .72% of births occur at

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[19] Sara K. Hayden. "The Business of Birth: Obstacles Facing Low-Income Women in Choosing Midwifery Care After the Licensed Midwifery Practice Act of 1993." *Berkeley Women's Law Journal*. Vol. 19. (2004): 257-269

[20] M.F. MacDorman, T.J. Mathews, E. Declercq."Home births in the United States, 1990–2009." *NCHS data brief*, no 84. Hyattsville, MD: National Center for Health Statistics. 2012.

home, with the percentage of (non-Hispanic) white women having home births being 3-5 times higher than any other ethnic group. This rate demonstrates the racial disparity in women's access to natural childbirth options. While the report lists statistics that include race, additional work needs to be done on why white women are more likely to have home births. These are important questions to explore in my research because they open the door to a structural analysis of the various issues that contribute to access to birthing care options.

Scholarly work in areas such as the concept of choice, medicalization of childbirth, natural childbirth, and the stratification of childbirth serve as the foundation for my research. However, I aim to expand research on the stratification of childbirth and the role that current health care policies serve in these reinforcing inequities. My research is be conducted through a feminist lens and furthers scholarship on childbirth by applying a reproductive justice framework to understand disparities in access to a full range of childbirth options

Methodology

The method I currently use is a conversational open-ended interview. My decision to do interviews is based on the premise that personal perspectives and the participants' understanding of policy matters will become clear through face-to-face interviews. Also, conversational open-ended interviews provide a safer and more comfortable environment, one in which interviewees feel more respected and open to discussing their experiences with childbirth. I plan to use snow-ball sampling in order to reach interviewees through referrals. Snow-ball sampling enabled me to quickly set-up my initial interviews, but in order to have more significant data, in the future I will seek a method that is more random and not solely done on the basis of referrals. I interview health professionals ranging from doctors to nurses, midwives and doulas, as well as pregnant women and mothers.

By interviewing the health professionals, my research can better detail the various perspectives and experiences that each health professional encounters, as well as the policies that impact their ability to serve low-income women. Most importantly, each childbirth option markets their alternative as the "best" and "normal" choice for women, and better analyzing the way in which they position their work in comparison to other childbirth options will be significant for my research. Childbirth options have become commodified through competition between medical doctors and midwives/doulas. However, despite each option being marketed as the 'best" and "normal" option, not all women have equal consumer power and equal ability to access various options. Therefore, it is important that I interview low-income women who are pregnant or have given birth because they have specific views on how to decide where to give birth, and have immediate knowledge of the options available to them.

I am taking a feminist and intersectional approach in my methodology that scholars such Hesse-Biber, Yaiser (2004), [21] Martin (2001),[22] and Solinger (2001)[23] have used in their research on issues related to women and underrepresented communities. By interviewing low-income women, I seek to bring their voices into my research in order to bring more visibility to their experiences and perspectives on childbirth. In particular I seek to employ Patricia Hill Collins's "Afrocentric" feminist standpoint epistemology in my research by conducting interviews with low-income women because this entails taking into consideration the "intersectionality of race, class, and gender in defining a person's standpoint, thereby shaping their experiences, viewpoints, and

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[21] Sharlene N. Hesse-Biber and Michelle L. Yaiser, *Feminist Perspectives on Social Research*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004).
[22] Emily Martin. *The Woman in the Body: A Cultural Analysis of Reproduction*. Boston: Beacon, 1987.
[23] Rickie Solinger. *Beggars and Choosers: How the Politics of Choice Shapes Adoption, Abortion, and Welfare in the United States.* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2001).

perceptions."[24] By taking this approach, I hope to better understand and document the lived experiences of a marginalized community in order to better analyze the social stratification of health care.

I met with each interviewee face-to-face in a comfortable setting (a coffee shop, workplace office, or home) and participated in a conversational open-ended interview. The interviewee chose the interview location. For all interviews, a digital tape recorder was used, which is less intrusive than a laptop recording device; it ensured that I have accurate documentation of the interview data. The recording device facilitates face-to-face interview conversation more easily than taking hand-written notes. Consent was given prior to recording; in the event that consent to record had been denied, I would have taken hand-written notes. Some interviewees may speak only Spanish, and a family member/friend was available to serve as interpreters during the interview, if necessary.

Ultimately, my research seeks to further scholarship on childbirth by applying a reproductive justice framework to understand disparities in access to a full range of childbirth options. The importance of using a feminist lens and applying reproductive justice framework to health care policy is that it humanizes the various populations that health professionals serve. By understanding the various barriers and circumstances that low-income women may face, health care policy can be changed to better ensure accessibility to the childbirth option of their choice.

Preliminary Findings

I will discuss in this section my preliminary findings as well as any common themes and differences amongst my interviews with

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[24] Sharlene N. Hesse-Biber and Michelle L. Yaiser, *Feminist Perspectives on Social Research*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 17.

two low-income women and two doulas/midwife-assistants. I am seeking to highlight areas where race and class appear.

The two low-income women I interviewed are both from Mexico and have given birth to children in Santa Barbara. Marisela, 43, is a married undocumented immigrant who has health insurance through her job as a hotel maid. She came to the United States with her first daughter and had two of her sons at Cottage Hospital in Santa Barbara. Claudia, 52, is a single mother who attained citizenship when she came to the United States, and is currently a manager for a low-income housing complex. She was on Medi-Cal when she gave birth to her second daughter at Cottage Hospital in Santa Barbara.

Lack of Awareness of Midwifery as an Option

The first common issue that came up during the interviews was that neither of these women was aware that midwifery care was available in Santa Barbara County. They had not been informed of this option by their health coverage as hospital birth was the only option covered by their plans. Hospital births, however, would still have been their only option as it was affordable. Marisela stated if she could have chosen another option, she would have chosen a water birth assisted by a midwife because she feels that aligns most with her views and would be a more comfortable experience for her. However, it is important to note that Marisela felt more comfortable giving birth in the United States compared to the birth of her daughter in Mexico, mainly because she appreciated the ability to track the development of her sons through ultrasounds during her pregnancy. Claudia said she would have chosen a midwife had this option been covered by Medi-Cal and if she had familial support present during the birth. Lacking these, Claudia felt safer in a hospital setting as this was the first time she was giving birth on her own as her partner had left her early on in her pregnancy. Both women noted the language barrier as they needed an interpreter to speak with their doctors.

They frequently had questions concerning their birth plan that remained unanswered due to an absence of an interpreter and their doctor's frustration with their inability to communicate directly.

Negative Experiences with Medical Providers and Hospitals

Another important area to highlight is that both women had negative experiences at the hospital or dealing with their health coverage. Marisela lamented that her primary doctor was not the one to deliver her second son and said that it made her feel uncomfortable as she felt the doctor who was present was rough while assisting her during birth. She also mentioned that she had not given informed consent to have an episiotomy, which was something that she had not wanted and caused physical complications after her pregnancy. Claudia stated she felt unsupported and disrespected by Medi-Cal staff that would not answer her questions and once actually closed the door in her face. Lastly, Marisela and Claudia both stated they were against medical intervention unless there was an emergency. In particular, both women sought to avoid any medication or a C-section, as they had hoped to deliver naturally.

Doula and Mid-wife Assistants' Perspectives

The health professionals I interviewed were licensed as doulas as well as midwife-assistants. A doula is a childbirth worker who is primarily there to advocate for and support the mother and requires less certification than a midwife-assistant. As midwife assistants, both Melanie and Rachel assist the midwife during the delivery of the baby. Melanie and Rachel are white women in their late twenties. They understand that their role is to be an advocate and support for the mother and think that it is important that doulas also are able to work in hospital settings. They both emphasized the need for women to have an advocate when working with their doctor. Rachel's main clientele are white, middle-class, and college-educated. Melanie had worked mainly internationally with

Indonesian women of all classes in Bali, but the women she worked for in the United States were mainly white.

Rachel and Melanie spoke about cultural and legal barriers that prevent them from serving women from a wide range of backgrounds. Rachel expressed concern about not being bilingual but spoke about how the Central Coast Doulas Association in Santa Barbara is putting on workshops to train their staff to speak Spanish. Melanie stated that being uninsured is a prominent barrier that prevents low-income women from pursuing an option other than hospital birth. Lastly, both women believe that hospitals are important for high-risk births, which are births that may require emergency procedures such as a C-section. However, they both oppose the current culture of excessive, unnecessary medical intervention during childbirth.

Discussion

The preliminary findings from my interviews with both low-income women and midwife-assistants/doulas relate to the main themes that frame my research including medicalization of childbirth, the concept of choice, and the stratification of childbirth. In particular, the fact that childbirth in the United States is overly medicalized is supported by the low-income women who stated that they were not informed of other options as their health coverage did not cover midwifery care. Also, the health professionals are aware that less than 1% of births are assisted by midwives, and understand that this statistic is largely due to lack of health insurance coverage for most midwifery services. Yet, both low-income women said that they prefer little to no medical intervention during childbirth and would have preferred midwives, showing that women are not choosing hospital births solely out of preference but that their choice is determined by their health coverage.

The concept of choice is relevant to my findings as both of the low-income women's decisions on child birth site were dictated by their health coverage and economic means. However, it is important to note that neither was aware of another option and that there are multiple factors that contributed to their decisions to have hospital births. For example, Claudia's decision to have a hospital birth was influenced mainly by the minimal options that Medi-Cal covers but also because of her lack of familial support in California and being on her own as a single mother. It is important to consider the multiple layers of women's lives, ranging from economic background and family to environment that influence their childbirth care choices.

The stratification of childbirth appears when language and cultural barriers inhibit both low-income women from communicating with their doctors and health professionals from reaching out more to the Spanish-speaking population in Santa Barbara. This reveals the part that race and culture may have on women's accessibility to midwifery care. Claudia remarks about the need for women to be informed of midwifery care in Santa Barbara County: "all women should be informed of various options because they should have a right to choose how a major moment in their life should be." She further elaborated that there are certain assumptions made about a person due to their economic background, as she felt that her status as a Medi-Cal recipient stigmatized her and labeled her as someone who would not pursue or be able to afford midwifery care. She said that in the Mexican culture the family and community often bands together when it comes to major expenses, and that low-income women may pursue other options if they are informed of them. This statement highlights how even access to knowledge about other options is stratified depending on assumptions of a woman's ability to afford midwifery care.

Rachel has served mainly white, middle-class, and college-educated women while working in the United States which reveals

there is both a class and race disparity in her clientele. She points out that this is the main demographic of clients of midwives in Santa Barbara County, but that she has worked with women of color. This finding aligns with the National Health Statistics Report that found that statistics for white women were three to five times higher than any other ethnic group when it came to women having home-birth in the United States. On the other hand, Melanie, who practiced mostly outside of the United States, was able to serve women of all economic backgrounds, underscoring the fact that in the U.S., one's class is a prime indicator of the type of maternity care available compared to other countries' maternity care system. These findings lead me to hypothesize that the maternity care system in the United States is a highly structured, class-based system as access to a variety of childbirth options appears to function as a consumer privilege rather than a reproductive right.

Conclusions

My preliminary findings lead me to conclude that there is a disparity in low-income women's access to midwifery care in Santa Barbara County. In particular, I find class to be a factor in decreased accessibility. My interviews with health professionals reveal that legal and financial barriers prevent the provision of care to a wide range of women. Ultimately, midwifery care is an option that should be available to *all* women and must be viewed as a sensible option and a reproductive justice right. In a society where the female body continues to be a site of struggle between medicalization and political autonomy, it is vital that we work towards making more options available to women. It is inequitable that many women do not realize that they have various birthing care options and it is important to work towards ensuring accessibility to those options. I suggest that health care policymakers not assume that hospital births are the best option for women, but further analyze the stratification of childbirth in America. Current health policies impact women's access to

maternity care options as well as the ability of midwives to serve a diverse population. It is important to analyze this topic, because childbirth is a major experience in a woman's life and should be treated with dignity and care.

Future Research

For my future research I will conduct more interviews and thematically code and analyze them in order to make stronger claims about accessibility and choice. In particular, I want to use a more randomized approach in finding low-income women to interview through referral by health professionals as well as posting flyers at various birth site locations. This approach will allow for more significant and stronger claims to be made because it will be far more representative of the general population rather than staying within specific networks of people. I plan to further analyze current health care policies such as the *Midwifery Practice Act of 1993,* and look more closely at the structural level of accessibility. Analysis of current health care policies will allow for deeper understanding of how policies can promote class stratification and limit or privilege women's access to birthing care options. Ultimately, I plan to continue researching childbirth care because it is a social justice issue, and current policies need to change in order to provide equal access to a variety of childbirth care options for all women.

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Acknowledgements

I look forward to continuing my research and community work. I believe that every women, regardless of economic or health coverage status, should have autonomy in their childbirth experiences, and feel empowered when speaking with health professionals. I also think midwives, doulas, and other natural childbirth professionals should be viewed as being as valuable and as capable as medical doctors to support women during childbirth.

The Effects of Leaf Age on Plant Nitrogen Distribution, Photosynthesis and Spectral Reflectance

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Abstract

Nitrogen is an integral part of chlorophyll and photosynthetic enzymes in plant leaves. To maximize photosynthesis, plants distribute nitrogen and other nutrients among their leaves according to leaf age and the vertical gradient of light passing through their canopies. If nitrogen content is known, net primary production and other environmental parameters may be estimated. Canopy nitrogen content has been correlated with well-defined features of the spectral reflectance from vegetation in the visible to near infrared wavelengths. These include the Normalized Difference Vegetation Index (NDVI) and the Red-edge position. The canopy's vertical nitrogen gradient is estimated by sampling "fresh, young, fully-expanded" leaves from the top and bottom of the canopy. However, these sampling criteria may not be selective enough to account for effects of leaf age on canopy nitrogen distribution and spectral reflectance. To investigate this possibility, stems of potted peppermint (Mentha piperita) were manipulated such that only leaf age, and not leaf light environment, varied along these stems. Nitrogen content (g N/Kg Leaf), surface area (cm^2), NDVI (unitless), and Red-edge position (nm) were measured for young (15-25 days old), middle aged (30-43 days old), and old (44-58 days old) leaves on naturally-shaded (upright, center) and un-shaded (angled, perimeter) stems. No gradients in leaf nitrogen content were detected. NDVI and Red-

edge position were found to decrease with leaf age by approximately -0.05 NDVI units/age class and -2.17 nm/age class, respectively. Leaf area was largest for the middle-aged leaves. These findings suggests that sampling non-senesced, "fully-expanded" leaves may prevent sampling bias in studies that are sensitive to variations in NDVI and Red-edge position.

Introduction

Quantifying the distribution of nitrogen in canopies is a prerequisite to spectroscopic remote sensing of foliage nitrogen content, which can be linked to net primary production and other important ecological and agricultural processes over large regions (Jongshcaap R.E.E. & Booij R., 2004). Improved awareness of the effects of leaf age, independent of the effects of leaf light environment, on canopy nitrogen distribution, photosynthesis and spectral reflectance may contribute to the development of more accurate canopy nitrogen content and photosynthesis scaling models and thus, more accurate remotely-sensed maps of foliage nitrogen content.

An experiment was conducted to investigate the effects of leaf age on the distribution of nitrogen among leaves along stems in potted peppermint plant canopies. The effects of leaf age on leaf-level spectral reflectance were also evaluated. This study assumes that the behavior of potted peppermint plants is representative of herbaceous species with respect to relationships between leaf age, light environment, nitrogen content, and spectral reflectance.

Nodes are the regularly spaced points along the stem from which leaves extend (Ellis B. et al., 2009). In this study, node age was used as a proxy for leaf age. Twelve potted peppermint clones were grown outdoors at a relatively un-shaded location in the University of California, Santa Barbara (UCSB) campus gardens. On each clone, two upright control stems near the center of the plant were identified and their node ages were monitored. Similarly, two stems near the perimeter of each plant were identified, monitored, and grown at an angle, such that there was roughly constant light exposure along these stems. Thus, on these perimeter stems, the effect of leaf age on the distribution of nitrogen among leaves was isolated from the effects of differences

in leaf light environment. On both types of stem, leaf nitrogen content, leaf area and leaf level spectral reflectance were measured for young (15-25 days old) , middle aged (30-43 days old) and old (44-58 days old) leaves.

The goals of this experiment were to answer the following questions:

1) How does leaf age affect the distribution of nitrogen among leaves along stems in a plant canopy? Specifically, what is the magnitude of this effect? Is it large enough to significantly affect quantification of vertical nitrogen distributions that are based on sampling of single leaves in plant canopies?

2) Does leaf age affect the spectral properties of leaves, such as NDVI and the Red-edge position? If so, how significant is this effect?

3) If the magnitude of leaf age effects is significant, how might leaf age effects be incorporated into leaf sampling practices to minimize sampling bias?

Literature Review

The following review discusses literature on the effects of leaf light environment and leaf age on the distribution of nitrogen within plant canopies. It also describes the current status of spectroscopic remote sensing of canopy nitrogen content and photosynthetic rate. First, a basic framework of the photosynthetic apparatus of leaves is presented to help convey the connections between leaf age, light environment, nitrogen content, photosynthetic rate and spectral reflectance.

The Photosynthetic Apparatus of Leaves

Photosynthesis may be represented by the following chemical equation:

$$6CO_2 + 6H_2O \xrightarrow[\text{enzymes}]{\text{light}} C_6H_{12}O_6 \text{ (sugars/carbohydrates)} + 6O_2$$
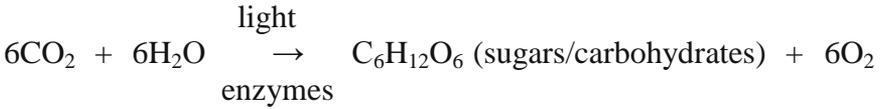
Below are scanning electron microscope images of the interior cellular structure of tobacco leaves. These diagrams convey the basic mechanism of photosynthesis for many herbaceous species, including peppermint:

Trasmission electron microscope micrograph of a tobacco chloroplast (Lambers H. et al., 2008).

Scanning electron microscope cross-sectional view of a leaf of *Nicotiana tabacum* (tobacco). (Lambers H. et al., 2008).
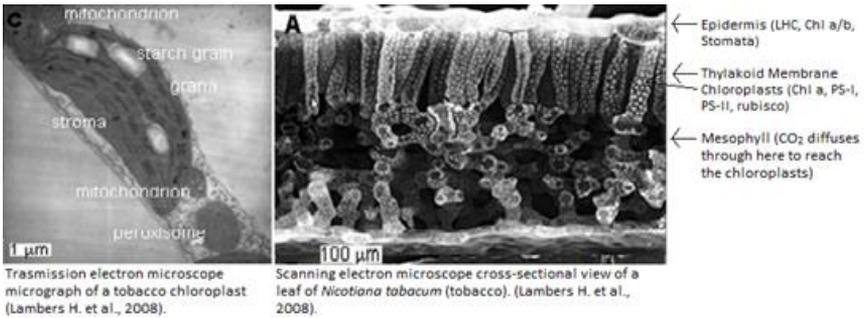
Photosynthesis begins when photosynthetically active radiation (PAR - primarily the blue and red wavelengths of light) hits the leaf's epidermis and excites chlorophyll (type a and b) in the leaf's light harvesting complex (LHC) (Lambers H. et al., 2008). This energy is transferred to photosystem two (PS-II, contains chlorophyll type a), located on the surface of the chloroplasts (the grana) (Lambers H. et al., 2008). In the image above, the small white dots on the structures of the thylakoid membrane are the chloroplasts (Lambers H. et al., 2008).

This excitation energy is then transferred from PS-II to photosystem one (PS-I) in the stroma of the chloroplasts (Lambers

H. et al., 2008). H_2O, often the most plentiful chemical in leaves, is present in high concentration in the stroma (Kokaly R.F. et al., 2009). CO_2 diffuses from the atmosphere into the leaf through valves called "stomata" on the leaf's epidermis. CO_2 then travels through the leaf's spongy mesophyll tissue until it reaches the chloroplasts in the thylakoid membrane (Lambers H. et al., 2008). The opening of the stomata is thought to be regulated to maximize CO_2 assimilation while minimizing water vapor loss through the stomata (Rob M. et al., 2005).

The chemical reaction of photosynthesis takes place in the stroma, where key photosynthetic enzymes such as Rubisco are located (Lambers H. et al., 2008). With the help of such enzymes, CO_2 and H_2O are combined to form O_2, carbohydrates, and sugars for the maintenance of the leaf's photosynthetic apparatus and for the growth of the plant (Lambers H. et al., 2008).

Approximately 70% of nitrogen in leaves is contained within the leaf's photosynthetic apparatus (Kokaly R.F et al., 2009). Thirty to 50% of this nitrogen is contained in Rubisco (Kokaly R.F. et al., 2009). The remaining 30% of nitrogen in leaves exists primarily in non-photosynthetic, inorganic compounds such as nitrates and ammonium (Kokaly R.F. et al., 2009). Rubisco establishes the direct relationship between leaf nitrogen content and leaf photosynthetic rate (Stitt M. & Schulze D., 1994). Many efforts are directed towards quantifying foliage nitrogen content on regional to global scales for the purpose of predicting ecological and agricultural processes related to photosynthesis, such as net primary production and nutrient cycling (Kokaly R.F. et al., 2009). Spectroscopic remote sensing has had much success in this endeavor.

Spectroscopic Remote Sensing of Canopy Nitrogen Content and Photosynthesis

Space, air and ground-based spectroscopic remote sensing involves using optical signals from sunlight (all wavelengths, not just visible light) or artificial light reflected off plant canopies to determine plant functional type, functional state, and chemical composition (Kokaly R.F. et al., 2009). However, only certain wavelengths of light make it through the atmosphere due to atmospheric chemical absorption and diffraction (Gomaraska M.A., 2009). In the following diagram, the grey areas illustrate the wavelengths where atmospheric chemicals cause such interference. There are also "atmospheric windows," where spectral reflectance from foliage can reach air/space-borne spectrometers relatively unaltered. The X-axis represents the wavelength of light in micrometers (visible light is in the range of approximately 0.4-0.7 micrometers) (Gomaraska M.A., 2009):
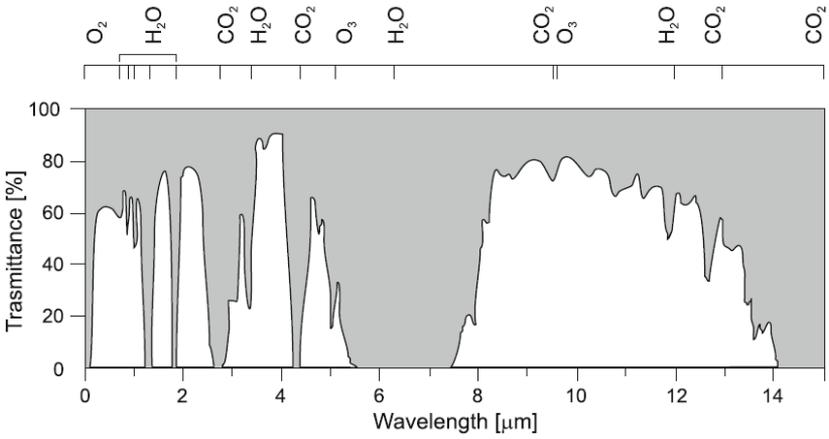
Some of these windows only apply on cloudless, sunny days (Gomaraska M.A., 2009). Kokaly et al. encourage the development of relationships between plant properties and optical signals within these windows (Kokaly R.F. et al., 2009).

31

For example, the Normalized Difference Vegetation Index (NDVI) and the Red-edge position are well-defined features of the plot of spectral reflectance vs. wavelength that are commonly applied to predict plant properties.

Below is a graph depicting the typical spectral reflectance from green vegetation (solid line) in the 400-1000 nanometer (0.4-1.0 micrometer) wavelength-range, measured by air/space-borne spectrometers. (Gamon J.A. et al., 2007):
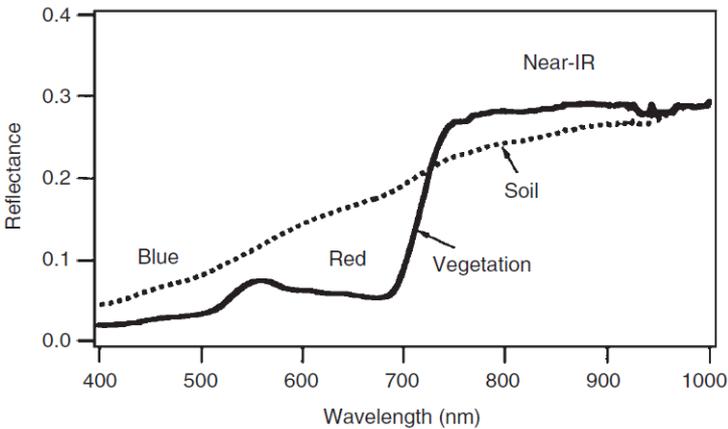
As Gamon et al. explain:

> "There is insufficient energy in the NIR [Near Infrared light - approximately 700-1000 nanometers] to drive photosynthesis. Consequently…vegetation canopies effectively scatter (reflect and transmit) most NIR radiation…Chlorophyll absorbs well in the visible (particularly the blue and red regions), but not in the infrared, resulting in the characteristic Red-edge at 700 nm. This Red-edge feature is generally missing in nonphotosynthetic surfaces…[it serves as] the basis for many

[spectral] vegetation indices [SVI's]…" (Gamon J.A. et al., 2007).

The "Red-edge" links the leaf's spectral reflectance to its chlorophyll content. Chlorophyll is approximately 6.5% nitrogen by weight. Many SVI's rely on such links between chlorophyll and nitrogen to estimate canopy nitrogen content and photosynthetic rate (Kokaly R.F. et al., 2009). However, few rely on the Red-edge alone in estimating leaf nitrogen content.

Some SVI's are more purely empirical. For example, Reddy K.R. et al. performed a linear regression on data from three studies on cotton leaves (150 samples total, $R^2 = 0.70$) to develop the following SVI (Reddy K.R. et al., 2003). It uses a ratio of leaf reflectance at 517 nm and 413 nm to estimate leaf nitrogen content, according to the following equation:

$$N = ((R_{517}/R_{413}) - 1.945)/(-0.0158)$$

where N is leaf nitrogen content (g Nitrogen/Kg Leaf). The advantage of such empirical SVI's is that they typically only require a small amount of reflectance data to be used. Often, equipment and cost limitations restrict data acquisition to certain wavelengths, most commonly in the visible to near infrared range.

Despite these considerations, most SVI's for leaf nitrogen content rely on spectral features in the longer wavelengths. These are typically associated with "non-pigment" (non-chlorophyll) leaf constituents such as "…the NIR [near infrared] absorption feature centered at 2.1 micrometers…corresponding in wavelength position and shape with the absorption features of proteins." (Kokaly R.F. et al., 2009). Kokaly et al. further explain that "…these protein absorptions arise from vibrations of N-containing amide bonds that form the backbone of the protein structure…" (Kokaly R.F. et al., 2009).

Through the use of such SVI's, remote sensing has successfully provided a practical, efficient means of estimating properties such as foliage nitrogen content, photosynthetic rate and net primary production in natural and cultivated ecosystems on large scales. For example:

> "Recently, Smith et al. (2002) extended the application of imaging spectrometers to quantify N content for net primary production (NPP) studies over a large area of U.S. deciduous and coniferous forest…with AVIRIS [airborne imaging spectrometer] data, they developed robust N predictions, validated by field measurements with $r^2 = 0.71$ and standard error of the estimate of 0.19%." (Kokaly R.F. et al., 2009).

This is remarkable, considering the fact that "Nitrogen is a relatively small component of leaf dry weight, covering a range as low as 0.26% in some grasses to 3.5% in broadleaf deciduous [plant species]…" (Kokaly R.F. et al., 2009).

Ground-based leaf and canopy-level remote sensing approaches have also been successful in estimating canopy nitrogen content. For example, one study correlated leaf and canopy-level spectral reflectance with the canopy nitrogen content of potato plants:

> "At leaf level, an exponential relation between SPAD-502 readings and leaf organic nitrogen contents with a high correlation factor of 0.91 was found. [SPAD-502 spectroscopically measures leaf chlorophyll content and thus, measures leaf nitrogen content indirectly]. At canopy level, an exponential relation between canopy organic nitrogen content and Red-edge position derived from reflectance measurements was found with a

good correlation of 0.82." (Jongshcaap R.E.E. & Booij R., 2004).

Below is an example of the canopy-level spectral reflectance of potato plants measured in this study. The location of the Red-edge (λ_{rep}) is indicated. (Jongshcaap R.E.E. & Booij R., 2004):
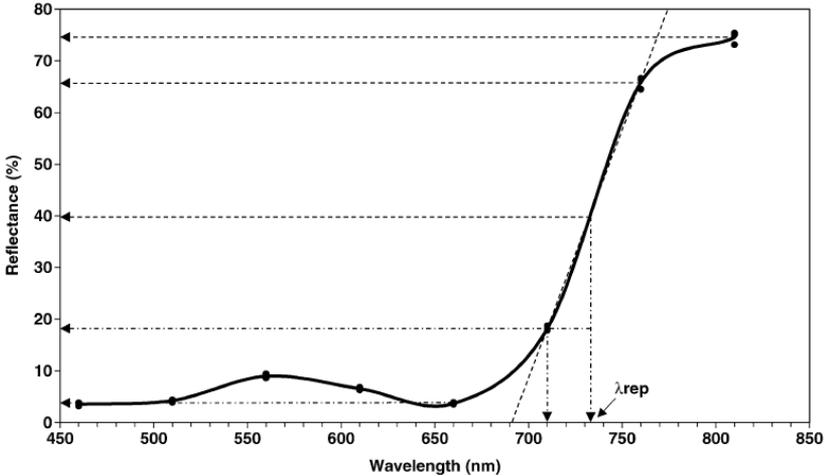
However, the authors pointed out that similar studies on crops obtained significantly lower correlations with ground and air-based remote sensing approaches (Jongshcaap R.E.E. & Booij R., 2004).

The authors also conveyed the importance of measuring both leaf and canopy-level spectral reflectance when attempting to link spectral reflectance to chemical composition:

"…reflectance measurements at leaf level do not necessarily provide detailed information on plant and crop performance, as that is co-determined by the vertical nitrogen distribution, canopy structure and biomass allocation…Spectral mixing of reflectance patterns over a whole plot, however, may mask the spatial variability within the plot

35

that forms the basis for application of innovative techniques in agriculture, such as precision farming." (Jongshcaap R.E.E. & Booij R., 2004).

Questions are raised about the distribution of nitrogen in plant canopies. The authors stated, "The vertical distribution of nitrogen in the crop is not homogeneous but follows a gradient, which may present a problem in nitrogen observations by remote sensing, if only the top layers are 'seen'." (Jongshcaap R.E.E. & Booij R., 2004). Further, they asserted, "Accurately estimating leaf nitrogen content from reflectance measurements over a canopy requires knowledge of the vertical nitrogen distribution." (Jongshcaap R.E.E. & Booij R., 2004). Most spectroscopic remote sensing approaches to estimating canopy nitrogen content and photosynthetic rate rely on knowledge of the distribution of light and nitrogen within canopies (Kokaly R.F. et al., 2009).

However, in a study on plant nutrient distribution and productivity, Niinemets points out that, "While potentially important, age-dependent modifications in foliage function are often ignored in [models] scaling up leaf carbon gain potentials from leaf to canopy." (Niinimets Ü., 2007).[1] Most studies have attempted to characterize canopy nitrogen distributions by either sampling leaves randomly throughout canopies or by sampling only "fresh," "young," "fully-expanded," "light" or "shade" leaves from the top and bottom of canopies (Jongshcaap R.E.E. & Booij R., 2004; Garnier E. et al., 1995; Evans J.R. & Poorter H., 2001; Gulmon S.L. & Chu C.C., 1981; Sims D.A. et al., 1998). I will systematically analyze these criteria with regards to accounting for differences in leaf age.

With regards to sampling locations within the canopy, these criteria are vague with respect to leaf age. It is important to realize

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[1] For examples of such models, see Anten N.P.R. et al., 1995; Kull O. & Jarvis P.G., 1995

that at any given height in a plant canopy, there is typically a wide variety of leaves of different ages, light environments, and other classifications to choose from. For example, consider potential differences between leaves at the center and perimeter of a dense canopy. One reason for this variety is that, for many species, stem extension and node formation rates are relatively fast compared to the life cycle of individual leaves. It is typical for leaves of a wide range of ages to coexist, even on the same branch or stem. Branching also increases the range of ages of leaves that may be present at a given height in a canopy. Such leaves could also be of significantly different ages, but exposed to similar light levels.

In addition, the sampling criteria based on leaf properties are also considerably vague with respect to leaf age. The age-range of leaves that are considered "fresh" is unspecified. Also, if the term "fully-expanded" is interpreted to mean that only leaves of a certain size are selected, then this criterion is vague with respect to leaf age. It is reported that older leaves tend to be larger than younger leaves (Lambers H., et. al, 2008). Also, leaves exposed to less light tend to be larger, which enables them to gather enough light to conduct photosynthesis effectively (Lambers H., et. al, 2008). These competing factors make it unlikely that a single leaf size corresponds to a single or even narrow range of leaf ages. For example, in a canopy you could have a stem along which leaf age decreases while leaf light exposure remains roughly constant. There could also be a stem along which leaf age decreases while leaf light exposure increases. On the latter stem, you might have both leaf age and leaf light exposure correlating with decreasing leaf size along the stem, while on the former stem, you might only have leaf age correlating with decreasing leaf size. Therefore, if you specified a fixed size of leaf to select from these stems, the leaf from the latter stem would probably be younger than the leaf from the former stem. By extension, this example also demonstrates that the criterion of selecting only "light" or "shade" leaves is vague with respect to leaf age.

In principle, the criterion of sampling "young" leaves would control for the effects of leaf age if it means that all of the sampled leaves are of a similar, relatively young age. However, in studies that claimed to apply this criterion, the ages of the sampled leaves were not quantified or described in detail (Jongshcaap R.E.E. & Booij R., 2004; Garnier E. et al., 1995; Evans J.R. & Poorter H., 2001; Gulmon S.L. & Chu C.C., 1981; Sims D.A. et al., 1998). Given the complexity of leaf age distribution throughout canopies and the lack of specification regarding the sampled leaf ages, in these cases it is unlikely that leaves of a similar age were sampled.

Overall, these examples illustrate how easy it is to sample leaves of uncontrolled ages, even when the current sampling criteria are applied. It is likely that leaves of a large, uncontrolled variety of ages are being sampled according to the current methodology. This is potentially a problem with regards to quantifying vertical nitrogen gradients because leaf age has been reported to polarize nitrogen distribution along stems towards younger leaves. Certain selections of leaf ages could bias characterizations of vertical nitrogen distribution gradients. For example, if only young leaves were sampled from the top and only old leaves were sampled from the bottom of a plant canopy, the vertical nitrogen distribution gradient might be exaggerated. This could reduce the accuracy of remotely sensed maps of canopy nitrogen content and photosynthetic rate. In this case, it might be better to sample leaves of similar ages from the top and bottom of canopies so that this type of bias might be avoided or minimized. With knowledge of the plant's stem extension and node formation rates, it could be possible to sample leaves of controlled ages without too much effort.

However, the magnitude of the effects of leaf age on leaf properties along stems is currently not well quantified. Therefore, before considering modifications to current leaf sampling practices, it must be determined whether or not leaf age is a

significant enough factor to demand more stringent sampling criteria. Necessary to this concern is a review of current knowledge of the effects of leaf age (isolated from the effects of leaf light environment) on leaf nitrogen content, canopy nitrogen distribution and spectral reflectance.

The Effects of Leaf Light Environment and Leaf Age on Canopy Nitrogen Distribution and Leaf-level Spectral Reflectance

Throughout their life cycles, plants continually redistribute nutrients such as nitrogen among their leaves according to leaf age and the vertical gradient of light passing through the canopy (Niinimets Ü., 2007). More organic (photosynthetic) nitrogen is allocated to leaves in high-light environments - particularly younger leaves near the tops of canopies (Niinimets Ü., 2007). Less organic nitrogen is allocated to older, more shaded leaves near the bottom of the canopy (Niinimets Ü., 2007). Thus, a vertical gradient of nitrogen is formed. As Niinimets explains, "With more nitrogen directed towards molecules like Rubisco, these light-adapted leaves can conduct photosynthesis at higher rates than shade-adapted leaves…" (Niinimets Ü., 2007). This is one way that plants maximize photosynthesis in a given light environment (Niinimets Ü., 2007). To convey the magnitude of the effects of this process, Niinimets states, "Typically, foliage photosynthetic capacity increases two to fourfold from the bottom to the top of the canopy." (Niinimets Ü., 2007).

Leaf "aging" refers to the entire life cycle of the leaf, while leaf "senescence" refers to the "yellowing" of leaves at the end of their life cycle (Thomas H. & Stoddart J.L., 1980). Knowledge of the mechanisms of leaf aging and leaf senescence is limited, however their effects on nitrogen distribution are being investigated (Masclaux C. et al, 2000). Hikosaka et al. found that in a vine (*Ipomoea tricolor* Cav.) that had been grown horizontally, such that all leaves developed in the same levels of light, more nitrogen was allocated to younger leaves than older leaves

(Hikosaka K. et al., 1994). They also found that the gradient of nitrogen with leaf age was more pronounced at low soil nitrogen availability and low soil nitrate concentrations (Hikosaka K. et al., 1994). These findings are consistent with those of Masclaux C. et al., who characterize young leaves as nitrogen "sinks" and old leaves as nitrogen "sources" (Masclaux C. et al., 2000). Maclaux et al. also observed that old leaves tended to accumulate larger concentrations of nitrates (an inorganic, nonphotosynthetic form of nitrogen) in an upright, naturally shaded tobacco plant (*Nicotiana tabacum* L.) (Masclaux C. et al., 2000).

In contrast with its negative connotations, leaf senescence is, in fact, a sign of nutrient redistribution among the leaves (Thomas H. & Stoddart J.L., 1980). Masclaux C. et al. state:

> "The earliest and most drastic change in plant cellular structure during senescence is the breakdown of the chloroplasts, which contain the photosynthetic machinery of the cell…and hold the majority of the leaf protein…a decrease in photosynthetic capacity during senescence is observed due to both Rubisco and chlorophyll degradation. Rubisco['s]…degradation during leaf senescence supports the idea that this enzyme also represents an important cellular component in which nitrogen is stored during leaf expansion and which can be rapidly remobilized to sustain growth of young developing tissues…" (Masclaux C. et al., 2000).

Photosynthetic nitrogen-containing molecules such as Rubisco contain the majority of the leaf's nitrogen. Recent findings by Masclaux et al. suggest that such molecules are also specialized to facilitate the plant's continual, light-adaptive redistribution of nitrogen.

It is important to note that these studies measured leaf nitrogen content (and other properties) over a wide range of leaf ages (not only young vs. "yellowing" or "senescing" leaves). This is because the shift from being a nitrogen "sink" leaf to a "source" leaf is an ongoing process that becomes most evident during senescence (Masclaux C. et al., 2000; Hikosaka K. et al., 1994).

Only a few researchers have measured and compared the leaf-level reflectance of old and young leaves, and rarely up to the near infrared wavelengths (Gausman H.W., 1985; Roberts D.A. et al., 1998). Gausman measured leaf level reflectance of leaves at descending nodal position along cotton stems (*Gossypium hirsutum*) (Gausman H.W., 1985):
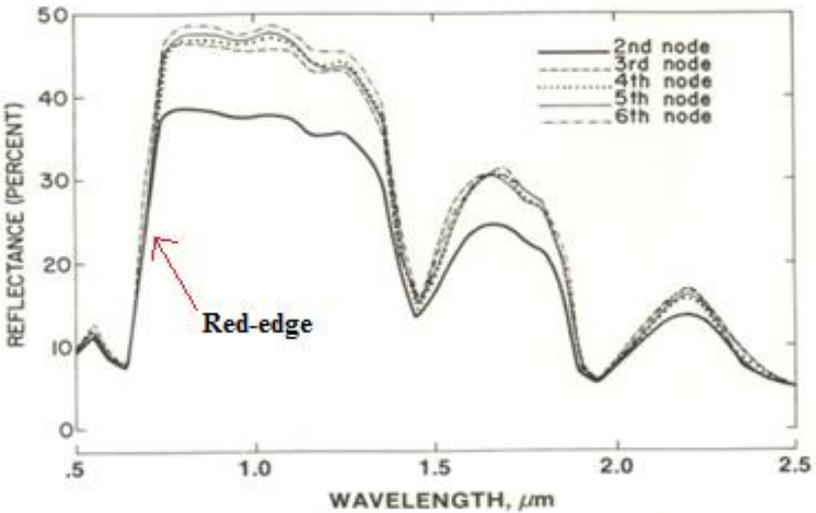
Gausman's measurements appear to convey significant differences in the spectral reflectance of leaves of different ages, but they must be interpreted with caution. Gausman did not quantitatively analyze specific spectral features or leaf nitrogen content in this study (Gausman H.W., 1985). Also, the conditions under which these leaves were grown are unspecified.

In conclusion, few have investigated the relationship between leaf age and leaf nitrogen content. To my knowledge, none have attempted to account for the effects of leaf age when scaling leaf properties, such as nitrogen content, up to the canopy-level. Further research on the effects of leaf age on the physical and spectral properties of leaves is recommended.

Hypotheses

It is anticipated that leaf nitrogen content will increase from bottom to top on both the upright control stems and angled perimeter stems. However, the magnitude of this increase in leaf nitrogen content is expected to be greater for the control stems than the perimeter stems. This is because on the control stems, both differences in leaf age and leaf light environment are expected to alter the vertical nitrogen gradient, while on the perimeter stems, only leaf age is expected to cause such change.

Little is known about the effects of leaf age, isolated from the effects of leaf light environment, on leaf and canopy-level spectra. Because leaf-level spectral reflectance is affected by a complex combination of the physical and chemical properties of the leaves, it is unclear whether or not age effects will result in consistent, detectable changes in the Red-edge or any other parts of the spectra. However, significant differences in the physical and chemical properties of "sun" and "shade" leaves have been documented. The following table depicts some of these differences (Lambers H. et al., 2008):

	Sun	Shade
Structural		
Leaf dry mass per area	High	Low
Leaf thickness	Thick	Thin
Palisade parenchyma thickness	Thick	Thin
Spongy parenchyma thickness	Similar	Similar
Stomatal density	High	Low
Chloroplast per area	Many	Few
Thylakoids per stroma volume	Low	High
Thylakoids per granum	Few	Many
Biochemical		
Chlorophyll per chloroplast	low	high
Chlorophyll per area	similar	similar
Chlorophyll per dry mass	low	high
Chlorophyll a/b ratio	high	low
Light-harvesting complex per area	low	high
Electron transport components per area	high	low
Coupling factor (ATPase) per area	high	low
Rubisco per area	high	low
Nitrogen per area	high	low
Xanthophylls per area	high	low
Gas exchange		
Photosynthetic capacity per area	high	low
Dark respiration per area	high	low
Photosynthetic capacity per dry mass	similar	similar
Dark respiration per dry mass	similar	similar
Carboxylation capacity per area	high	low
Electron transport capacity per area	high	low
Quantum yield	similar	similar
Curvature of light-response curve	gradual	acute

Though I will only be measuring one property on this chart (leaf nitrogen content) I want to at least acknowledge the wide range of properties that may play a role in determining leaf spectral reflectance. I do not mean to suggest that all of these factors affect NDVI or the Red-edge, only that the current understanding of what ultimately determines the shape of leaf-level spectral reflectance is limited. Based on the observed differences between leaves of different light exposure ("sun" vs. "shade" leaves) in the chart above, some significant differences among leaves along the naturally shaded control stems are expected. Whether or not, and how, these differences may manifest in NDVI or the Red-edge is unclear.

Gausman's plots of leaf-level spectral reflectance at different nodal position reflect the conditions I explored in my experiment. However, a specific hypothesis about the effects of leaf age on the Red-edge or NDVI cannot be based on Gausman's data alone. Ultimately, the relationship between leaf age and spectral features such as NDVI and the Red-edge are difficult to predict, but important to investigate.

Methods

Plant Preparation and Preliminary Study: (approximately 4 months)

Twelve root clippings from a stand of garden-grown peppermint (*Mentha piperita*) were planted at 4-inch depth in individual pots. Each pot was 9.0 inches in diameter and 8.5 inches deep. Each was filled with SuperSoil-brand potting soil to within 1 inch of its rim (See the appendix for the soil nutrient content). Based on qualitative observations of peppermint canopies, I estimated that a foliage density of approximately 10-12 stems per pot would result in significant differences in the shading of control and perimeter stems. To achieve this foliage density, I tested three watering treatments (250, 500 and 750 mL of water administered every three days during daylight hours).

At the beginning of these water treatments, two experimental stems per pot were marked at their base using plastic twisty-ties. The stem length and node heights were measured from visit to visit (every three days) using measuring tape. The stem extension rates (mm/hr) were calculated by noting the number of hours passed between successive length measurements. The date of formation of the first node on each stem represented day zero for that stem. I defined a node as formed when the stem extended 2 millimeters past the discolored ring of tissue swelling that is characteristic of peppermint nodes. This ring of tissue swelling is where the leaf insertion points are located (Ellis B., 2009). The age

of each successive node was calculated based on the node height and the stem extension rates leading up to that height. Leaf age estimates were rounded to the nearest day.

The 750 mL watering regime was selected for the final experiment because it consistently achieved a minimum foliage density of 10-12 stems per pot. With this watering regime, growth rates of approximately 3-5 mm/day were typical (this is relatively fast for plant growth). Twelve root clippings were taken from the most densely foliated plant grown under these conditions. They were used to start 12 new peppermint clones. The following diagram depicts the experimental design for these clones:
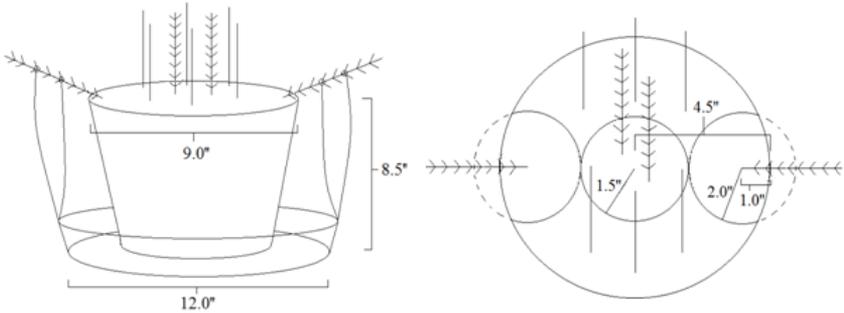
Top and frontal view of the experimental design for the potted peppermint

As the stems emerged from the soil surface, two stems within one inch of the perimeter of the pot, but at least 5 inches apart (usually on opposite sides of the pot), as well as two stems within 1.5 inches of the center of the pot, were marked at their base with twisty-ties. As the perimeter stems grew, they were kept free of self-shading or shading from surrounding foliage by being directed outwards from the pot at an angle approximately 30 degrees above the horizontal. This was done using thin strings of waxed dental floss anchored to paper clips, which were fastened to the edges of the water collecting trays beneath the pots. This provided a flexible

support for guiding the perimeter stems in their growth. The two center stems were grown under naturally-shaded conditions and they served as the experimental control stems. Plant preparation was concluded when the plants reached a minimum foliage density of 10-12 stems per pot and the selected stems developed at least 6 nodes. Unfortunately, only 8 control stems and 8 perimeter stems remained fit for analysis, due to damages caused by both human and animal members of the garden community. At this point, the following procedures were implemented.

Experimental Procedure Identify Leaf Age Classes

The ages of the experimental leaves were calculated up to a planned date of removal. With these finalized ages, three age classes containing similar numbers of leaves (young, middle-aged, and old) were identified for comparison:

Age Group	Stem Type	# of Nodes	Mean Age of Nodes (days)	Standard Deviation from Mean (days)
Young (15-25 days old)	Control Stems	15	19.4	3.0
	Perimeter Stems	15	20.7	3.1
Middle-aged (30-43 days old)	Control Stems	14	36.1	4.2
	Perimeter Stems	17	35.2	3.8
Old (44-58 days old)	Control Stems	15	49.9	4.9
	Perimeter Stems	18	51.2	4.4

The differences between these age groups are statistically significant, as conveyed by the number of standard deviations separating their means. The mean ages of successive age classes are separated by approximately 15 days.

Sample Leaves, Measure Leaf-Level Spectral Reflectance and Leaf Area

At approximately 6:00am, approximately 180 leaves were removed from the experimental stems (roughly 2 leaves per node). They were immediately wrapped in slightly damp paper towels and placed in a sealed ziploc bag in a cooler. Once all of the leaves

were collected, they were transported to the UCSB VIPER lab for measurement of leaf-level spectral reflectance using a portable BWTEK spectrometer (400 nm – 1000 nm range). One leaf from each node was dabbed dry with a napkin and its top side was scanned over a black background (approximately 90 scans were acquired). Spectral reflectance was only measured for half of the leaves to minimize the amount of time between leaf removal and measurement (It would have been impossible to scan all of the leaves in the same day). All leaf reflectance measurements were completed by 8:00pm. At this point, the leaves were re-wrapped and returned to the cooler. Approximately one week later, leaf area was measured for all 180 leaves grouped by age class using a simple scanner and Image-J software (Glozer K., 2008).

Calculation of NDVI and Leaf Nitrogen Content

NDVI was calculated as the difference in reflectance at 900 and 680 nm, divided by the sum of these reflectance values ($(R_{900} - R_{680})/(R_{900} + R_{680})$) (Reddy R.K. et al., 2003). With regards to leaf nitrogen content, it was originally intended that this quantity be measured directly using a dry combustion analyzer according to the Dumas method (Matejovic I., 1995). However, I was not able to obtain access to a dry combustion analyzer. Therefore, leaf nitrogen content was estimated based on the ratio of reflectance at 517 nm and 413 nm, according to the correlation developed by Reddy et al. (2003). The reliance on this correlation for estimating the nitrogen content of peppermint leaves is acknowledged as a significant limitation of this study.

Data Analysis

Leaf reflectance and area measurements were stored in text files and uploaded to MATLAB for analysis. Nearly every stem contained at least one node from each age class (two control stems had leaves from only 2 out of 3 age classes). On each stem, the spectral reflectance of leaves within age classes was averaged such

that the number of leaves per stem was effectively reduced to 3. This small sacrifice in data variability and quantity greatly simplified data analysis. NVDI and leaf nitrogen content were calculated for these averaged leaves. The Red-edge wavelength position was calculated as the inflection point of the Red-edge. The inflection point was identified as the local maximum of a least-squares 6th order polynomial fit to the derivative of the measured spectral reflectance data points. The derivative was calculated using a second order finite differences approximation.

A visual example of this calculation is depicted below. The inflection point is marked by an arrow and a green circle:
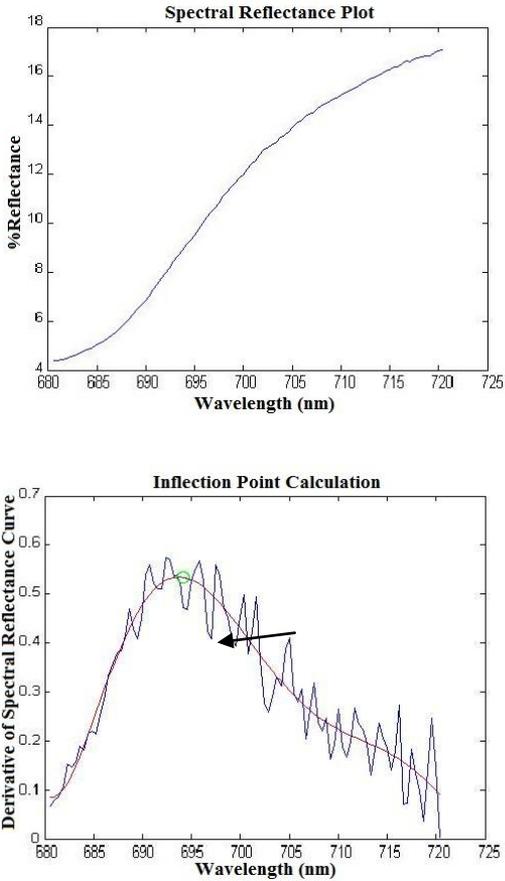
A significant amount of noise in the finite difference approximation for the derivative is evident in the image above. A polynomial fit was used to eliminate this noise and allow accurate estimation of the inflection point.

Once NDVI, nitrogen content and inflection point locations were calculated for all three average leaves on each stem, the data was surveyed for obvious outliers. Two control leaves were identified as outliers (stem 4, age class 3 and stem 8, age class 3) because they senesced too strongly to yield comparable reflectance values. The NVDI, nitrogen content and inflection point data used for statistical analysis are tabulated in the appendix. They will also be displayed in the results section using box plots.

Box plots are visually appealing, but they can also be misleading, especially when they do not convey the mean and standard deviations of data sets. In a more rigorous analysis, two types of statistical tests were performed. The first type concerns trends along individual stems. The second concerns overall trends among the control and perimeter stems.

First, a paired t-test was used to perform a within-stem comparison of the leaves of different age groups. For example, this test calculates the differences between leaf 1 and leaf 2 on control stems 1 through 8. If the mean of these calculated differences is greater than zero with 95% confidence, then age classes 1 and 2 on the control stems would be considered significantly different for the property being tested. Note that there are three possible combinations for this test: leaf 1 vs. leaf 2, leaf 2 vs. leaf 3, and leaf 1 vs. leaf 3.

This test does not address the significance of unidirectional trends (from stem top to bottom) occurring across all three leaves on each stem. Such trends were investigated by calculating a linear regression slope for each property along each stem, with the property in question as the dependent variable and leaf age class as

the independent variable. Linear regression is appropriate because three data points were used per stem. The resulting slope characterizes the vertical gradient of a property along a given stem. If such a slope could be said to be non-zero with 95% confidence, then it would represent a significant unidirectional trend along that stem. Slope analysis was accomplished with a simple t-test, in which the mean values of the slopes for each property for the control and perimeter stems were calculated with 95% confidence intervals. If the confidence interval contained zero, then these slopes failed to suggests significant unidirectional trends along these stems.

The slope tests do not offer information about how the vertical gradients of the control stems compare to those of the perimeter stems. The second series of statistical tests offered answers to these types of questions. One-way ANOVA (Analysis of Variance) between the control and perimeter stem slopes was performed with Tukey-Kramer criterion for assessing whether or not the means of the control and perimeter slopes were significantly different.

Finally, the leaf areas of different age classes were compared using the same type of ANOVA. Unfortunately, trends in leaf area along individual stems could not be assessed because when leaf area was measured, leaves were grouped only by age class and not by stem. However, ANOVA allowed assessment of overall differences between age classes.

It is important to recall that along the control stems both leaf age and leaf light environment vary, while along the perimeter stems only leaf age is supposed to vary significantly. Therefore, the magnitude of the effects of leaf age on leaf properties on perimeters stems should be attributable to differences in leaf age alone, and not to differences in both leaf age and leaf light environment. The results of each of these statistical tests will be

considered with respect to leaf sampling criterion in the following section.

Results

Below are box plots conveying the ranges of values of NDVI, Red-edge position, and nitrogen content for the three averaged leaves on the control and perimeter stems. Note that there are effectively 8 leaves per age class (per box) due to averaging of leaves of the same age class within each stem.
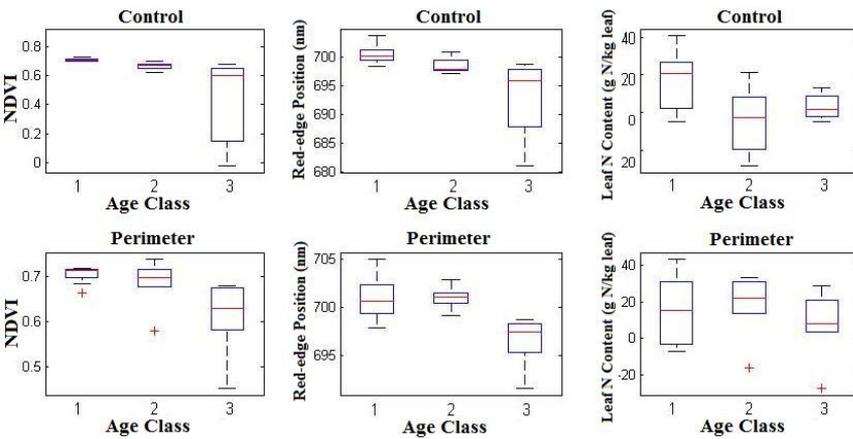
In these box plots, the top edge of the box represents the 25th quartile, which marks the point where only 25% of the data had higher values. The bottom edge corresponds to the 75th quartile. The red line represents the median. Finally, the whiskers mark the boundaries for data points considered to be outliers. Such outliers are denoted by plus signs.

These plots offer a qualitative picture of the data. For example on both control and perimeter stems, NDVI appears to decrease significantly with age. There are also negative values of

51

leaf nitrogen content. This is most likely a result of applying a correlation developed for cotton leaves to peppermint leaves. However, for the purpose of this discussion, it will be assumed that this data might still accurately reflect trends in nitrogen content along stems.

The results of the paired T-test are displayed in the table below. They determine whether or not the properties of leaves in different age classes are significantly different:

	Significantly Different?		(Y/N)				
Paired T-Test Results:	Age Class Comparison				Age Class Comparison		
Control Stems	1 Vs. 2	2 Vs. 3	1 Vs. 3	**Perimeter Stems**	1 Vs. 2	2 Vs. 3	1 Vs. 3
NDVI	Y	Y	Y	NDVI	N	Y	Y
Red-edge	Y	N	N	Red-edge	N	Y	Y
Leaf N Content	Y	N	N	Leaf N Content	N	N	N

Here, a Y confirms that the compared age groups are significantly different with 95% confidence. I want to draw the reader's attention to the large number of N's in this table. Contrary to what the box plots may suggest, in many cases the values of properties along stems were not changing significantly from one age class to another. However, close attention shows that many of the comparisons with age class 3 yielded no significant differences. I believe this is mostly because of the large amount of variability in the property values of age class 3. This variability might be attributed to the onset of senescence in some of these leaves.

The following table displays the results of the regression slope test. This test analyzes the significance of unidirectional trends in leaf properties from top to bottom along all stems:

Significant Slope?	(Y/N)		
Regression Slope Test Results:			
Control Stem Vertical Gradients (Slopes)	Mean Slope	95% Confidence Interval	Significant?
NDVI (unitless)	-0.05	[-0.0703, -0.0297]	Y
Red-edge (nm)	-2.1713	[-3.4037, -0.9388]	Y
Nitrogen Content (g N/Kg Leaf)	-10.1178	[-25.4605, 5.2249]	N
Perimeter Stem Vertical Gradients (Slopes)	Mean Slope	95% Confidence Interval	Significant?
NDVI (unitless)	-0.0457	[-0.0824, -0.009]	Y
Red-edge (nm)	-2.1725	[-4.0124, -0.3326]	Y
Nitrogen Content (g N/Kg Leaf)	-3.5469	[-15.3357, 8.2419]	N

Virtually all regression slopes were negative, meaning all properties appeared to decrease with increasing age. However, this trend was only statistically significant for NDVI and Red-edge position along both control and perimeter stems.

For the control stems, on average the magnitude of age effects on NDVI (with 95% confidence interval in brackets) was -0.05 [-0.07, -0.03] NDVI units/age class. The magnitude of age effects on Red-edge position was -2.17 [-3.40, -0.94] nm/age class. For the perimeter stems, age effects appeared to be similar. NDVI decreased by approximately -0.05 [-0.08, -0.01] NDVI units/age class and red-edge position decreased by approximately -2.17 [-4.01, -0.33] nm/age class. To gain a better perspective on these values, recall that each successive age class corresponds to an increase in age of approximately 15 days. These age effects on NDVI and Red-edge position might be important to consider when sampling individual leaves, depending on the sensitivity of a study's data to variations in NDVI and Red-edge position values.

Contrary to the basic hypothesis of this study, no significant vertical gradients in nitrogen content were detected for the control or perimeter stems. However, this might be because of

the method by which leaf nitrogen content was estimated. Perhaps if leaf nitrogen content was measured directly, some significant results might have been found. But this is only speculation.

The results of the Tukey-Kramer one-way ANOVA comparing the control and perimeter regression slopes are conveyed visually by the following diagrams:

NDVI Vertical Gradient Distribution

Red-edge Vertical Gradient Distribution

N Content Vertical Gradient Distribution
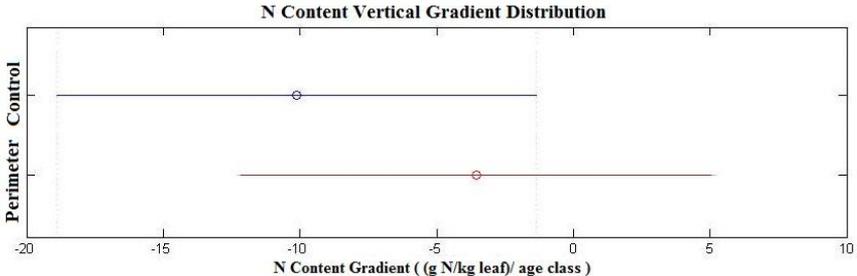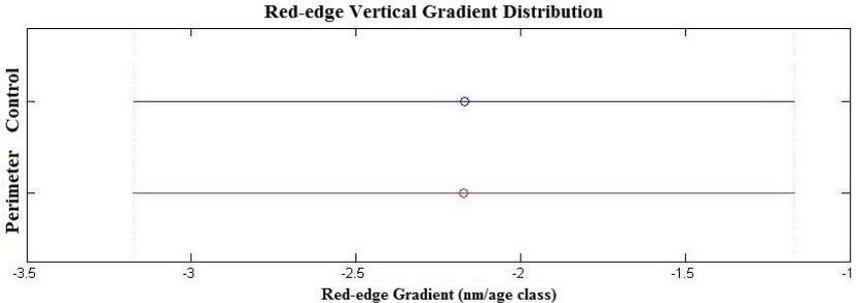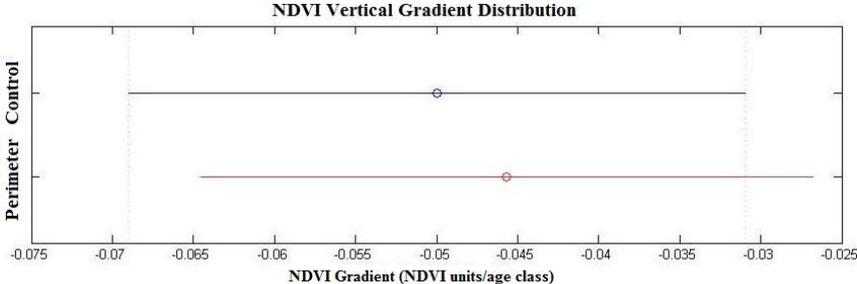
In these diagrams, the horizontal lines represent the length of values over which groups must not overlap with one another in order to be significantly different according to Tukey-Kramer criterion. It is clear that there were no statistically significant differences between the control and perimeter stems with regards to regression slopes for any leaf properties.

Note that only leaf age was expected to vary along the perimeter stems, while both leaf age and leaf light environment varied along the control stems. The presence and similarity of these vertical gradients in NDVI, Red-edge position and leaf nitrogen content on control and perimeter stems suggests that a vertical gradient in light exposure is not necessary for these gradients to exist. But if light exposure is not important, what else could possibly account for the vertical gradient in nitrogen commonly observed within canopies? It is unlikely that leaf age alone creates these gradients. However, this is what the results of this study suggest. To my knowledge, this is the first study illustrating the effects of leaf age on NDVI and Red-edge position. However, with regards to leaf nitrogen content, these results are contrary to the literature. The studies outlined in the literature review suggest that leaf light environment is the dominant factor in determining leaf nitrogen content and many other leaf properties, and that leaf age might also have significant effects. Again, the method by which leaf nitrogen content was quantified in this study is questionable for reasons discussed earlier. Therefore, it might be best to avoid making claims contrary to the literature based on this data.

Another possibility is that leaf light exposure along perimeter stems was not constant enough to remove the effects of differences in light exposure. In this regard, recall that this experiment assumed that leaf light exposure was roughly constant along perimeter stems and decreasing significantly along control stems. I tried measuring light levels above individual leaves using a hand-held Apogee Solar Radiation sensor (Model MP-200).

Unfortunately, this device was too bulky to measure these values without excessively distorting shading within the crowded peppermint canopies. Images of the experimental peppermint canopies are available in the appendix, allowing readers to consider whether or not they think control and perimeter stems were grown under sufficiently different conditions.

The following diagrams convey the results of the Tukey-Kramer one-way ANOVA comparing the areas of leaves of different age classes among control and perimeter stems.

Control Leaf Area Distribution

Age Class / Leaf Area (cm²)

Perimeter Leaf Area Distribution

Age Class / Leaf Area (cm²)
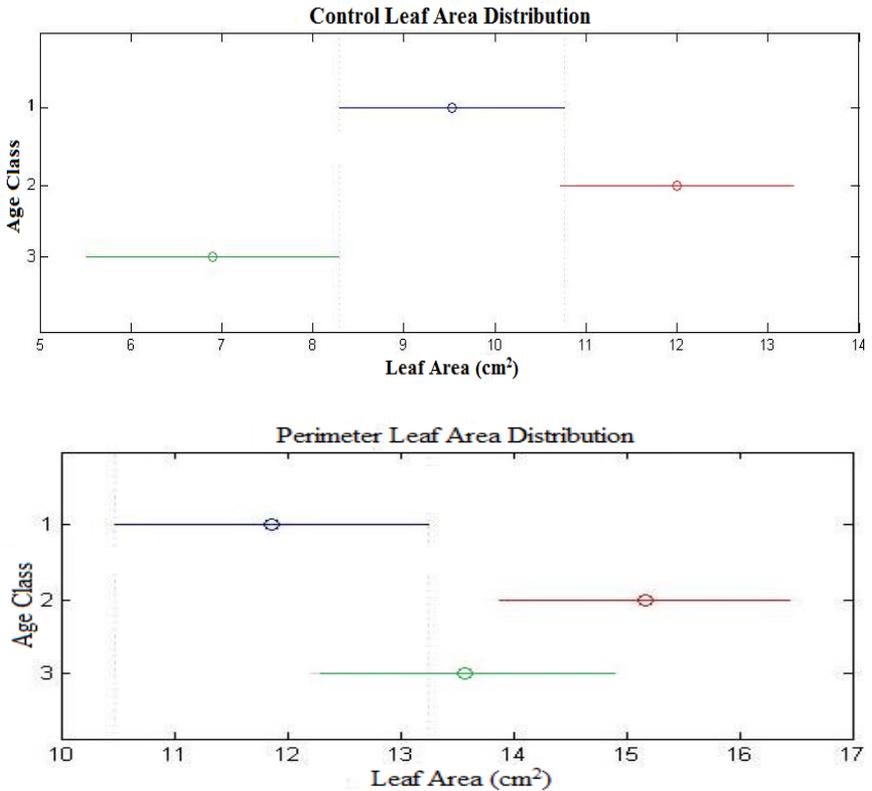
It is important to note that these samples sizes were approximately twice as large (approximately 30 leaves per age group) as those

used to calculate the other leaf properties. The larger sample size helped create significant separation between age groups. Unfortunately, because leaf area measurements were only sorted by age class and not by stem, this data says nothing about trends along individual stems. It only conveys overall trends among age classes.

In general, for the control stems, all three age classes had significantly different areas. Also, leaf area was smallest for the older leaves and largest for the middle aged leaves. For the perimeter stems, only age classes 1 and 2 had significantly different leaf areas. It appears that trends in leaf area were similar along perimeter and control stems. Middle aged leaves were the largest for both types of stem, but for the perimeter stems it is unclear whether or not age class 3 or 1 had the smallest leaf area.

Lambers et al. reported that older leaves tend to be larger than younger leaves (Lambers H., et. al, 2008). They also reported that leaves exposed to less light tend to be larger (Lambers H., et. al, 2008). The trends in leaf area observed in this study are consistent with the trends reported in the literature, if one identifies age class 1 as "younger" and age class 2 as "older". However, age class 3 contradicts the trends reported in the literature, since it is both the oldest age class and it gets the least light exposure, yet it had the smallest leaf areas. It is possible that this was due to shrinking of the older leaves, which might have been caused by leaf senescence. It is also possible that the statements made by Lambers et al. were not meant to apply to senescing leaves. These trends in leaf area suggest that sampling only "fully-expanded" leaves might correspond to sampling primarily middle-aged leaves, particularly for stems grown under conditions similar to the control stems in this experiment.

In addition, unless middle-aged leaves are considered "fresh," these leaf area measurements suggest that sampling only "fresh" leaves contradicts the criteria of sampling "fully-

expanded" leaves. Perhaps it would be best to interpret "fresh" as corresponding to showing no signs of senescence. This criterion, applied in combination with sampling "fully-expanded" leaves might lead to consistently sampling middle-aged leaves.

Conclusion

In conclusion, this study found that leaf nitrogen content does not vary with leaf age significantly. This suggests that researchers need not worry about the effects of leaf age when estimating vertical nitrogen gradients based on sampling individual leaves. However, these experimental results might be attributable to estimating leaf nitrogen content based on the correlation presented by Reddy et al. (Reddy K.R. et al. 2003).

NDVI and Red-edge position were observed to decrease significantly with increasing leaf age on both control and perimeter stems. The magnitude of these age effects for control and perimeter stems were very similar, which suggests that leaf light exposure is not the dominant factor governing these trends. NDVI and Red-edge position are commonly applied spectral features in remote sensing studies. These results suggest that researchers may want to account for the effects of leaf age on NDVI and the Red-edge position, though this depends on the sensitivity of their data to variations in NDVI and the Red-edge position. Leaf age effects should also be accounted for if these spectral features are used to estimate other properties, such as leaf nitrogen content.

Finally, for both control and perimeter stems, leaf area was observed to be largest for the middle-aged leaves. This suggests that sampling only "fully-expanded" leaves is probably a reasonably effective criterion for selecting leaves of similar ages. Avoiding small leaves that show signs of senescence is also recommended. These may be useful sampling criteria when leaf age is known to affect a property being studied.

Possibilities for Future Research

Replication of this study might measure leaf nitrogen content directly using a dry combustion analyzer; additionally a replication might estimate leaf nitrogen content using the nitrogen-related spectral feature near 2.1 micrometers described by Kokaly et al. (Kokaly R.F. et al., 2009). These methods may yield more reliable conclusions about the effects of leaf age on leaf nitrogen content. In addition, measurement of leaf properties at more nodal positions might better capture the effects of the entire gradient of leaf age, especially since these trends are not always unidirectional along stems, as demonstrated by the leaf areas measured in this study.

The effects of leaf age on plant nitrogen distribution and other properties should be also investigated for more species. This would help determine if it is necessary to incorporate leaf age effects into scaling models for canopy nitrogen content and photosynthesis in general.

Appendix

Experimental Data:
Leaf NDVI, Red-edge position, nitrogen content, and the corresponding stem regression slopes:

Control Stem Leaf NDVI Values (unitless)								
Leaf Age Class	Stem 1	Stem 2	Stem 3	Stem 4	Stem 5	Stem 6	Stem 7	Stem 8
1	0.7143	0.7045	0.7097	0.7004	0.6976	0.7274	0.7163	0.7105
2	0.6818	0.6625	NaN	0.6516	0.674	0.6994	0.6711	0.6208
3	0.6007	0.5708	0.676	NaN	0.662	0.6116	NaN	NaN
Stem Regression Slope:	-0.0568	-0.0669	-0.0168	-0.0488	-0.0178	-0.0579	-0.0452	-0.0897

Control Stem Leaf Red-edge (nm)								
Leaf Age Class	Stem 1	Stem 2	Stem 3	Stem 4	Stem 5	Stem 6	Stem 7	Stem 8
1	698.31	700.4	698.72	699.98	699.98	701.65	703.74	700.82
2	697.47	697.89	NaN	697.05	700.82	699.56	699.14	697.89
3	695.79	697.89	698.72	NaN	697.47	695.37	NaN	NaN
Stem Regression Slope:	-1.26	-1.255	0	-2.93	-1.255	-3.14	-4.6	-2.93

Control Stem Leaf N contents (g N/Kg Leaf)								
Leaf Age Class	Stem 1	Stem 2	Stem 3	Stem 4	Stem 5	Stem 6	Stem 7	Stem 8
1	19.793	21.6759	-1.8783	-4.9372	22.9645	6.544	41.037	30.876
2	-25.286	-28.494	NaN	9.917	21.0379	-2.5072	2.3758	-2.7651
3	12.946	2.0596	11.2548	NaN	-2.448	-1.7023	NaN	NaN
Stem Regression Slope:	-3.4232	-9.8092	6.5665	14.8541	-12.706	-4.1232	-38.661	-33.641

Perimeter Stem Leaf NDVI Values (unitless)								
Leaf Age Class	Stem 1	Stem 2	Stem 3	Stem 4	Stem 5	Stem 6	Stem 7	Stem 8
1	0.6857	0.6644	0.7181	0.72	0.7102	0.7134	0.7147	0.713(
2	0.74	0.6798	0.7175	0.7149	0.6949	0.7033	0.5806	0.677(
3	0.6766	0.6806	0.656	0.6754	0.5776	0.6037	0.4522	0.587.
Stem Regression Slope:	-0.005	0.0081	-0.0311	-0.0223	-0.0663	-0.0548	-0.1313	-0.063:

Perimeter Stem Leaf Red-edge (nm)								
Leaf Age Class	Stem 1	Stem 2	Stem 3	Stem 4	Stem 5	Stem 6	Stem 7	Stem 8
1	697.89	699.56	699.14	699.98	701.65	702.91	705	701.2(
2	699.98	700.82	699.14	700.82	702.91	701.24	701.24	701.6!
3	698.31	698.31	696.63	698.72	697.05	697.89	691.59	694.1:
Stem Regression Slope:	0.21	-0.625	-1.255	-0.63	-2.3	-2.51	-6.705	-3.56!

Perimeter Stem Leaf N contents (g N/Kg Leaf)								
Leaf Age Class	Stem 1	Stem 2	Stem 3	Stem 4	Stem 5	Stem 6	Stem 7	Stem 8
1	18.486	-7.0361	-1.3214	20.2705	12.0345	42.2262	43.7711	-5.367:
2	29.257	14.7638	-16.183	31.6955	31.2725	13.9539	13.7934	33.347.
3	-27.71	28.6999	21.1649	8.1207	3.5261	20.8114	7.8509	3.844!
Stem Regression Slope:	-23.1	17.868	11.2431	-6.0749	-4.2542	-10.707	-17.96	4.606:

Images of Control and Experimental Stems:

Example of a Control Stem: (red star – old, green star – middle-aged, gold star – young)

Example of a Perimeter Stem:

Potting Soil Nutrient Content:

SuperSoil (Rod McLellan Company) nutrient content by weight %:

(18.14 kg per bag)

Total Nitrogen……………………………….……0.14%

Ammoniacal Nitrogen…………..…………0.01%

Nitrate Nitrogen………………...….………..0.02%

Urea Nitrogen……………………….…………0.01%

Water Insoluble Nitrogen…………….…..0.10%

Available Phosphate [P_2O_5]……………...…..0.09%

Soluble Potash [K_2O]……………………….…..0.02%

Water Soluble Iron…………………………..0.25%

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Empowering Students?
The Relationship between Multicultural Curricula and Academic Achievement

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Abstract

The purpose of this study is to ascertain whether multicultural focused curricula are beneficial in the academic achievement of Latina/o high school students. In exploring the relationship between multicultural curricula and academic achievement, racial pride is used as a measure to test how the relationship is moderated. Furthermore, this study examines the student's perception of multicultural curricula and its role in instilling racial pride as a method to increase academic achievement. A data analysis was performed to assess the relationship amongst the measures by using data from a large survey administered at a California central coast high school. The link between multicultural focused curricula and achievement was found to be significant for white students and marginally significant for Latina/o students. The link between multicultural curricula and achievement, however, was not entirely moderated by racial pride. This study has larger theoretical and policy implications for implementing multicultural education curricula and academic achievement amongst students from racially and ethnically disadvantaged groups.

Introduction

The United States population is rapidly diversifying, reflecting a changing racial and ethnic landscape. In 2010, the U.S. population was 63.7% non-Hispanic white and 36.3% people of color. Estimated population projections indicate that by mid-century people of color will comprise over half the population (53.7 percent), thus non-Hispanic whites will no longer be the majority (U.S. Census Bureau 2010). This pattern of population diversification points to the development of a "majority-minority" state where the majority of the population is composed of "minorities" or historically disadvantaged groups, such as African-Americans, Latinos, Asians, Native Americans. The development and actualization of the "majority-minority" state is unprecedented because the U.S. was historically composed of non-Hispanic whites. In light of this development, it is imperative to re-conceptualize our understandings of systematic structures that affect the experiences and opportunities of students of color.

Latina/os are the fastest growing, yet simultaneously least educated, major population group in the United States (Murillo et al. 2010). The current disjuncture between increased numbers and decreased educational levels poses a critical challenge for educators as it reveals inequalities in educational achievement and attainment among students of color. Lower levels of education typically translate into fewer opportunities for well-paying jobs which, if not corrected, will have dire consequences for the economic health of the nation.

Research focusing on the "leaks in the educational pipeline" examines the disparities in educational attainment between whites and students of color. The "leaks" metaphor is used to describe the pervasive gaps in educational attainment by racial and ethnic groups. This literature assesses educational attainment across racial and ethnic backgrounds and has uncovered

significant differences. For example, for every 100 white students enrolled in elementary school, 84 graduate high school, and 24 graduate college compared to African American students, where 73 students graduate high school and 15 graduate college. The educational attainment of Latinas/os is even more alarming, where only 54 graduate high school and 11 complete college (Solorzano, Villalpando & Oseguera 2005). The leaks in the educational pipeline are indicative of a myriad of systematic inequalities that pervade the educational system.

In addition to the leaks, we are also faced with long-standing achievement gaps. Research on the black-white achievement gap has found a four-year gap between black and white students. This means that the average 12th grade African-American student is at the same educational level as the average 8th grade white student (Harris 2011). Latina/o student achievement demonstrates a similar pattern, with achievement rising from 1970 through the late 1980s and then holding steady in the 1990s. This led to a reduction in the Latino-White achievement gap during the 1970s and 1980s and then to an increase in the gap in the 1990s (Boykin & Noguera 2011).

Given the leaks and gaps in the educational system, there is a need to focus research on alternative modes of education and curricula in order to understand and address these issues more fully. One area of research focuses on multicultural curriculum as a method to work with an increasingly diverse student body while simultaneously working towards equality in education and achievement. Multicultural curricula are increasingly becoming apparent in K-12 education and additionally at the university level where, for example, an "ethnicity course requirement" (i.e. ethnic studies courses: Chicana/o Studies, Black Studies, Asian American Studies, etc.) at the University of California, Santa Barbara has been instituted. This shift in curricular requirements is intertwined with the needs of both students of color and white students to learn about diverse histories and cultures. When working within the

framework of diversity, it is critical to situate it in an appropriate context to actualize its potential. As Nieto states:

> "Oftentimes diversity is symbolized as respected and inherent in U.S. society, however both as a concept and in practice it is not actually affirmed. In effect, for curriculum to embody diversity it must include current social issues and examine prejudice, discrimination, and differential treatment of groups of people in all institutions of U.S. life, as well as consider the basis for inequalities" (Nieto 1992, 7).

Additionally, the curriculum must also provide knowledge about history, ideas, and beliefs of the diverse groups that have contributed to the growth and development of the U.S.

The present study examines the effect that exposure to multicultural curricula has had on academic achievement of Latino/a students attending a high school on California's central coast. Specifically, I will explore whether taking multicultural courses positively affects racial pride and how that interacts with educational achievement. This paper analyzes the possible positive and negative effects of multicultural curricula on student academic achievement. The results of this research will enhance our understanding of the ways that changes in curriculum to incorporate multiculturalism might strengthen the educational pipeline.

Review of the Literature

Over the last two decades researchers have suggested many ways to address the achievement gap including making academic material personally meaningful and relevant to students. Wade Boykin and Pedro Noguera (2011) assert that

> "educators—by centering the learning process on

children's actual experiences, relating what students learn to matters of personal interest, linking classroom learning to relevant events and experiences in students' lives, tying what is learned to the community or the larger society, and drawing connections across topics and subjects—can bring about better learning outcomes for students" (Boykin & Noguera 2011, 91).

Also in recent years, numerous scholars have brought attention to the ways that students' experiences outside school, including those of ethnic minority students placed at risk for educational failure, can be a valuable resource inside classrooms (Morrison, Robbins, & Rose, 2008). In effect, both multicultural curricula and ethnic studies curricula need to be explored to assess its contributions in increasing the academic outcomes of Latina/o students.

The beginning of multicultural focused curricula stemmed from the Civil Rights movement when various racial and ethnic groups demanded equality throughout all sectors of society. During the 1960s and 70s, activists protested the culturally exclusive policies and practices of local schools and demanded the inclusion of their heritage in the textbooks and in the curriculum. "The consequences of the Civil rights movement had a significant influence on educational institutions as ethnic groups- first African Americans and then other groups- demanded that the schools and other educational institutions reform their curricula so that they would reflect their own experiences, histories, cultures, and perspectives" (Banks 1996). Banks makes an important distinction between multiethnic education, which focuses on ethnic and racial groups, and multicultural education, which deals with the interaction/intersection of race, class, and gender. Thus, multicultural curricula is as a concept, an educational reform movement, and a process that demands that all students, regardless of gender, social class, racial, ethnic or cultural characteristics,

have an equal opportunity to learn in school (Banks 1997).

As Banks (2004) delineates, the five core dimensions that characterize the proposed objectives of multicultural curricula are: (1) *content integration* where the curriculum is infused with material from diverse groups; (2) *knowledge construction* which is an understanding of the hegemonic and Eurocentric construction of educational content (e.g., understanding that the "westward migration" was only "west" for one social group); (3) *prejudice reduction*—the extent to which the teachers and administrators in a school actively work to reduce prejudice and stereotyping by students in the school, through the inclusion of an antiracist curriculum; (4) *equity pedagogy*—pedagogies designed specifically to increase the academic achievement of lower performing students and to create greater equity between students; and (5) *empowering school culture*—altering school structures and processes to be more empowering for all students, with particular attention to eliminating institutionalized racism in school practices.

While creating academic material that is culturally relevant, ethnic studies curricula are also explored within the research. Sleeter (2011) explains that ethnic studies curricula include historically marginalized communities and students in a multicultural American curriculum and narrative, supporting and developing cross-group communication. Second, further as Sleeter notes

> "[although] commonly perceived as touchy-feely and non-academic—even as lowering academic standards, as examples will illustrate—ethnic studies curricula are academically based, usually designed to improve students' academic performance, and sometimes explicitly focus on university preparation" (18).

While sometimes characterized as cheating students of color by

substituting ethnic pride for the knowledge and skills needed to succeed in the mainstream society, research indicates how well-designed ethnic studies curricula do, in fact, prepare students to succeed while embracing their ethnic identity at the same time (Sleeter 2011). At Pre-K through 12 levels, ethnic studies is not a separate subject but rather a reconceptualization of subject matter that takes into account state standards and assessments for which students will be held accountable. Sleeter (2011) asserts that "Culture, rather than being conceptualized as something static from the past, is viewed as complex and dynamic, and students' everyday lived culture and language is part of the ethnic studies curriculum" (28).

According to Ladson-Billings (1995) culturally relevant pedagogy is infused in classroom practices as a method to combine the student's experiences with the curriculum. Culturally relevant pedagogy consists of teachers blending Black students' home and community experiences into their instructional methods. This approach affirms the students' cultural identities as they strive for high academic attainment and exercise their reasoning skills about academic and economic inequalities. By focusing on culturally relevant pedagogy, students' levels of achievement are tied to their pursuit of service to the community. Ultimately, "teachers urge students to confront the realities of power and privilege in the larger society and link events that happen in their lives to the school's official curriculum" (Boykin & Noguera 2011, 102-103).

Contrary to several stereotypical constructions of the ability and willingness of disadvantaged students to learn, several studies indicate that students of color can and are willing to learn most particularly when surrounded by an environment that is supportive of their cultural characteristics. Furthermore Gollnick, Chinn, and Tiedt found that economically disadvantaged African American and Hispanic students outperformed students from other social economic groups in language arts, reading, mathematics, and other

subjects upon being exposed to multicultural curricula (Gollnick & Chinn 1995; Tiedt & Teidt 1994).

Chavous et al (2003) uses "group identification and educational motivation" as an alternative perspective hypothesized by researchers addressing African American identity and educational achievement. According to this perspective, African American youth who are strongly connected to their racial and ethnic groups, and, therefore, aware of social barriers threatening them, develop positive beliefs concerning academic achievement. Perry (1993) postulated that African American adolescents with a strong affiliation to their racial group have historically valued learning and education resulting from their awareness of the past and current struggles for educational equality. For example, African American adolescents who have grown up in environments that emphasize group affiliation and awareness of social inequity have had higher levels of achievement than their peers that come from environments that do not place as much significance on group affiliation (Bowman & Howard, 1985).

Studies using different research methodologies, investigating students at middle school through university levels, in different regions of the U.S., consistently find a relationship between academic achievement, high level of awareness of race and racism, and positive identification with one's own racial group. For example, Altschul, Oyserman, and Bybee (2006) surveyed 98 African American and 41 Latino students in three low- income Detroit middle schools periodically over a two-year period. Although students' grades dropped as they moved from middle school to high school, grades of students with the highest racial-ethnic identity dropped the least.

Ideally, education should help all students acquire knowledge that empowers. This implies that knowledge should include a perspective of history from the students' points of view and be selected and constructed by the instructor in relation to the

students' desires, visions, descriptions of reality, and repertoires of action (Sleeter & Grant 1992). Oftentimes, the classroom becomes a site where students concretely witness terrains in which they have some power and in other areas where they are rendered powerless (Sleeter & Grant 1992). In effect, multicultural curricula seek to address factors such as racial pride as a mechanism to improve academic achievement. Students who succeed in school experience a meshing or overlapping between the knowledge taught in school and the knowledge that has personal meaning to them. According to Cummins (1986), "they participate competently in instruction as a result of having developed confident cultural identity as well as appropriate school-based knowledge."

Ethnic studies curricula have been studied in relationship to three overlapping effects on students: academic engagement, academic achievement, and personal empowerment. Altschul, Oyserman, and Bybee (2008) surveyed 185 Latina/o eighth graders in three low-income middle schools where students ranged from recent immigrants to second and third generation; most were of Mexican descent. Students with higher grades tended to have bicultural identities, identifying with their ethnic origin as well as focusing on overcoming obstacles within mainstream society. Students who identified little with their ethnic origin tended to achieve poorly, as did the relatively fewer students who identified exclusively with their culture of origin and not at all with the mainstream society.

Three qualitative studies with middle school students documented high levels of student engagement when literature by authors of the students' ethnic background is used. Brozo and Valerio (1996) described responses of eighth grade Mexican American students to high-quality literature by Mexican American authors, such as Rudolfo Anaya, as the teacher introduced works over the year. It was "immediately apparent" to the teachers that students connected with the literature, as formerly passive students

become highly engaged in reading. Bean, Valerio, Senior, and White (1999) documented the high level of engagement among racially and ethnically diverse classes of ninth graders as they read a young adult novel about a bi-racial adolescent's ethnic identity development. Some students developed a strong connection with the main character; others reported learning a good deal. Bean et al (1999) concluded that literature with which racial and ethnic minority students can identify engages them in the process of reading and writing.

Ethnic studies and multicultural curricula benefit students from all racial and cultural backgrounds. In an experimental study, Antonio and colleagues (2004) found that small group discussions in which students vary by race or by opinion produce greater cognitive complexity than groups where participants are homogeneous. Similarly, in a survey of 8,051 entering freshmen in three large universities, looking at the impact of completing a high school multicultural education course on students' skills and attitudes for participation in a diverse democracy, Hurtado, Engberg, Ponjuan, and Landreman (2002) found that the impact was mediated by the extent to which students were engaged in active discussion of racial issues and interacting with peers whose perspectives differed from their own. Empirical research demonstrates an unexpected finding: Multicultural educational practice also improves the learning, achievement, and engagement of all students—higher and lower achieving students, students of color and white students, and lower and higher socio-economic status (SES) students. This finding is important because it highlights the way that good multicultural educational practice is, at its core, a beneficial educational practice (Zirkel 2008).

The review of the literature suggests that the relationship between exposure to multicultural curricula and academic achievement is relevant amongst students of color, particularly those from African-American and Latina/o backgrounds. Specifically, racial attachment and positive group identification

amongst African-American students was found to increase academic achievement (Bowman 1985, Chavous 2003, & Perry 2003). Research on Latina/o students, however, has not focused on the relationship between exposure to multicultural focused curriculum and academic achievement while assessing the moderating interaction of racial pride. Altschul, Oyserman, and Bybee (2008) assessed the relationship amongst Latina/o students in the eighth grade while focusing on "bicultural identities" and its effect on achievement. The current study will analyze the moderating impact of racial pride on the relationship between exposure to multicultural focused curriculum and academic achievement amongst 11th and 12th grade Latina/o and white students.

Sample

Data for this study was taken from a larger survey administered at a California Central Coast high school in Santa Barbara County. The survey focused on student's self-concepts and perceived teacher support as well as understanding the achievement gap between white and Latina/o students. The sample used for this study included a total of 482 students, 278 11th graders and 204 12th graders. The students ranged in age from 16 to 18 (M= 16.9, SD= .69). 209 were male and 272 female. The racial composition of the sample included 237 white students and 245 Latina/o students.

Procedures

Survey questions used for this study were added to an existing survey compiled for dissertation research by Shadi Roshandel, a doctoral student from UC Santa Barbara's Girvetz Graduate School of Education. Prior to the administration of the survey, homeroom teachers collected assent/consent forms; these were given to the high school administration. Surveys were administered during homeroom classes to ensure that all students were accounted for. High school administrative staff compiled

class lists for the research team, informing us of the names of students who signed the necessary documents. A 15-minute survey was administered by two graduate student researchers and three undergraduate research assistants who were trained on and familiar with the study. The survey was administered to all high school students with signed consent forms except for those absent in the two days that it took to collect the surveys. The students who did not provide signed consent forms worked on an assignment from their teacher during the survey completion. This procedure was arranged with the consent of the classroom teacher prior to survey distribution. Researchers chose 11th and 12th grade students for the project because their perceptions of curriculum are based on more years of high school.

Survey Measures

The majority of measures used for this study were adapted from MADICS (Maryland Adolescent in Context Study), a longitudinal research project conducted at the University of Michigan that includes a variety of measures based on 1480 adolescents (51 percent male and 49 percent female). The MADICS data were collected for the purpose of understanding the psychological determinants of behavior and developmental trajectories during adolescence. The project's range of measures and longitudinal aspect provide researchers with an opportunity to assess the link between academic outcomes and race, affect, and perceptions of students' prior school achievement. The MADICS, however, is solely based on black and white students.

Multicultural Education. I used multicultural education as the main independent variable to assess whether exposure to multicultural focused curricula is related to higher academic achievement amongst Latina/os since previous research has confirmed this hypothesis among African American students (Banks 1994). Multicultural focused curriculum was measured by

two questions adapted from the "School-Climate Diversity (task and curriculum structure)" section of the MADICS. The questions sought to get an understanding of the extent of cultural diversity and history that was infused in school curriculum from the student's perspective. Multicultural focused curriculum was measured by questions that pertained to the emphasis placed on Latina/os' achievements. For example, "In your school, how much emphasis is placed on the achievements of Latinos?" Also, based on curricular content, survey questions asked: "How often in your English class do you read books about your race?" and "How often do you learn about people of your racial and cultural background in your history class?" All survey questions were measured using a 5-point Likert scale.

Racial Pride. I assessed whether racial pride via exposure to multicultural focused curriculum was associated with academic achievement. Findings related to high levels of racial pride leading to academic achievement are inconsistent (Chavous et al. 2003, Fordham & Ogbu 1986, Harris 2011). Racial pride was measured using the following question: "How often are you proud of your race and culture?" This question was measured by a 5-point Likert scale, where low racial pride corresponded to "almost never" while the highest outcome was "almost always".

Academic Achievement. Academic Achievement (dependent or outcome variable) was measured by student's grade point average obtained from school records.

Data Analysis

The analytic plan used for this study included a hierarchical linear regression analysis that took place in three steps. Specifically, I use a moderation model where the relationship between the independent (multicultural curriculum) and the dependent variables (academic achievement) depends on a third variable. The third variable is referred to as the moderator variable;

in this case it's racial pride. The effect of a moderating variable is characterized statistically as an interaction: a variable that affects the strength of the relation between dependent (achievement) and independent variables (student's perception of multicultural curricula). The first step of the analysis included testing the amount of racial pride (RP) the student's had [Achievement= β_0 + β_1 (RP)]. The second step added the student's perception of multicultural focused curriculum by adding the history (MFC**H**) and English (MFC**E)** measures [Achievement= β_0 + β_1 (RP) + β_2 (MFC**H**) + β_3 (MFC**E)** + e]. The final step included an interaction between the student's racial pride and his or her perception of multicultural focused curriculum in order to understand whether racial pride moderates the relationship between MFC and GPA [Achievement= β_0 + β_1 (RP) + β_2 (MFC**H**) + β_3 (MFCE) + (MFC**EH** * RP) + e]. The percent change indicates how much of the MFC "effect" is moderated by racial pride (RP) while ultimately looking at academic achievement as the outcome.

Preliminary Results

While running the data, measures for racial pride (RP) were recoded to specify its moderating effect in the relationship between multicultural focused curriculum and academic achievement. On the survey, racial pride was measured with a five point Likert scale (with the following responses: "almost never," "not too often,", "about half the time," "fairly often,", and "almost always"). To differentiate between high and low racial pride, the scale was recoded where low corresponded to the first three responses on the Likert scale and high to the remaining two responses. The majority of students indicated that they had high levels of racial pride (337 students, 70%).

Achievement was measured by student grade point averages obtained from the school district. While running the descriptive statistics for the study, the disparities in GPAs amongst Latina/o and white students were significant. The mean GPA for

white students was 3.88 ($t=$ 18.769, .000) while Latina/o students was 2.60 ($t=$ 18.785, .000).

Results

The relationship between exposure to multicultural curriculum and academic achievement was found to be significant for white students. Specifically, perception of multicultural focused curriculum in English classes significantly impacts academic achievement ($\square=$ .288, $t=$ 2.40, $p < .05$). In addition, curriculum in history classes was also significant in determining GPA ($\square=$ .262, $t=$ 2.313, $p < .05$). The final regression tested for white students, where the interaction variable of racial pride (MFC**HE** * RP) was added to analyze the moderation effect, was not significant. In effect, the relationship between a white student's exposure to multicultural focused curriculum and academic achievement is not moderated by the student's racial pride.

The relationship between exposure to multicultural curriculum and academic achievement was found to be marginally significant for Latina/o students. For example, perception of multicultural focused curriculum in History classes marginally impacts academic achievement ($\square=$ -.263, $t=$ -1.912, $p > .05$). However, curriculum in English classes was found not to be significant in determining GPA ($\square=$ -.025, $t=$ -.140, $p > .05$). The final regression tested for Latina/o students, where the interaction variable of racial pride (MFC**HE** * RP) was added to analyze the moderation effect, was not significant. Overall, the relationship between Latina/o student's exposure to multicultural focused curriculum and academic achievement is not moderated by the student's racial pride.

Discussion

The goal of this study was to determine whether the students' perception of multicultural curriculum and its relationship with academic achievement was moderated by racial pride. Specifically, I examined whether the student's sense of racial pride served as a predictor of the relationship between multicultural curriculum and GPA. Since the review of the literature suggests that exposure to multicultural and ethnic studies curriculum does contribute to higher educational outcomes especially amongst students of color, it was critical to assess its applicability within the context of a local high school.

The first significant findings in the preliminary data analysis were the disparities in GPA between Latina/o and white students. Students were asked to self-report GPAs, however, actual GPAs were retrieved, with permission, from school district records. In order to measure the dependent variable accurately or the outcome of the relationship (academic achievement), I relied on GPAs retrieved from school records. A comparison of average GPA of white students (3.88) to that of Latina/os students (2.6), a 1.28 grade point average difference, points to various disparities. For example, the white students' GPA could be attributed to a greater enrollment in Advanced Placement (AP) courses where extra grade points are given. In a previous study Ornelas and Solorzano (2004) posed the question: "Do Latina/o and African American students have equal access to AP courses at their high schools?" Their data, based on the Los Angeles Unified School District, indicates that although Latina/o and African American students are the majority of the student population, AP courses are overwhelmingly filled with white students. Unequal access to AP courses also affects student's higher education trajectory because oftentimes university admissions specifically note whether students academically challenged themselves. The overrepresentation of Latina/o students in the K-12 school system and underrepresentation in AP courses corresponds to the "Leaks in the

Educational Pipeline" where 54 out of 100 Latina/o students graduate high school in comparison to 84 white students (Solorzano, Villalpando & Oseguera 2005). Also, based on this current study, the Latina/o students average GPA (2.6) does not meet the threshold GPA of 3.0 required for application to the California State University and University of California systems. This shows how high school GPA is a critical factor in persisting along the educational pipeline.

The relationship between multicultural curricula and achievement was found statistically significant amongst white students. Questions on the survey asked students: "How often do you learn about your racial and cultural background in History and English classes?" Since the questions asked for the student's perception regarding learning about their own racial background, the results reestablished and confirmed that high school curriculum is overwhelmingly Eurocentric. The statistically significant dialectical relationship between the white students' GPAs and learning about their own race demonstrates how high school curriculum continues to privilege the perspectives and experiences of these students. In effect, this current study shows how white students continue to benefit academically from the traditional Eurocentric curricula. This in turn contributes to their positive outcomes within the educational pipeline in comparison to students of color, especially those from Latina/o backgrounds.

Contrary to the white students from the sample, Latina/o students did not show a significant relationship between achievement and multicultural curriculum. The results indicated a negative marginally significant relationship with regards to Latina/o students learning about their own racial and cultural background within history classes. This suggests that Latina/o students perceive that curriculum within their history classes does not focus on their historical realities. This lack of representation throughout history curricula is statistically marginally significant in its relationship towards GPA. The Latina/o students' average

GPA of 2.6 (in comparison to white student's average of 3.8) may be partially explained by the Eurocentric curriculum within history courses that overlook the histories and contributions of people of color which has a detrimental impact on their educational outcomes. However, without doing a full content analysis of the students' syllabi I cannot conclude that this a definite contributing factor.

While measuring the students' racial pride I found that the majority of the sample indicated they had "high" levels of racial pride. Racial and ethnic centrality has been a primary focus in past research and was first initiated while studying African American populations. That research has shown that positive feelings and pride towards one's racial-ethnic group became positive influences among diverse adolescents, including those of Mexican and Chinese descent (Kiang, Yip, Gonzales-Backen, Witkow, & Fuligni, 2006), and also predicts self-esteem among African American, Latino, and White adolescents (Phinney, Cantu, & Kurtz, 1997). The 70 percent of the sample that indicated "high" levels of racial pride corresponds to existing research that focuses on race centrality among adolescents. A few respondents however, responded unfavorably to the questions regarding race or ethnicity. For example, some students who identified as white left the questions blank and others responded through a written response ("we are all part of the human race" or "why does race matter, I am part of a human race"). Thus, another aspect of racial-ethnic centrality is a belief in a colorblind society, where everyone is considered to be a part of the "human" race (Charmaraman & Grossman 2010). Similar to past research and within this current study, notions of colorblindness are typically associated with white students (e.g., Grossman & Charmaraman, 2009; Perry, 2002) and can consequently entail the denial of discrimination and racism (Bonilla-Silva, 2003).

Though racial pride was found to not be statistically significant as a moderator in the relationship between multicultural

curricula and academic achievement in this current study, it continues to be relevant based on past and current research. Since the data relied on one question from the survey to measure the students' perceptions of racial pride (How often are you proud of your race and culture?) there was an overrepresentation of racial pride. Also, the question measuring racial pride appealed to most respondents, which consequently affected the significance of its moderation because there was no variability in the questions measuring racial pride. Racial and cultural pride, for example, has been relevant in the recent ban on ethnic studies in the Tucson Unified School District in Arizona. Local government officials banned the Mexican American Studies programs in Tucson high schools because they were perceived as favoring ethnic groups. At the same time, a report indicated a 97 percent decrease in the high school dropout rate during the programs duration. According to Save Ethnic Studies.org, these "Raza Studies" programs "successfully keeps otherwise-disengaged students motivated to learn and go on to college by using curriculum with which they culturally identify to teach critical thinking skills and empower the students to be strong leaders in their communities." Research shows that racial and cultural pride contributes to academic achievement and attainment.

Conclusion

Overall, the findings from this study suggest that learning about one's cultural and racial backgrounds within English and History classes are beneficial in improving academic achievement, especially amongst white students. Simultaneously, with respect to academics, Latina/o students are negatively impacted by the lack of curricula based on their experiences and perspectives within history courses. Though racial pride did not act as a moderating variable in the relationship between multicultural curricula and academic achievement, the survey did indicate that the majority of students reported "high" levels of racial pride. The variable of racial pride was also affected by the limitations faced by this study

because I added my questions to an existing survey created by a graduate student for her doctoral thesis. Thus, I was limited in the number and variety of questions I was allowed to include in the survey. However, this survey did grant me access to an entire high school, including official school records, which otherwise would not have been possible without an extensive human subjects approval procedure.

This study demonstrates the continued need to address pervasive disparities in GPA between Latina/o and white students. In addition, it fits within existing research that shows a relationship between multicultural curriculum and academic achievement. However, future research needs to test what additional factors/variables moderate the relationship because within this current study racial pride did not serve as a moderating variable. Future research should also focus on equal access to placement in AP courses amongst Latina/o students while specifically looking at the differences in curriculum and educational outcomes.

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"Thank God Almighty, I's Free at Last!" An Examination of the Emancipation Experience of Chickasaw Freedmen

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Abstract

This paper examines the unique lives of African Americans in Indian Territory and, in particular, the Chickasaw Indian Nation. Not all African American slaves had white masters or gained freedom through executive order and constitutional amendment. Five Southeastern American Indian tribes, removed west in the 1830s, adopted the institution of African chattel slavery. The 1863 issuance of the Emancipation Proclamation freed all African American slaves in Confederate territories of rebellion and the 1865 issuance of the 13th Amendment abolished slavery in all areas under the jurisdiction of the United States. Unfortunately for the African American slaves within the Chickasaw Indian Nation, none of these milestones applied, because Indian Territory (later known as Oklahoma) was a sovereign nation within the United States, and so these African Americans remained slaves until the Treaty of 1866. This paper gives a brief introduction to the complex history of African Americans living in the Chickasaw Indian Nation. It also uncovers two sentiments that emerged among the freed slaves of the Chickasaw Nation regarding their place in the transition from slavery to freedom: those who desired to leave Indian Territory and make their home in the United States,

and those who felt a sense of belonging with the tribe, if not through blood then through their shared experience and culture. The experiences of the slaves and freedmen of the Chickasaw Indian Nation provide them and their descendants with a unique identity and history that deserves to be integrated into the narrative of American history and of African American emancipation.

Introduction

Both the Emancipation Proclamation, issued in 1863 and the Thirteenth Amendment, ratified in December of 1865, are considered milestones for African Americans in the United States.[1] But African Americans in different parts of the country experienced freedom differently and African Americans in the territory that is now part of the United States did not experience freedom at all until late 1866. African Americans in Indian Territory (later to become Oklahoma) were not affected by the Emancipation Proclamation or the Thirteenth Amendment – because they and their Indian slave owners were not under the jurisdiction of the United States government and no separate treaty existed with the Five Tribes to change the status of African American slaves in Indian Territory. This paper provides a brief overview of African and Chickasaw interactions and then discusses several issues that dominate the conversation on the status of African Americans who lived among the Chickasaw: How did African Americans experience slavery in the Chickasaw Nation? What were the events and treaties that eventually led to the emancipation of African American slaves in the Chickasaw Nation? How did African Americans feel regarding their place in the Chickasaw Nation post-emancipation? Did they identify as Chickasaw if they had mixed-race ancestry? This paper serves as an exploration of questions which inform the history and study of the relationship between the Chickasaw Nation and the African Americans who were their slaves. It also serves as a basis for future research designed to deconstruct each question and issue raised in greater detail.

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[1]Michael Vorenberg, *The Emancipation Proclamation: A Brief History with Documents* (Boston, New York: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2010), 2.

Literature Review

Daniel Littlefield's book *The Chickasaw Freedmen* (1980) is the most extensive study of the slaves and later freedmen associated with the Chickasaw Indian Nation. Littlefield provides an overview of the lives of enslaved African Americans in the Chickasaw Nation as well as the legal and political logistics that governed the defaulted Treaty of 1866, the Dawes Allotment Rolls and the treatment of Chickasaw Freedmen leading up to Oklahoma's statehood on November 16, 1907. The Treaty of 1866, which attempted to force the Chickasaws to adopt their former slaves, and the creation of the Dawes Allotment Rolls, which divided Chickasaws and their former slaves into groups with different land holdings and rights, played a major role in the disenfranchisement of African Americans living in the Chickasaw Nation. Littlefield's book does not take a close look at any one aspect of slave or freedman life and leaves room for further investigation into the Chickasaw freedmen, as Littlefield himself encourages in the book's preface.

Other books cover the intricacies of black Indian identity and/or African American – Native relations, both between the blacks and Indians in the Five Tribes and in other tribes and geographic areas throughout the United States. Murray R. Wickett's *Contested Territory: Whites, Native Americans and African Americans in Oklahoma, 1865-1907* (2000) addresses how land, federal policy and race shaped the lives of African Americans, Native Americans and whites in Indian Territory and later in Oklahoma. *Contested Territory* discusses the tension related to acquisition of land in the days of the Indian Territory frontier and describes how the ever-expanding desire of white settlers for land translated into policies that put Native Americans at a disadvantage when attempting to secure the land the United States government had promised them. The need to emphasize their own tribal identity to keep sovereign nation status and political self-determination provided more motivation for the

Chickasaw Nation to disfranchise their freedmen and greatly affected the emancipation experience of the freedmen of the Chickasaw Nation. However, *Contested Territory* does not focus on any one of the Five Tribes.

Other books such as Celia E. Naylor's *African Cherokees in Indian Territory: From Chattel to Citizens* (2008), Theda Perdue's *Slavery and the Evolution of Cherokee Society 1540 – 1866* (1979) and Circe Sturm's *Blood Politics: Race, Culture, and Identity in the Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma* (2002) offer models of how to analyze the complex history of Africans/African Americans along with an analysis of how United States governmental policy has affected ideas of identity in both the African American and Native American communities. While providing valuable background information, however, none of these books offers extensive detail on the Chickasaw Nation and its relationship with its slaves, nor how the Chickasaw Freedmen dealt with emancipation.

Primary sources consulted for this project include the 1930s Federal Works Progress Administration (WPA) Indian-Pioneer Papers which capture the stories of African American former slaves as well as Whites and Indians living in Indian Territory in the 18th and 19th centuries.[2] The collection features approximately 80,000 typescripts of interviews with Native Americans, whites and African Americans living when Oklahoma became a state and documents the interviewee's feelings and experiences of the "frontier."[3]

In *Black Indian Slave Narratives*, editor Patrick Minges brought together interviews from the Works Progress

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[2] University of Oklahoma Western History Collections. *Indian Pioneer Papers Collection,*
http://digital.libraries.ou.edu/whc/pioneer/.
[3]Ibid.

Administration Ex-Slave Narratives and Indian-Pioneer Papers that were conducted with African Americans who were slaves of families in the Five Tribes.[4] Many of these former slaves state that they are of both African and Native American ancestry, underscoring their ease with acknowledging their dual heritage and the importance of mixed-race identity in the telling of these neglected stories.[5] Though Minges is just an editor for this work, his decision to bring together interviews in which former slaves openly discuss their mixed-race ancestry serves as a counter to claims of some scholars that African Americans in this time period did not identify as mixed-race. Minges' *Black Indian Slave Narratives* is a prelude to more work on how the freedmen of the Five Tribes racially identified.

The Chickasaw Indian Tribe

The Chickasaw Indian Tribe belongs to the Muskhogean language family of North American Indians and is closely related to the Choctaw Indian Tribe.[6] De Soto and other early European explorers described Chickasaws as handsome, upright, chaste and brave.[7] Historically, the Chickasaw Indian Nation was part of what was known as the "Five Civilized Tribes" or Five Tribes.[8] Located in the Southern states of North Carolina, Tennessee, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi and Florida, the Chickasaw, Choctaw, Creek, Seminole and Cherokee, were considered particularly adept at adapting to white culture, hence their title "Five Civilized

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[4] Patrick Minges, *Black Indian Slave Narratives* (Winston-Salem, North Carolina: John F. Blair, 2004), 175.

[5] Ibid.

[6] James H. Malone, *The Chickasaw Nation: A Short Sketch of a Noble People* (Louisville, Kentucky: John P. Morton & Company, 1922), 16.

[7] Ibid., 37.

[8] Murray R. Wickett, *Contested Territory: Whites, Native Americans and African Americans in Oklahoma*, *1865-1907*(Louisiana: Louisiana State University Press, 2000), 2.

Tribes."[9] Aspects of acculturation included the Chickasaw Nation's move to speaking English, dressing like whites, creating farms, raising livestock and cultivating cotton.[10]

Introduction of African Slaves to the Chickasaw Nation

In the Chickasaw Tribe's first meetings with Africans, they most likely viewed them as no different from European travelers they were encountering.[11] There was no sharp distinction between blacks, whites, and the Natives themselves except that both blacks and whites were viewed as potential enemies by the Natives.[12] Native Americans' racist views of Africans and African-Americans only seem to have developed when Native Americans realized that Europeans regarded Blacks as inferiors and enslaved them.[13] Natives feared that they were in danger of receiving the same treatment, which proved very true, as experiments in Indian slavery took place before African chattel slavery became popular in the Americas.[14] Chickasaws, as well as other Southeastern tribes, were involved in raiding white plantations for African and Indian slaves and for a time some Chickasaw Indians, as well as Indians from other tribes, were also enslaved beside Africans at plantations.[15] This dual enslavement occasionally served to form bonds between Africans and Chickasaws that resulted in intimate relations and friendships, but these were rare instances.[16]

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[9]Ibid.
[10]Daniel Littlefield, *The Chickasaw Freedmen: A People without a Country* (Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1980), 4.
[11]Theda Perdue, *Slavery and the Evolution of Cherokee Society 1540 – 1866* (Tennessee: The University of Tennessee Press, 1981), 36.
[12]Ibid.
[13]Ibid., 36.
[14]Ibid.
[15]Ibid., 30.
[16]Ibid.

Eventually Indian slavery was phased out because Indians sold into slavery or captured and enslaved were often able to escape and return to their tribes, whereas Africans who ran away had to rely upon an Indian nation to take them in, find a maroon community to join or embark on a journey to a territory where slavery was not present.[17] As the United States government pushed a program of acculturation on Native Americans, the Chickasaw tribe, along with four other tribes, adopted African chattel slavery. Chickasaws who owned slaves were often prestigious "mixed bloods," meaning they possessed both Indian and European ancestry, and had purchased their slaves from Southern whites, though historian Theda Perdue points out their desire to purchase slaves may have had more to do with their economic status than their ancestry.[18] African chattel slavery as whites practiced it, involved a racist mindset that deemed Africans less than human and justified their horrific treatment. As some Chickasaws adopted the institution of slavery, it appears that this mindset was also accepted by many in the tribe.

African American slaves were forced to follow their Native slave owners on the Trail of Tears, the forced removals from the tribes' fertile homelands to less desirable lands west of the Mississippi River.[19] Throughout the 1830s President Andrew Jackson forced most members of the Five Tribes to cede their lands to the federal government via the 1830 Indian Removal Act and move to make way for white settlers.[20] Chickasaw removal took place under treaties created in 1832 and 1834 and Chickasaws were to make their new lives on lands within the Choctaw Nation.[21] For the Chickasaws removal took place from parts of Alabama, Mississippi and Tennessee to Indian Territory (now

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[17]Theda Perdue, *Slavery and the Evolution of Cherokee Society 1540 – 1866)*, 46.
[18]Wickett, *Contested Territory*, 6.
[19]Ibid., 4.
[20]Ibid.
[21]Littlefield, *The Chickasaw Freedmen*, 4.

Oklahoma). A slave, Eli Roberts, remembered: "We came to Oklahoma from Mississippi, in 1837. My family was brought here by Holmes Colbert and Malse Colbert. During my first life here it was wild tribes of all kind animals ---- hogs cows, and every thang was wild."[22] Born in Mississippi, Eli Roberts wore woven shirts and moccasins and was the slave of one of the foremost Chickasaw/Choctaw families, the Colberts.

After removal most Chickasaws settled on land where they farmed on a small-scale subsistence level.[23] But a minority of mainly mixed-blood European-Natives used Black slaves to grow cotton and corn on large-scale plantations.[24] Chickasaw slave codes denied slaves basic rights such as owning property, holding office and even intermarriage with Chickasaws.[25] Just as in the United States, a wide variety of slave life and treatment by owners can be seen in the Chickasaw Nation, ranging from cruel and violent subjugation to slaves who lived very similarly to their masters. Some scholars posit that because Indians were also subject to white racism and prejudical laws that they were more benevolent slave masters, but it is not necessarily true that this was the rule among any slave holders in the Five Tribes. The Chickasaws in particular gained a reputation for treating their slaves and later freedmen particularly cruelly.[26] A European traveler going through the Chickasaw Nation in 1816 reported that several African Americans had recently been murdered "in a most barbarous, cruel, and unprovoked manner."[27] The racism associated with the virulent treatment of their African American slaves was likely a contributing factor to the Chickasaw Nation's

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[22]Eli Roberts (interview), 1937, Indian-Pioneer Papers (University of Oklahoma Western History collection database:
http://digital.libraries.ou.edu/whc/pioneer/paper.asp?pID=4853&vID=76)
[23]Wickett, *Contested Territory*, 5
[24]Ibid.
[25]Wickett, *Contested Territory*, 6.
[26]Ibid., 12.
[27] Littlefield, *The Chickasaw Freedmen*, 5.

dubious distinction of being the only one of the Five Tribes not to adopt their former slaves after the Civil War.

Emancipation in the United States territory

Two of the edicts in United States history – the Emancipation Proclamation and the Thirteenth Amendment – that have been touted as milestones for African Americans had no effect on the African American freedmen in Indian Territory. The Emancipation Proclamation did not even apply to all African Americans in the United States territory. When U.S. President Abraham Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation on January 1, 1863, areas where African Americans were excluded from the terms of the Proclamation included "the Border States; some areas in the Confederacy where there was strong Union support … and most areas under Union army occupation…"[28] The Thirteenth Amendment, ratified in 1865, stated that "neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction."[29] Because slaves in Indian Territory were not considered to be under the jurisdiction of the United States or within United States territory, they were not affected by the Emancipation Proclamation or the Thirteenth Amendment, and remained enslaved.

Emancipation in the Chickasaw Nation

During the Civil War, the majority of Chickasaws fought on the side of the Confederacy and "were the first of the Indians to take official cognizance of the movement of the secession of the

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[28] Library of Congress, *Primary Documents in American History*, http://www.loc.gov/exhibits/treasures/images/prelim1.jpg
[29] Library of Congress, *Primary Documents in American History*, http://www.loc.gov/rr/program/bib/ourdocs/13thamendment.html.

Southern States."[30] They, along with the Choctaw Tribe, appointed commissioners to discuss protection of the tribe in the event of a civil war with Confederate military officer Albert Pike.[31] The adoption of African chattel slavery was likely due in large part to the Chickasaws' identification with Southern values. The Chickasaw elite, who were economically, politically and socially powerful voices in the Chickasaw Nation, "sought to support the Confederacy and its dedication to the preservation of slavery," although political divisions and differing sympathies divided all of the Five Tribes.[32]

In the Chickasaw Indian Nation, African American slaves largely continued life as usual. Those who had not run away to fight in the Civil War continued with their everyday duties and many of these slaves were not aware of the magnitude of the Civil War nor of the eventual abolishment of slavery. In May of 1865, the Chickasaws met with a delegation from Washington and were told that because of the agreements they had made with the Confederate States during the Civil War, treaties made with the United States would no longer be upheld.[33] As punishment for their disloyalty the U.S. demanded two things of the Chickasaw in the Treaty of 1866. First, they must "cede to the United States the territory west of the 98 degree west longitude, known as the leased district" and second, that they must give to "all persons of African descent … all the rights, privileges, and immunities, including the right of suffrage of citizens of said nations … and also to give such

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[30]Malone, *The Chickasaw Nation*, 404-6.

[31]Malone, *The Chickasaw Nation*, 404-6.

[32]All of the Five Tribes had regiments or individual members who fought in both the Union and Confederate armies. The Keetoowah Society of the Cherokee Nation is an example of traditional, full-blooded Indians who opposed secession and chattel slavery, on the basis that it was contrary to traditional Indian lifestyle and belief. (Wickett, *Contested Territory*, 6).

[33]Littlefield, *The Chickasaw Freedmen*, 21.

persons … 40 acres each of the land…"[34] While these two mandates were seemingly tied together, their application was more inconclusive. The United States would give the Chickasaw Nation $300,000 in return for the lands ceded to the U.S. if the Chickasaw Nation admits their former slaves as members of their tribe.[35] If the adoption of the former slaves did not occur within two years the United States government would remove the freedmen from the Chickasaw Nation and give the Nation the $300,000 it owed them and would hold the monies in trust for them until the two years were up.[36] Whether or not the Chickasaws adopted their freedmen, they were to receive their $300,000 owed to them by the United States government. The Choctaw and Chickasaw tribes were the only two of the Five Tribes given the option of either adopting their freedmen or having them removed to another area by the United States government. But while the Choctaw Nation eventually decided to adopt their freedmen, the Chickasaw Nation did not.

The Chickasaws did not want to adopt their former slaves and insisted that the United States government step in and fulfill their promise of removing the African Americans; the United States government considered the African Americans the responsibility of the Chickasaws.[37] Embedded within the federal government's mandate that the Chickasaw Nation adopt its former slaves was a challenge to independent Indian Nation sovereignty. The U.S. was overstepping its bounds of authority, and the Chickasaw Nation resisted, considering this mandate to be an unfair punishment for their support of the Confederacy.[38] The Chickasaw Nation decided not to adopt their former slaves as citizens of the Nation, advocating for their former slaves to be

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[34]Oklahoma State University, *Indian Affairs Laws and Treaties*, *Charles J. Kappler*, http://digital.library.okstate.edu/Kappler/Vol2/treaties/Cho0918.htm.
[35]Ibid.
[36]Ibid.
[37]Littlefield, *The Chickasaw Freedmen*, 24.
[38]Wickett, *Contested Territory*, 8

removed from the Nation and settled in another area. Ultimately, the United States did not follow up on its threat to remove the African American former slaves from the Chickasaw Nation. In 1938 former slave William Nail testified that some Chickasaws refused to free their slaves, and that his own father was "held in slavery until liberated by the Federal armed forces."[39]

The Chickasaws felt they were unfairly being forced to do more for their former slaves than whites in United States territory were and claimed that because of the economic loss they experienced due to the freeing of their slaves they were not responsible for the lives of the freedmen.[40] When the Chickasaws brought their case to the Supreme Court in 1904, charging that even though they had not adopted their slaves they were still due the $300,000 the federal government had promised them, their case was dismissed. The Supreme Court ruled that "as the freedmen had remained in the nation, cultivating as much land as was necessary for the support of themselves and their families, and had not been adopted into the Chickasaw nation; they were not entitled to the fund."[41] Yet again the United States displayed its willingness to shirk adherence to treaties when it came to the rights of Native Americans. The $300,000 has never been paid to the Chickasaws for their lands ceded to the United States government in 1866.

African American slaves in the Chickasaw Nation became free peoples without citizenship in any nation until Oklahoma received statehood in 1907. For forty years they were caught in a struggle between the U.S. government and the Chickasaw Indian Nation. During this period it was hard for the freedmen to acquire and finance schooling. Many of them had to travel to other areas to

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[39]William Nail (interview), April 21, 1938, Indian-Pioneer Papers (University of Oklahoma Western History collection database:
http://digital.libraries.ou.edu/whc/pioneer/paper.asp?pID=4386&vID=66)
[40]Malone, *The Chickasaw Nation*, 416.
[41]Malone, *The Chickasaw Nation*, 417.

find work and any homes or other structures they built were subject to harm or destruction because they had no rights as citizens of the Chickasaw Nation.[42] Without rights as citizens freedmen could not hold perpetrators of crimes punishable in a court of law and the racism of white settlers and Natives often erupted in violent episodes.[43]

In 1893 the U.S. Congress authorized the creation of the Dawes Commission, a committee charged with persuading the Five Tribes to cede additional lands to the government, adopt the policy of dividing tribal lands into individual allotments, and dissolve their tribal governments. Surprisingly, the Dawes Commission also sought to have allotments awarded to all of the freedmen of the Five Tribes. In an effort to gain support for dissolving the Chickasaw Nation and territorial status for Indian Territory, commissioners traveled through the land of the Five Tribes. For once, since it had an impact on a proposed government policy, the plight of the freedmen in the Chickasaw Nation was noticed, and an 1894 report declared:

They now treat the whole class as alien without any legal right to abide among them, or to claim any protection under their laws. They are shut out of the schools of the tribe, and from their courts, and are granted no privileges of occupancy of any part of the land for a home, and are helplessly exposed to the hostilities of the citizen Indian and the personal animosity of the former master. Peaceable, law-abiding, and hard-working, they have sought in vain to be regarded as a part of the people to whose wealth their industry is daily contributing a very essential portion.[44]

The freedmen supported the Dawes Commission because it sought to provide them with land and resources that the Chickasaw

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[42]Littlefield, *The Chickasaw Freedmen*, 100.
[43]Wickett, *Contested Territory*, 152.
[44]Littlefield, *The Chickasaw Freedmen*, 166.

Nation denied them, while the Chickasaw tribal government refused to engage with the Dawes Commission in any way, largely because the Commission sought to involve the freedmen in their negotiations. Eventually Choctaw representatives, speaking without permission of the Chickasaws on behalf of both Choctaws and Chickasaws, met with Dawes Commissioners on April 23, 1897 and agreed to transfer both Chickasaw and Choctaw land titles in trust to the United States to be divided into allotments.[45]

But the issue of the freedmen continued to complicate matters. The Chickasaw Nation did not consider the freedmen citizens and did not want them to receive allotments of their land. The U.S. government, on the other hand, considered the Treaty of 1866 a guarantee that the freedmen should receive the rights of Chickasaw citizens, despite the fact that they were never officially adopted by the Chickasaw Nation. The Chickasaw freedmen continuously petitioned the United States government and paid for their own attorneys to argue for their rights with both the Chickasaw Nation and the United States. In a letter to Congress, the Committee of the Chickasaw Freedmen's Association submitted a letter of the freedmen's grievances, which stated:

The Chickasaw freedmen have waited many long and weary years for the settlement of their status, and the adjustment of their rights, privileges, immunities, claims, etc., so that they might have some security in the enjoyment of the fruits of their labors, educate their children, and surround themselves and their homes with some of the comforts of civilization.[46]

Finally, on June 28, 1898 Congress issued "An Act for the Protection of the People of the Indian Territory, and Other Purposes" or the Curtis Act, which terminated tribal title to all lands of the Five Tribes without their consent and "placed

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[45]Littlefield, *The Chickasaw Freedmen*, 170.
[46]Ibid., 166.

questions regarding citizenship, property, and rights under the jurisdiction of the federal courts."[47] Rolls would be created that listed all citizens of the tribe and all Chickasaw freedmen (and their descendents) entitled to rights under the Treaty of 1866. This would provide each freedman "forty acres of land, including their improvements, to be used by them until their rights under the treaty were finally determined by Congress."[48]

Along with the Dawes Rolls, created by the Dawes Commission to record all Indians and freedmen who were to receive a parcel of land, came another set of problems. Though Commissioner Henry L. Dawes himself seems to have had benevolent intentions, corrupt commissioners demanded payment from some freedmen to enroll.[49] Many freedmen had left the Chickasaw Nation and others had become enrolled in the Choctaw Nation.[50] Freedmen worried that those not currently in the Chickasaw Nation and their descendents would never be able to enroll. Though many freedmen were able to give testimony as to their status later or, if they were in a location other than Oklahoma, have another person stand in to give their testimony, mixed-race freedmen frequently suffered setbacks in the efforts to prove their status. Freedmen who possessed both Chickasaw and African ancestry were often judged by Dawes commissioners based on their phenotype.[51] Even if they said and were able to prove that they had Chickasaw ancestry they were often directed to the freedman enrollment tent.[52] Many family members became divided, with some being on the "by blood" rolls and others on the "freedmen" roll simply due to their phenotype. Those on the "by

[47]Ibid., 177.
[48]Ibid., 177.
[49]Ibid., 183.
[50]William Nail (interview), April 21, 1938, Indian-Pioneer Papers (University of Oklahoma Western History collection database:
http://digital.libraries.ou.edu/whc/pioneer/paper.asp?pID=4386&vID=66).
[51]Littlefield, *The Chickasaw Freedmen*, 207.
[52]Ibid.

blood" rolls were allotted a larger portion of land. This would severely limit the descendants of mixed-race freedmen who attempted to enroll in the Chickasaw Nation. The descendants of those freedmen who were not allowed to enroll on the "by blood" roll would never be able to obtain citizenship in the Chickasaw Nation if tribal law continued to base eligibility for Chickasaw citizenship upon blood quantum and the "by blood" Dawes Roll.

Once again, mixed-race whites fared better, as "it was charged that the Dawes Commission believed that anyone who descended from an ancestor once held in servitude had had his Indian blood polluted by the African. On the other hand, the commissioners did not contend that a child by an Indian man and white woman should be enrolled as a Chickasaw by blood."[53] Some freedmen, such as Nancy Fulsom Cox who had children with a full-blood Choctaw husband, were able to obtain enrollment numbers and a place on the "by blood" roll for their mixed-race children.[54]

Because of the doubtful status of the freedmen, whites or Indians were often able to occupy or steal their land with no legal repercussions. By the time of Oklahoma's statehood in 1907, many freedmen and Indians had been cheated out of their allotments.[55] The overwhelming illiteracy rates of these two groups contributed to this exploitation and by this time the Oklahoma territory was home to more than a million white settlers.[56]

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[53]Ibid.
[54]Nancy Fulsom Cox (interview), April 22, 1937, Indian-Pioneer Papers (University of Oklahoma Western History collection database: http://digital.libraries.ou.edu/whc/pioneer/paper.asp?pID=4386&vID=66)
[55]Wickett, *Contested Territory*, 63.
[56]Ibid.

Chickasaw Freedmen Adoption

In looking at the reasons behind the Chickasaw Tribe's refusal to adopt their former slaves as citizens – while the other four of the Five Tribes (the Cherokees, Creeks, Choctaws and Seminoles) did – I found that the main reasons were European-acculturated racism (which was a factor for all Five tribes), the scarcity of land and the relatively large number of freedmen compared to the population of the Chickasaw Nation.

Racism that developed as the result of European contact allowed chattel slavery to endure and added additional motivation to more "pragmatic" reasons the Chickasaw Nation had for choosing not to adopt their former slaves as citizens. European Americans have largely influenced the lives and identities of people of color in the United States since the first contact of whites with Natives and Africans. Whites imposed a racial hierarchy that even today influences the political, economic and social aspects of the lives of many people of color. The racial hierarchy imposed by whites wreaked havoc upon the identities of Native peoples and African slaves in different ways. The Chickasaw Indian Tribe and its relationship with the African Americans that surrounded and interacted with the tribe, offers a prime example of the influence white Europeans exerted and the consequences that this influence had for people of color.

By the time of the land run of 1889, Indian Territory had gained a reputation as a paradise of open land promising opportunity to whites and blacks alike.[57] White settlers were desperate for land and African Americans, still searching for a place of their own post-emancipation, were encouraged by black leaders to journey to Indian Territory to participate in land runs, supposedly free of the oppression they suffered in the South.[58]

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[57] Wickett, *Contested Territory*, 54.
[58] Ibid., 53.

Black leaders such as Edward P. McCabe advocated "the colonization of Oklahoma by African Americans."[59] In the Seminole, Creek, Choctaw and Cherokee Tribes, the freedmen had voting power, were able to obtain education, held shares of tribal land and were able to obtain equality in the judicial system.[60] These were rights that would be envied by blacks throughout the United States. It is no wonder then that Indian Territory gained a reputation as a place free from racial strife and with opportunities for a new life for blacks. Unfortunately, the mass migration of African Americans to Indian Territory led to a backlash wherein the Indian Nations, in an effort to discourage black migration to the Territory, sought to enact black codes similar to those in United States territory that would curtail black rights. Any unique opportunities such as political participation and land ownership that blacks found in the Oklahoma territory were soon taken away due to white and Indian fear of a black takeover.[61]

The Chickasaw Nation feared being overwhelmed by large numbers of migrating blacks and this encouraged them to refuse citizenship to their former slaves, who they assumed would serve to attract more blacks to the Nation and decrease the power they had as a sovereign Indian Nation. Freedmen themselves often resented the impact these migrating blacks had on their rights, and felt that these "state negroes," African Americans that had not been slaves or freedmen of the Chickasaw Nation, came to Indian Territory and began to commit crimes which reflected badly upon them (the freedmen).[62] Early social sanctions even prevented African American freedmen from marrying blacks who migrated to the Territory.[63]

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[59]Ibid., 55.
[60]Ibid., 13.
[61]Wickett, *Contested Territory*,63.
[62]Ibid., 31.
[63]Ibid.

In 1910, speaking against allowing freedmen to obtain membership in the Chickasaw Nation, Chickasaw governor Douglas H. Johnston summed up the reasons the Chickasaw Nation distanced itself from its freedmen:

The African race was prolific, while the Indians were not. The Indians … had been drastically reduced in numbers by destructive wars and diseases with the result that 'it will be but a few generations until the full blood Indian will be no more, but as the Indian citizen vanishes, the Negro 'Chickasaw,' if such he is made by Congress, will multiply, and the time will not be far distant, if this inquiry is visited upon us, when the   name   of Chickasaw will carry with it approbrium [sic] and reproach instead of honor'.[64]

Though Governor Johnston's thoughts on African Americans were not rare during this period, an examination of the 1920 census by James H. Malone in *The Chickasaw Nation* shows that, in fact, the white population was increasing at a faster rate than African Americans.[65] This same study also gives lie to the fear that large black families would grow to outnumber whites and Natives. The Chickasaws actually had more to fear from their constantly encroaching white neighbors than their former freedmen, or any African American.

In a world where "one drop" of African blood made a person for all social, political and economic purposes purely a black individual, with little or no rights, the Chickasaw Nation, like all of the Five Tribes, felt it had to defend its identity as a sovereign Indian Nation. Native American identity brought with it land rights, sovereignty and the prospect of being assimilated into the dominant white majority. Black identity and association with blacks brought none of these opportunities, and indeed might have

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[64]Malone, *The Chickasaw Nation*, 418.
[65]Malone, *The Chickasaw Nation*, 386.

led to Indians being viewed as "uncivilizable" as whites perceived blacks to be.

Freedmen Initiative

Despite the social and legal underpinnings that delayed emancipation for African Americans in the Chickasaw Nation and the hardships that many freedmen faced attempting to obtain citizenship in the Chickasaw Nation, the newly recognized freedmen rejoiced at learning of what they saw as a spectacular opportunity for life change. Kiziah Love, a slave of a member of the Colbert family, upon learning she was free, clapped her hands together and said: "Thank God Almighty, I's free at last!"[66] Even though she said that she did not have a hard life as a slave and was given adequate food, she demonstrated great joy at hearing of her new status as a free woman, likely quoting from the words of the Negro Spiritual "Free At Last." After freedom she lived on the forty acres she received from the Choctaw/Chickasaw Nation.[67]

When emancipation was finally realized for the African American slaves of the Chickasaw, they had many choices to make. Now as freedmen and freedwomen, they had to decide whether or not they were willing to fight legally and at times physically, to stay within the Nation they had once called home. Those freedmen who had opted to fight in the Union army, and other freedmen who had traveled to other parts of the United States and were aware of the events taking place within Indian Country, had to decide whether or not to attempt to travel back to Oklahoma to be included in whatever legal decisions would determine their citizenship or lack thereof.

The freedmen of the Chickasaw Nation who chose to stay within the area where they had lived and worked as slaves showed

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[66]Minges, *Black Indian Slave Narratives*, 175.
[67]Ibid.

astounding agency and initiative in determining their future and that of their families. Immediately following the end of the Civil War freedmen petitioned the Chickasaw Nation for access to education.[68] Barely literate freedmen wrote to the tribal government and the United States government in an effort to obtain what they had so vehemently been denied during slavery. A Choctaw freedman wrote to the federal government: "I went to the council to try to git the privilege of sending a couple of our boys to school to the state and I could not…United States when turned the darkeys loose she mad them equal sitizens with them. Is the Choctaw any better than the United States [?]."[69] When the Chickasaws (and the Choctaws) refused to allow their freedmen to attend their schools, the freedmen sought to set up their own schools. Unfortunately many of these did not last because the freedmen were unable to sustain the funds to keep a schoolteacher.[70] However, the perseverance the freedmen showed in attempting to gain education for their children and themselves and to establish citizenship in order to gain schooling shows their determination to better themselves when given the chance through emancipation.

Jobs for freedmen were scarce, and just as in the South, many Indians in the Cherokee, Choctaw and Creek Nations attempted to persuade their former slaves to continue their work of field labor.[71] Some freedmen stayed with their masters out of habit and loyalty and some freedmen stayed with their masters out of necessity, working as wage laborers or share croppers in order to have a place to live.[72] The Chickasaws, however, continued with the desire they had expressed when faced with the Treaty of 1866 – to have their former slaves removed from the Nation.[73]

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[68]Wickett, *Contested Territory*, 79.
[69]Ibid., 80.
[70]Ibid.
[71]Ibid., 103.
[72]Ibid., 104.
[73]Wickett, *Contested Territory*, 105.

Why did so many freedmen decide to stay in the Chickasaw Nation despite the virulent racism and hate displayed by many Chickasaws? Many freedmen expressed in accounts that the Chickasaw Nation was their home, no matter what. These slaves had lived like Chickasaws for generations, spoke their language and cooked their food. As slaves, African Americans were often instrumental in facilitating Indian Christianization and interaction with whites.[74] Many African Americans learned the Chickasaw language for both practical reasons as well as a marker of their cultural identity.[75]

A significant number of these slaves had Native as well as African American ancestry and had no problems conveying the reality of their dual heritage. For instance, Chaney Mack, interviewed in the 1930s in Mississippi, noted that her father was a full-blood African from Liberia and her mother a pure-blood Choctaw Indian, born in Tennessee.[76] Today it is estimated that 30-70% of African Americans in the U.S. have Native ancestry.[77] The late John Hope Franklin, a prominent African American historian, described himself as "a native Oklahoman, with strains of both Choctaw and Chickasaw ancestry coursing through his veins."[78] His father, Buck Franklin, was a Chickasaw freedman.

On the other hand, in an uncertain time and climate, many freedmen were willing to move wherever needed to provide for

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[74]Littlefield, *The Chickasaw Freedmen*, 89.

[75]Celia E. Naylor, *African Cherokees in Indian Territory: From Chattel to Citizens* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina, The University of North Carolina Press, 2008), 97.

[76]Minges, *Black Indian Slave Narratives*, 150.

[77]Maria P.P. Root, ed., *Racially Mixed People in America* (California: Sage Publications, 1992).

[78]John Hope Franklin and John Whittington Franklin, eds., *My Life and an Era: The Autobiography of Buck Colbert Franklin* (Baton Rouge, Louisiana: Louisiana State University Press, 1997).

their families, just happy to be free. Many slaves had to move from Indian Territory to find work and land and many freedmen moved from the Chickasaw Nation to the more welcoming atmosphere of the Choctaw and Creek nations.[79]

Although the freedmen of the Chickasaw Nation could be said to have received what many slaves in the United States only dreamed of – their own "40 acres" – these men and women were forced to make social, economic and political decisions that impacted their well-being and their ability to identify as they wished. With their 40 acres came the price of disenfranchisement and the refusal of the Chickasaw Nation to recognize them as worthy peoples who had labored alongside them for generations.

Although the Emancipation Proclamation changed the motivations behind the Civil War by making it, in essence, a fight for Black freedom or servitude, it left much to be desired. African American slaves endured both the violence and disorder of the Civil War, and later the upheavals that accompanied the transition from enslaved property to free citizens.[80] As discussed above, a mere piece of paper, the Emancipation Proclamation, did not guarantee all Blacks freedom or equality.[81] For African American slaves, later freedmen, in the Chickasaw Nation, the Emancipation Proclamation and the Thirteenth Amendment guaranteed nothing. The unwillingness of the Chickasaw Nation to accept the terms of the Treaty of 1866 and the United States' government's failure to follow up on their threat to remove the African Americans from the Chickasaw Nation left the Chickasaw freedmen in a liminal space somewhere between slavery and freedom. Despite the failures of both the Chickasaw tribal government and the United States government to deal honestly and consistently with the Chickasaw freedmen, these former slaves articulated and to some

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[79]Wickett, *Contested Territory*, 105.
[80]Vorenberg, *The Emancipation Proclamation*, 18.
[81]Ibid., 20.

degree enacted their views on freedom and their hopes for the future, paving the way for their own self-determination.

While Native Americans were encouraged to assimilate and further their contact with whites so that white "civilizations" might, in effect, rub off on them, blacks were discouraged from integration, and indeed, look at as "uncivilizable."[82] Whites continuously played Native Americans and African Americans against each other, encouraging the adoption of chattel slavery and a racial hierarchy, using African Americans as soldiers to keep Native Americans in line (the so-called "buffalo soldiers") and encouraging the adoption of the stereotype of the "savage" Native and the "demoralized" black.

The question of the definition of who or what a Chickasaw Indian is and whether blood or culture is more important in self-identifying as Native draws its roots from this 1865 – 1907 period, when the Chickasaw Nation determined its enrollment qualifications, basing them upon a blood quantum requirement. Whites who possessed Native American ancestry were accepted by both the Chickasaw Tribe and mainstream white society to a degree that blacks who possessed Native American ancestry never have been. Accepted legally with rights as citizens, as well as socially, whites have been encouraged by some tribes to research and identify with Native American ancestry they find within their family tree. On the other hand, the one-drop rule discourages African Americans from researching and identifying multi-cultural family ancestry and from drawing pride from their multi-faceted histories.

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[82]Wickett, *Contested Territory*, 17.

Future Research

In future work I will deconstruct several of the questions that are raised in this exploratory paper, as each one of them focuses on a different point in time, in which different historical circumstances are faced by the African Americans who lived among the Chickasaws. The question I most hope to answer involves the amount of initiative Chickasaw freedmen displayed in creating new lives for themselves post-1866 and the all-black communities they constructed. How did the experiences they had with the Chickasaws manifest themselves in oral traditions in these communities? How do the descendents of these freedmen racially identify today? I will also focus more on how mixed-race black Indians construct their identities and how oral history has contributed to the common colloquialism of Indian heritage and phenotype in the Black family. Within the former Five Tribes and all Indian tribes, the complex identity of who a real Indian is continues to encompass many aspects of daily life.

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A People Without Legs But Walks: Regional Cooperation and Integration Amongst Rival States in Latin America

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Abstract

The current political environment in Latin America is complex. States bicker with each other yet they strive to work together. Beginning in the 1990s, there was a rise of the political left in many Latin American countries in response to discontent with neoliberal economic policies. At the same time, scholars point to a new wave of regionalism taking place. In conjunction with this and the rise of the political left, new regional organizations were created in Latin America. While not all Latin American countries identify with the political left, many of them have or are seeking membership in regional intergovernmental organizations. This study focuses on whether regional Intergovernmental Organizations promote cooperation amongst Colombia, Venezuela, and Brazil. It analyze how these states interact within these institutions despite their oppositional economic and political ideologies. I undertake a comparative analysis of three regional IGOs, MERCOSUR, CAN, and UNASUR, focusing on membership, structure, and policies and paying specific attention to states with conflicting views within each organization. The project is a first attempt to examine the extent to which states that may have conflicting political and economic beliefs are willing to work together to address regional issues multilaterally.

Introduction

Latin America is a region rich in natural resources, diverse cultures, and a place where many political and economic ideologies meet. The region is home to many young states; most countries achieved nationhood when they became independent in the late nineteenth century. One might argue that this was a cause of instability. The majority of countries in Latin America have a widening gap between the poor and the rich which has fostered class warfare. During the late 1970s and 80s, the region experienced the overthrow of democratically elected governments which were replaced by right wing dictatorships (Harris 2005). Beginning in the late 1990s and early 2000s there was a significant shift in political ideology; many of the right wing dictatorships fell and left leaning governments came to power (Castañeda 2008). There was change in political culture as people became more critical of their governments and demanded greater accountability from them. Successful candidates were ones who addressed these demands and were able to win the votes necessary to ensure a political victory (Castañeda 2008). Around the same time period, between 1980s and 1990s, several Intergovernmental Organizations (IGOs) came into existence in Latin America (Mansfield and Milner 1999). Although there are numerous reasons for the creation of these IGOs, some of which I will discuss in this paper, their main function was to promote cooperation. Many of these organizations are relatively new, but they continue to grow and several states in Latin America are becoming more open to the idea of working together to address larger issues. Part of the impetus for studying IGOs in Latin America is to determine their effectiveness in promoting cooperation and their ability to help remedy the political and economic volatility in region.

This project examines how regional IGOs promote cooperation amongst Colombia, Venezuela, and Brazil and how

these states interact within the framework of IGOs despite their oppositional and economic ideologies. The IGOs under consideration are Comunidad Andina de Naciones (CAN), Mercado Comun del Sur (MERCOSUR), and Union de Naciones Suramericanas (UNASUR).

The paper begins with an exploration of the current literature regarding IGOs and cooperation in Latin America. The methodology section offers definitions of special key terms, reviews questions asked when looking at the literature, and elaborates on how the literature dealt with these questions. Although the results are discussed in the methods section, it is important to note that these findings are preliminary and some aspects require further research.

Literature Review

Latin America is a region of many cultures, languages, and states that have continuously strived to maintain stability. Throughout its long history, the region has experienced radical changes in government styles, political ideologies, and economic policies. States within Latin America have often maintained some of their sovereignty and independence. However, foreign super powers and conflicts with neighboring states have made it difficult for states in to maintain stability. Beginning in the 1990s, Latin America countries have followed a trend of integration as a form of regionalism. This trend has been pursued by nations that have worked within the framework of IGOs (Intergovernmental Organizations). This review examines the literature that discusses definitions of regionalism, the different types and forms it assumes, and the factors that drive it. The review will also look at literature discussing the types of integration and how certain IGOs in Latin America have promoted the political and economic integration of states in the region.

How a region is defined is a controversial topic that is often debated amongst scholars and the way a scholar chooses to

define a region plays a crucial role in the analysis he or she presents. Some scholars contend that a region is defined by states that have geographical proximity and have sustained cooperation or informal agreements (Karns and Mingst 2010). Others argue that a region is a political process characterized by economic policy cooperation and coordination among countries (Mansfield and Milner 1999). A reoccurring theme within the scholarship is that regionalism is heavily based on economic policies and pays little attention to the political factors within the individual states or in the international arena. Additionally, several scholars have pointed out that regionalism has taken many forms and has arrived in waves, each with distinct characteristics.

Karns and Mingst argue that there have been two waves of regionalism; the first lasted from the 1940's to the mid 1970's and the second, which we are currently in, began in the 1980's. Two other scholars, Mansfield and Milner, offer a different perspective, arguing that there have been four waves of regionalism, the first occurring before WWI and the second taking place during the interwar period. Interestingly, all four scholars agree with the time period and characteristics of the two types of regionalism that arose post WWII. All scholars agree that the newest wave of regionalism began after the fall of the Soviet Union, with states embracing neoliberal economic policies and participating more in the global economy through commercial apparatuses. Nevertheless, new scholarship by Carlos Alberto Chavez Garcia suggests that, specifically in South America, the new wave of regionalism has failed to improve the social and economic conditions of states in the region and proposes a different approach to regionalism. The creation of the Union de Naciones Sudamericans (UNASUR) has sparked the creation of a newer form of regionalism, "postliberal" regionalism, which is specific to South America, and is defined by its emphasis on alternative forms of capitalism and focus on political factors (Chavez 2010).

The work of Chavez Garcia, along with that of other scholars, suggests that there are different forms of regionalism with specific interests. However, there is a gap in the scholarship on regionalism; the current research focuses primarily on economic issues. Recently, some scholars have tried to include other factors. For example, Augusto Menzes Teixiera maintains that in South America, several of the IGOs such as MERCOSUR (Mercado Comun del Sur) along with UNASUR's Consejo de Defensa Sudamericano (its Security Council or CDS) have created a Regional Security Complex. Security complexes arise when states and IGOs work together to create a network dedicated to solving common security threats faced by states within the region (Menezes 2010). As mentioned previously, Chavez Garcia argues that the new wave of regionalism or "open regionalism" as he calls it, places too much emphasis on neoliberal economics and prevents political factors from being introduced in the agenda. More importantly, Chavez Garcia contends that open regionalism keeps people from voicing their opinions about regional integration; the process of integration is dominated by the bureaucracy and the political and corporate elites (Chavez 2010).

UNASUR and MERCOSUR would not necessarily fall under "open regionalism" even though they deal with economic issues, MERCOSUR to a larger extent. Both IGOs have expanded their spheres of influence and now address a range of political issues such as the protection of democracy in the region and the environment. These examples add to scholars' expanding definitions of regionalism. For example, Chavez's "postliberal" regionalism is specific to a part of the world and Menezes sees regionalism as a form of security complexes. Although research is still needed that examines the political factors of regionalism, several economic factors, such as poverty rates, tariffs, GDP, and exchange rates are very important and play an integral role in the decision making process of states and key political figures.

Beginning in the 1980s much of Latin America began embracing neoliberal economic policies and states opened their markets to foreign investors (Harris 2005). However, the structure of the international system has caused unequal distribution of wealth amongst states in Latin America, on par with the rise of influence of non-state actors such as multinational corporations (Karns and Mingst 2010). From this period onward, many Latin America nations began signing Preferential Trade Agreements, which included custom unions, free trade areas, and common markets (Mansfield and Milner 1999). MERCOSUR is an example of a regional common market, in which states have attempted to eliminate trade barriers amongst member states and encouraged the free flow of goods and services across national borders (Mechman 2003).

Starting in the 1990s, other neoliberal economic policies implemented by states in Latin America included privatization, deregulation of financial institutions, and dismantling state structures (Mecham 2003). In the past three decades, more Latin America countries have begun to integrate their economies as a means to improve their markets and make them more competitive in the international arena. One example is the Community of Andean Nations (CAN). Alfredo Fuentes Fernandez contends that during the 1980s, many Latin American states had protectionist economic policies and looked inward in efforts to save their economies. Once states began adopting some of the neoliberal economics policies mentioned previously, Andean states began industrializing their markets, as well as integrating them in order to compete as a regional bloc in the international arena (Fernandez 2008). A vacuum exists in the literature regarding the political factors of regionalism, meaning that issues such as public welfare, corruption of government, education, indigenous rights, and labor rights to name a few have not been properly studied.

Societal factors, such as unemployment, corruption, healthcare, and education, play an integral part in understanding

Latin America, its history, culture, and people (Skidmore and Smith 2008). Some of these societal factors, along with more recent historic events, played an important role in the changing political ideologies in Latin American beginning in the early 2000 (Castañeda and Morales 2008). As Karns and Mingst illustrate, political ideology is one of several political factors of regionalism; power dynamics, identity and ideology, internal and external threats, domestic politics, and leadership are other factors they identify as relevant (Karns and Mingst 2010). Although Mansfield and Milner focus primarily on commercial regionalism, specifically Preferential Trade Agreements (PTA), they acknowledge that factors other than economic should be examined. They argue that societal factors and domestic politics, such as the participation of interest groups, societal groups, and third parties involved in PTAs, influence policymakers to enter certain regional agreements. The way states in Latin America portray themselves and other states outside the region plays an important role in regionalism. Many states in Latin America decided to form their own regional blocs as a direct response to the Washington Consensus, the forceful adoption of liberal economic policies, or because they have not received attention from the U.S. or European powers (Hurrell 1992). As Menezes points out, other factors besides economics are threats to the region, such as drug cartels, human trafficking, and terrorism (Menezes 2010). Although not all political factors of regionalism have been explored extensively, scholars have made efforts to lay an academic foundation.

A large component in regionalism has been cooperation through integration. States in Latin America strive to unite in order to be more economically competitive in the international market to counter U.S. and European dominance in the region. Andrew Hurrell has identified two forms of integration, intra-regional cooperation and inter-American or hemispheric regionalism. The former involves cooperation amongst states in Latin America and the latter involves Latin American states cooperating with U.S. and

Canada (Hurrell 1992). States within a sub-region are small in size, have low levels of economic development, and work to create development and counter U.S. dominance; CAN is an example of subregional integration (Karns Mingst 2010).

The literature has shown that regional IGOs promote cooperation through economic agreements and integration. Regional integration has been a way to respond to economic problems, political instability, and to the power of the Washington Consensus. It is necessary to examine closely how domestic and foreign factors have forced, to some extent, states with oppositional political and economic ideals to work together for a common cause. Another important thing to observe is the stability and efficacy of the apparatuses of the regional IGOs and whether they will be able to withstand the test of time.

Methodology

This research project employed a comparative analysis to compare and contrast various political and economic ideologies of states in Latin America. In particular, it examined whether states are connected through IGOs and how states that identify with opposing ideologies, political or economic, work together. In addition, the types of policies they agree or disagree upon will also be examined.

My research consisted of a comparative study of three regional IGOs in Latin America. I examined each organization's bureaucratic structure, their bylaws, history, and press releases in order to assess how well they promoted cooperation. Both primary and secondary resources were examined. Since the project specifically examined how regional intergovernmental institutions work, it was imperative to look at their official websites, their statutes, constitutions, statistics, and other information available on their sites and other sites that observe and rank the progress of these institutions. Additionally, I examined secondary resources

such as books and scholarly articles on the subject. Some of the scholarship discusses how several of the institutions came into existence and the types of policies they have implemented, their agendas, successes, and failures.

Along with the comparative analysis, it was necessary to examine how various regional intergovernmental institutions work to bring states together as well as the type of work they do, and whether it is strictly economic or has political implications. The project also used a qualitative analysis to examine how conflicting states, from seemingly oppositional political ideologies, interact with each other within intergovernmental institutions. The three institutions I chose to examine are MERCOSUR (Common Market of the South), CAN (Community of Andean Nations), and UNASUR (Union de Naciones Sudamericans). These three have the largest influence within the region and their operational scope has expanded since their inception. Both MERCOSUR and CAN began as economic organizations with the similar goal of creating a common market within their designative sub regions. However, over the years, both MERCOSUR and CAN have systemically grown to address other issues in addition to economics. For example, MERCOSUR has made a pledge to protect democracy in the region and lead efforts to fight corruption and the drug cartels. CAN diligently fought for labor rights, equal protection rights for its indigenous population, and has striven to integrate all of its member states economically and politically. UNSAUR was barely established in 2008 and is regarded by many scholars and politicians as a regional experiment. UNASUR was created as a collaborative work amongst member states of MERCOSUR, CAN, and other Latin American states. The goal of this organization is to integrate fully all the states within the region; UNASUR is still in an early developmental stage, its institutions have not been fully developed, and it is imperative to examine how a new model of regionalism in conjunction with other regional organizations will venture to foster cooperation within the region.

The states that are specifically analyzed within these organizations are Colombia, Venezuela, and Brazil. The growing tensions between Colombia and Venezuela provide a good example of how rival states can work within the framework of an IGO. Additionally, the Venezuelan government, which has proclaimed itself socialist, has withdrawn from CAN and is seeking admittance to MERCOSUR. Venezuela left CAN because of the close ties of its member states with the U.S. yet MERCOSUR has openly advocated for the preservation of democracy in the region. The important question in this scenario is why would a country that identifies as socialist want to join an organization that plans to promote and defend different political and economic policies in the region. Brazil is examined as having a raising economy and being a leader in Latin America. Its geographic size and economic power make it a regional super power. Brazil led efforts to create MERCOSUR and has spearheaded the integration and cooperation amongst CAN, MERCOSUR, and UNASUR.

Data Analysis

A compilation of the scholarly material and documents from all three regional IGOs yields inconclusive findings about how effective they are in promoting cooperation. At times the regional IGOs seem capable of promoting cooperation amongst rival states, while at other times it appears that they are ineffective in resolving disputes amongst member states. This section explores some of the findings from the qualitative analysis of all three regional IGOs, MERCOSUR, CAN, and UNASUR.

One of the key issues with the regional IGOs is that they are fairly new; hence they have weak institutional structures which lead to an uneven distribution of power within them. As Michael Mechman states, Brazil has used its role as a regional power and a raising economy to dominate MERCOSUR and push its own

agenda through the institution (Mechman 2003). Additionally, it can be difficult to enforce decisions made by MERCOSUR on its member states. One way to encourage compliance is to impose sanctions on states that refuse to comply, including the imposition of tariffs or sanctions on states that do not abide. However, for Paraguay and Uruguay, the poorest states in MERCOSUR, tariffs and commercial sanctions can worsen the economy (Mecham 2003). On the other hand, the role of MERCOSUR as a common market has evolved since its creation. For example, on June 25, 1996 all member states of MERCOSUR subscribed to "Declaración Presidencial sobre Compromiso Democrático en el MERCOSUR." In this declaration, all member states pledge to defend and abide by democratic principles. Since then, MERCOSUR has strived to fully integrate all its member states, created an arena for dialogue and debate, and has attempted to deal with non-economic issues that affect the sub-region. One way MERCOSUR has promoted cooperation within the region has been through the integration of the economies of its member states and the ability of the institution to engage other states, organizations and regions in multilateral agreements (Menezes 2010).

The second regional IGO that was analyzed was CAN, This institution is the oldest in the region and has pushed for regional integration more than any other organization. It was the efforts of CAN and other states that created the Comunidad Suramericana de Naciones (CSN) in 1969, the organization that in 2008 transformed into what is presently known as UNASUR (Fernandez 2008). Once again, we see a regional IGO that is promoting cooperation though the integration of the economies and politics of its member states. In addition, just as MERCOSUR has expanded its institutional scope, CAN has evolved from a common market of Andean states to an institutions that tackles political issues as well (Fernandez 2008). However, CAN was not able to mitigate conflicts between Venezuela and other member states. Venezuela became a member of CAN in 1973, but in 2006 it announced it would relinquish its status as member state due to the signing of free trade agreements

between Colombia, Peru, and the U.S. (Fernandez 2008). Nevertheless, Venezuela has requested to join MERCOSUR and on July 4, 2006 MERCOSUR established the conditions that Venezuela must fulfill in order to be admitted as a member state.

Another important point is the fact that despite the rivalry between Venezuela and Colombia rivalry within CAN, they are both members of UNASUR. Additionally, as Jorge Castañeda points out in his book, there has been a rise in the political left beginning in the 2000s in Latin America; this is significant because the majority of the member states of UNASUR, according to Castañeda's analysis, identify with the left. Political ideology has played an important role in developing relationships between Latin American states. In 2009, when Colombia agreed to allow the construction of several U.S. military bases within its borders, many member states of UNASUR spoke in opposition to this decision (www.colombiareports.com). Many of the states that identify with the political left have strong opposition towards U.S. involvements in the region (Karns and Mingst 2005).

At the present time, UNASUR seems to be the most recent attempt by regional states and organizations to create a united and fully integrated region. It is the largest regional organization, with 12 member states, it is the first to address issues beside economic ones, and it is regarded as the largest regional bloc in opposition to the Washington Consensus (Harris 2005). Also, in regards to the national agenda of most Latin American states, most states are more concerned with reducing income inequality and poverty than making their economies more appealing for foreign investors; the agenda of UNASUR is aimed at tackling those issues through integrations and multilateral talks amongst member states (Harris 2005).

Conclusion

For the most part, the sole purpose of IGOs is to pave the way for friendlier relationships amongst states and to ensure global peace. Although it is difficult to subjugate states to the authority of IGOs without infringing on the states' sovereignty, these institutions at least serve as an arena of debate and negotiation for member states. The purpose of this research project was to first examine if regional IGOs in Latin America promote cooperation amongst states. All three regional organizations examined, MERCOSUR, CAN, and UNASUR, attempt to promote cooperation amongst states through integration and formal and informal economic and other agreements. Even though these organizations promote cooperation, they do not necessarily guarantee that states will have friendly relationships or take advantage of their positions of power. For example, this project focused on the relationships between three countries that are either full members or associate members in all three organizations, Venezuela, Colombia, and Brazil. Despite their conflicting economic ideologies, Venezuela being openly socialist and Brazil maintaining some neo liberal economic policies, both countries are able to maintain a friendly relationship especially with respect to opposing U.S. presence within the region (Harris 2005). On the other hand, Venezuela and Colombia continue to have disputes over security concerns, border issues, corruption and Colombia's close ties with the U.S. government (Menezes 2010). Venezuela, Colombia, and Brazil serve as an example of countries that strive to work together regardless of their political and economic ideologies. As previously stated, the states are willing to engage each other in multilateral talks and use the institutions as a negotiating table, but their relationships, particularly between Colombia and Venezuela, have not improved.

This project was aimed at examining both political and economic ideologies. Much of the literature already focuses on the economic aspects of all three IGOs, but information how they deal with non-economic issues that affect the region was harder to

obtain. In addition, the extent to which political ideology plays a role in how states perceive themselves and other member states within the institutions has not been explored fully. The next steps of this research would be to focus on a specific political issue that affects the region and see how that issue compels states to cooperate. It would be necessary to examine the strength of the structures of these IGOs and how effective they are in integrating the states within the region. The vast natural resources of the region and its proximity to the U.S. demand a great deal of attention. The rise of Brazil as an economic power indicates that other states within the region will also rise if they continue to integrate and cooperate. It is possible that if the entire region were able to unite as a bloc, it could become competitive in the international arena.

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Acknowledgements

The Salvadoran Diaspora: Migrant Constructions and Misrepresentations during the War

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Abstract

During the Salvadoran Civil War an estimated one million Salvadorans left the country, primarily fleeing political violence and economic instability. The majority migrated to the U.S.; however, the lack of access to legal routes of migration to the U.S. led hundreds of thousands of Salvadorans to resort to alternative paths. Historically, many scholars, policy makers and the general public viewed these mass migrations as primarily driven by the pursuit of better economic opportunities. However, consistent with other scholars, I argue that these migrations were motivated by a combination of interrelated historical, economic and political factors. I engage in an analysis of primary and secondary sources, including books, articles, newspapers, testimonials, and government publications. Additionally, I analyze Salvadoran migration to the United States using interviews with the adult children of Salvadorans who migrated to the U.S. in the years 1979-1987; the children shared the stories of their parents. I gathered seven stories which reveal that each migrant has an individual and personal narrative which, when examined, shows the complexities of this mass movement. This paper argues that the narrative that characterizes these migrations as solely driven by economic motives sought to legitimize the lack of protections provided to the majority of Salvadorans as well as mask the military and economic role the United States played throughout the duration of the war.

Introduction

Over the July 4th weekend in 1980, Angela, a Salvadoran migrant, along with 12 others died "during a torturous trek across the Arizona desert" while attempting to cross the U.S.-Mexico border.[1] Mario, Angela's fiancé, did not know what or who to blame for her death, "the smugglers, the desert, or violence in [their] homeland." This last cause, violence in their homeland, was likely a significant factor in Angela's decision to leave El Salvador. In 1980, El Salvador was experiencing the beginning of a civil war that would last from 1980 to the signing of the Chapultepec Peace Accords in 1992. During this war an estimated one million Salvadorans left the country, primarily fleeing political violence and economic instability.

During the Salvadoran Civil War, the lack of access to legal routes of migration to the U.S. led hundreds of thousands of Salvadorans like Angela to resort to alternative paths. These paths, although dangerous, were pursued by the majority of those that fled. Historically, many scholars, policy makers and the general public viewed these mass migrations as primarily driven by the pursuit of better economic opportunities. However, scholars such as Cecilia Menjivar, Maria Cristina Garcia, Nora Hamilton and Norma Stoltz Chinchilla contend that these migrations were more commonly caused by a combination of interrelated motives of which economics was only one. I argue that the narrative that defines these migrations as driven solely by economics is overly simplistic and, in this context, sought to legitimize the lack of protections provided to the majority of Salvadorans, and mask the role the United States played in the war. The U.S. Government provided the Salvadoran government significant economic and military assistance throughout the war , a demonstration of its political investment in El Salvador and this conflict. U.S. policy

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[1] Laurie Becklund, "Desert Deaths Leave Relatives Grieving, In Debt," *Los Angeles Times*, July 17th, 1980.

during the war, in turn, influenced the immigration policies that affected Salvadoran migrants in the U.S.

Methods

For this paper, I analyze materials that address three interconnected issues: U.S. intervention in El Salvador during the Salvadoran Civil War, Salvadoran migration, and U.S. immigration policy. I draw my information from both primary and secondary sources, including books, articles, newspapers, testimonials, and government publications, such as statements delineating U.S. immigration policy. Additionally, I analyze Salvadoran migration to the United States using, among other sources, interviews with the adult children of Salvadorans who migrated to the U.S. from1979 to 1987. These reveal that each migrant has an individual and personal narrative which, when examined, shows the complexities of this mass movement.

I begin with a brief description of the political context of El Salvador during the 1980s, the conditions under which these migrants left, followed by a discussion of the experiences Salvadorans who sought to obtain asylum encountered. I then examine the Immigration Reforms and Control Act, the immigration legislation that was passed in the U.S. during the 1980s which most impacted Salvadoran migrants during the decade. I turn next to the interviews I conducted with the children of Salvadoran migrants. One of these interviews was conducted in person, two through Skype, and one over the phone. In combination, the data offers some of the stories and experiences of Salvadoran migration during the 1980s in hopes that it sheds light on the diversity as well as commonalities of experiences.

Background

The Salvadoran Civil War, alongside the wars in Nicaragua and Guatemala, was one of the many political conflicts that took

place in Central America at the end of the twentieth century. It emerged in response to discontent with the government, political corruption and historic social, economic and political inequalities. One example of inequality was the disparities in land ownership. In 1979, at the start of the war, 0.7% of property owners held 40% of the land in El Salvador.[2] In addition, in the years leading to the war civil strife had already begun. For example, urban workers participated in reform-oriented mobilizations and protests in the form of work stoppages, massive strikes, street demonstrations and occupation of public spaces.[3] These efforts, met with government repression, sought to achieve demands such as democracy and improved social and workplace conditions. However, when the government proved unwilling to address these demands, events escalated violently. In 1980, five left-wing guerilla organizations united into the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN), an umbrella organization that believed in armed struggle as a means of overthrowing the government in power.[4]

Violence during the war was widespread. The 1993 Report of the United Nations Truth Commission on El Salvador determined that "all Salvadorians without exception, albeit to differing degrees, suffered from [the war's] violence."[5] This included severe human rights violations such as murder, torture, rape, massacres, and forced recruitment into the military as well as "disappearances" estimated in the thousands. The Truth Commission gathered extensive testimonials that "attributed almost 85 percent of cases [of violence] to agents of the State,

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[2] Tommie Sue Montgomery, *Revolution in El Salvador*, (Boulder: Westview Press, 1982), 28.

[3] Paul Almeida, *Waves of Protest: Popular Struggle in El Salvador, 1925-2005*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008), 5.

[4] After the war the FMLN formed into a formal legal political party.

[5] The Report of the United Nations Truth Commission on El Salvador (1993), 51.

paramilitary groups allied to them, and the death squads."[6]
Throughout the war, the U.S. provided the Salvadoran government
$6 billion in economic assistance to support counter insurgency
efforts.[7] The U.S. was implicated in this violence because they
were aiding the entities that, according to this Truth Commission,
accounted for the majority of the violence that took place.

The international politics of the late twentieth century,
particularly Cold War politics, affected the conflict in El
Salvador.[8] Ronald Reagan, U.S. president from 1980-1988, and
his administration regarded the Salvadoran Civil War as an
ideological conflict. Reagan feared and warned against the threat
of a "communist" victory in Central America. In 1983, Reagan
stated, "the nations of Central America are among our nearest
neighbors. El Salvador, for example, is nearer to Texas than Texas
is to Massachusetts. Central America is simply too close, and the
strategic stakes are too high, for us to ignore the danger of
governments seizing power there with ideological and military ties
to the Soviet Union."[9] To Reagan, El Salvador represented a small
but significant struggle in the larger context of the Cold War.
Ultimately this discourse sought strategically to justify the aid the
U.S. had already been providing the Salvadoran government and
persuade the public to support continued U.S. intervention as well
as delegitimize any opposition towards it.

In addition to the economic assistance provided to the
Salvadoran government, the U.S was also involved militarily in the

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[6] The Report of the United Nations Truth Commission on El Salvador (1993),
51.
[7] The projections of the $6 billion dollars in economic aid was derived from:
María Cristina García, *Seeking Refuge: Central American Migration to Mexico,
the United States, and Canada*, (University of California Press: 2006).
[8] Cold War lasted from 1945-1991.
[9] Ronald Reagan, Remarks on Central America and El Salvador at the Annual
Meeting of the National Association of Manufacturers March 10, 1983,
http://www.reagan.utexas.edu/archives/speeches/1983/31083a.htm.

war. The U.S. trained Salvadoran military personal in counter-insurgency at the School of the Americas at Fort Benning, Georgia. The Truth Commission revealed that during the war many graduates of the school became high-ranking military officials involved in death squads, high profile murders and massacres. For example, Captain Roberto D'Aubuisson was trained at the School of the Americans in 1972 and was later responsible for planning and ordering the assassination of the widely revered Archbishop Oscar Romero.[10]

Another well-known case was of Lieutenant Colonel Domingo Monterrosa Barrios who took courses at the School of the America's during 1966. Although Monterrosa was trained years before the civil war broke out, he was the commander of the Atlacatl battalion that was responsible for carrying out the El Mozote massacre in 1981 that allegedly murdered an estimated 800 people, many of them women and children.[11] El Salvador is 8,124 square miles, which is about the size of Massachusetts "approximately 160 miles long from east to west and about 60 miles wide from the Pacific Ocean to the [neighboring] Honduras border."[12] For such a geographically small country, the human toll of the war was high; overall an estimated 80,000 to 100,000 persons were killed, a million people were displaced inside the country, and an additional million migrated out of the country.[13]

Before the 1980s, Salvadoran migration to the United States was considered insignificant and primarily composed of members of the upper class.[14] During the war, the mass out-

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[10] The Report of the United Nations Truth Commission on El Salvador (1993), 157.

[11] These estimates are derived from Mark Danner's *The Massacre at El Mozote*, (Vintage Books: New York, 1993).

[12] Carlos Cordova, *The Salvadoran Americans*, p. 3.

[13] Carlos Cordova, *The Salvadoran Americans*, (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 2005), 16.

[14] Norma S. Chinchilla and Nora Hamilton, "Central American Immigrants:

migration was diversified and included people from all sectors of society. An estimated one million Salvadorans left to various countries, such as Honduras, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Mexico, Venezuela, Canada, Spain, France, Germany, Sweden, Greece and Australia; however the majority went to the U.S. [15] This migration wave that took place throughout the 1980s is commonly regarded as a significant decade in the formation of the Salvadoran diaspora now present in many countries all over the world. Of the estimated one million that fled, over 500,000 sought refuge in the U.S., the vast majority arriving without documentation.[16] The origins of the Salvadoran presence in the U.S. can be dated to the 1980s, correlating with the Salvadoran Civil War. The Salvadoran population in the United States more than quintupled during the war, from 94,447 in 1980 to 565,081 in 1990.[17] The Reagan administration characterized Salvadorans entering the U.S. without documentation as economic immigrants. This characterization influenced the legal reception of Salvadoran migrants because as economic immigrants they were largely deemed ineligible for political asylum.

Many Salvadorans applied for political asylum once in the U.S.; however, many also did not even make the attempt because they were aware of the high denial rate of asylum for people from El Salvador.[18] Before the 1980s the U.S. tended to provide asylum mostly to migrants fleeing leftist countries as opposed to those fleeing a U.S. backed government. The recently implemented

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Diverse Populations, Changing   Communities," in *The Colombia History of Latinos in the United States Since 1960*, ed. David G. Gutierrez (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004), 192.

[15] Carlos Cordova, *The Salvadoran Americans*, 14.

[16] María Cristina García, *Seeking Refuge,* 25.

[17] Cecilia Menjívar, *Fragmented Ties: Salvadoran Immigrant Networks in America,* University of California Press, 2000.p.6.; (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1980, 1993)

[18] Susan Coutin, *Nation of Emigrants: Shifting Boundaries of Citizenship in El Salvador and the United States*, Cornell University Press 2007.

United States Refugee Act of 1980, legislation that claimed to neutralize the decisions about who was granted asylum, was the law used to determine if applicants were worthy of being granted asylum or legally recognized as refugees. According to the Act, a refugee or asylee is "A person who, having demonstrated a well-founded fear of persecution because of race, religion, nationality, or membership in a particular social or political organization.[19] However, as the denial of asylum for Salvadorans demonstrated, despite the efforts or intention of the Refugee Act, the politicized decision-making process continued.

Stories that negated or contradicted the narrative of Salvadoran migrants as economic immigrants were undermined and belittled. In the published testimony, *Hear My Testimony*, Maria Teresa Tula, a Salvadoran human rights activist who fled after having been captured and tortured by disguised Salvadoran soldiers, describes her experience in applying for political asylum after arriving in the U.S. She states:

> The State Department opinion attached to my asylum case stated that I was a terrorist, anarchist, communist, and a guerrilla fighter and that I would present a security problem for the United States. They said they didn't believe that I was captured and tortured; they said I had made it all up just to receive political asylum. The State Department said that there was respect for human rights in El Salvador. This was there answer to my request for political asylum. (May 1988)[20]

Tula's experiences of captivity and torture demonstrate a "well-founded fear of persecution because of […] membership in a

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[19] Carlos Cordova, *The Salvadoran Americans*, 33.
[20] Maria Teresa Tula, *Hear My Testimony: Maria Teresa Tula, Human Rights Activist of El Salvador.* Boston Massachusetts: South End Press, 1994. 172.

particular social or political organization," which according to the 1980 Refugee Act would deem her eligible for political asylum; however, as she explains, her application for asylum was denied. Not only was she denied asylum but U.S. government officials also alleged that she was a "terrorist, anarchist, communist, and a guerrilla fighter." Nevertheless, she remained in the U.S. without documentation, fearing that if she returned to El Salvador she would face continued political persecution. Historian María Cristina García explains that by 1990 "over 90% of the refugee admissions from abroad came from communist or communist-dominated countries." [21] This, again, demonstrated that the 1980s Refugee Act did not serve its intended purpose to make the selection process fairer, a reality which had profoundly negative consequences for Salvadoran migrants that sought legal protections, such as Maria Tula. Tula's experience of being denied asylum despite having been persecuted and remaining in the U.S. without protections reflects the legal experience of numerous Salvadorans during the 1980s, many of whom had similar experiences and were also negatively impacted by the general categorization of Salvadorans as economic immigrants and systematic denial of asylum.

An examination of U.S. immigration history demonstrates that the decision about which national groups have been provided protections has, often times, been influenced by the relationship between the U.S. government and the government of the migrant sending country. In the case of El Salvador, the Salvadoran migration wave of the 1980s, the largest Salvadoran migration wave to the U.S. until that point, illustrates this history. U.S. relations with the Salvadoran government were considered "friendly" and given the role of the U.S. in this foreign conflict the U.S. was unwilling to provide protections to Salvadorans leaving the country. The U.S. did not provide legal protection for these migrants because the Reagan administration refused to publically

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[21] María Cristina García, *Seeking Refuge,* 88.

admit the events that took place in Central American countries, particularly in El Salvador, partly because the U.S. sought to continue sending monetary and military aid. In addition, the U.S. was unwilling to admit the harsh realities and collateral damage of the funds they were sending the Salvadoran government.

The U.S. has had a history of preferential and differential treatment of migrant groups depending upon who is or is not legally recognized as refugees. As mentioned above, this is influenced by the relationship between the U.S. and the migrant sending country. During the 1980s, while fewer than 3% of Salvadoran applicants for asylum were being approved on the basis that Salvadorans did not face persecution in El Salvador, Cubans and Nicaraguans had very different experiences immigrating to the United States. Cubans and Nicaraguans were provided preferential treatment. They were not only granted legal protections at significantly higher rates but they were also portrayed differently in the media with respect to their reasons for migrating. The most noticeable difference was that during the 1980s these groups were not portrayed as economic migrants but rather as migrants fleeing their country of origin for legitimate reasons.

The U.S. opposition to Fidel Castro created a narrative that Cubans fleeing Cuba were indeed worthy of being in the U.S., therefore legally and legitimately refugees. Similarly, Nicaraguans fleeing the leftist Sandinista government were also deemed worthy of legal recognition as refugees. The Cuban Refugee Adjustment Act enacted in 1966 and ended with the agreement that followed the Balsero Crisis in 1995, provided a path for Cubans present in the U.S. to be legally recognized as refugees and gain legal protections and other assistance.[22] The Cuban Refugee Adjustment Act is a very particular legislation that specifically served as an access route to legal status for Cuban migrants. Similarly, the Sandinista Revolution in Nicaragua during the 1980s led to a wave

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[22] María Cristina García, *Havana USA*, 79-80.

of Nicaraguan migrants and refugees to the U.S. Nicaraguans were generally granted asylum at high rates in comparison to other Central American migrants such as those from Guatemala and El Salvador. Nicaraguans were constructed as fleeing a leftist government allegedly associated with the Soviet Bloc, therefore worthy of legal protections.

Although the context of exit and motives for migrations at times were similar for Salvadorans, treatment upon arrival was very different. This, to say the least, was intimately related to the relationship the U.S. had with the migrant sending country. Throughout the duration of the Salvadoran Civil War, the U.S. backed the right-wing Salvadoran government. While Salvadorans are not the only group to have been denied protections, these comparisons are useful to demonstrate inconsistencies in U.S. immigration policies and practices and the importance of examining the impact foreign policies have on domestic policies. While fleeing communism was considered a legitimate reason to leave ones country of origin, fleeing a country with a U.S. backed government was not.

During the 1980s it was common for anti-immigrant leaders to deny the extent of persecution that took place in El Salvador to justify the denial of Salvadorans requests for asylum. In *The Los Angeles Times* opinion piece "Is the Law Covering Refugees Adequate…? (1984) Republican Senator Alan Simpson from Wyoming suggests that Salvadorans are not "truly persecuted" and face no danger in returning to Latin America.[23] Alan Simpson was involved in the drafting of the Simpson-Mazzoli Bill, also known as the Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA), the immigration legislation passed in 1986 that will be discussed in the following paragraph. In his opinion piece Simpson stated, in accordance with the Reagan administration

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[23] Alan Simpson, "Is the Law Covering Refugees Adequate…?," *Los Angeles Times*, July 15th, 1984.

narrative, that Salvadorans migrated to the U.S. "to find better job opportunities or to live with friends or family here –but this is the motivation of most legal and illegal immigrants, not of the true refugees."[24] Simpson argued that Salvadorans are not 'true' refugees because, according to his beliefs, their motives for migrating are not to flee political persecution. Simpson argued that Salvadoran migrants did not have any special circumstances therefore did not merit protections from the U.S. and should be deported.

IRCA, as mentioned above, passed in 1986, was the legislation implemented during the decade that most affected Salvadorans. IRCA extended amnesty to undocumented migrants who had been living continuously in the U.S. since before January 1982. However, out migration flows continued throughout the duration of the war and Salvadorans who migrated after 1982 were ineligible for IRCA. As with all immigration reform, it did not benefit the entire undocumented community. IRCA provided a path towards legalization for a select population that met the requirements for amnesty under this legislation, and also included provisions that sought to enhance immigration controls that would make things more difficult for the undocumented population that was ineligible for the reform; this included further border militarization. Estimates are, "that most of the undocumented Salvadoran population arrived to [the U.S.] between 1982 and 1989, at the height of the civil war,"[25] which made them ineligible for IRCA based on its requirement that applicants had to be able to prove that they resided in the U.S. prior to 1982. An estimated 166,585 Salvadorans, however, were able to legalize their status under IRCA's amnesty program.[26] During the 1980s, the exclusive requirements required to apply for IRCA in conjunction with the denial of 97% of Salvadoran asylum applicants demonstrate that

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[24] Ibid.

[25] Carlos Cordova, *The Salvadoran Americans,* 45.

[26] María Cristina García, *Seeking Refuge,* 91.

legal paths towards documentation during the 1980s remained limited.

Interviews

For the initial phase of my project, I conducted four interviews with children of Salvadoran migrants. I interviewed the children of the migrants rather than the migrants themselves for several reasons, particularly because this is a recent and highly traumatic experience and history that remains a sensitive topic to those who lived it. I acknowledge that the information derived from these interviews are not first person accounts and recognize that as a limitation. The migrants' children, however, were able to share their knowledge of their parents' experiences. Furthermore, these offer an additional lens through which to understand what information and oral history is passed on to the children of Salvadoran migrants and how this has constructed a collective Salvadoran transnational communal history. In the event that I continue this research, I hope to follow up with these participants and interview their parents directly. With one exception, all interviewees are children of two Salvadoran parents that migrated to the U.S. without documentation between 1979 and 1987.[27] The interviews, therefore, present the stories and experiences of a total of 7 Salvadoran migrants, four female and three male, that fled during (and one slightly preceding) the war.

The stories derived from these interviews complicate the narrative that categorized Salvadorans as solely economic migrants and elaborate on the multilayered and complex reasons that influenced and contributed to the ultimate migration of these individuals. I use these interviews to uncover these participants' understanding of what motivated their parents to migrate. All four participants gained their knowledge of the Salvadoran Civil War

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[27] One participant, the exception is Claudia whose mother is Salvadoran and father is Mexican.

and the migration story of their parent(s) from a combination of oral history and personal research. The interviewees include Blanca, Alessandro, Maritza and Claudia.[28]

Blanca is the daughter of two Salvadoran parents who migrated to the U.S. during 1983. Before leaving El Salvador, her parents would have been considered middle class, her mother was an elementary school teacher and her father ran a small independent business. She stated, "for many people the economic situation [was] great; for them [such as her parents,] it was the war" that motivated their migration.[29] Blanca explained that during the war, schools were sites of conflict and violence was rampant in surrounding areas. Although the school her mother worked at fortunately did not have much violence on the campus, the surrounding areas did. Blanca added that one of her mother's best friends was assassinated, allegedly for her involvement in political activities.

In the case Blanca's father, while he delivered merchandise for his independent business, she stated that "one time, they basically stopped him, took him out of his car and he had a gun pointed at him. So, that was a really big scare, they decided to leave […] soon after that."[30] Additionally, Blanca's uncle, her father's brother, was assassinated. She explained that this uncle was also a teacher and was heavily involved in 'the movement,' referring to the teachers unions that commonly faced government persecution during the conflict, and for those reasons was assassinated in front of his home. From her knowledge about her parents migration experience, Blanca stated that her father "just crossed [the border] like through the rivers, like you see in the movies," and that her mother flew to Mexico and then from

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[28] Pseudonyms are used to refer to interview participants to keep their identity anonymous.
[29] Interview with Blanca Brenes. May 17th 2012.
[30] Interview with Blanca Brenes. May 17th 2012.

Mexico, while pregnant, she crossed the U.S./Mexico border with a *coyote,* hidden underneath a car seat. Blanca's parents identify the war as a highly significant factor contributing to their migration. Their stories illustrate a case in which economic motives were a less significant factor in their migration and counter the Reagan administration's generalization that all Salvadoran migrants coming to the U.S. were economic migrants.

Alessandro is also the son of two Salvadoran parents who left for the U.S. early in the war. His father was a student at the University of El Salvador, the only public university in the country, when he left in 1981. His mother worked at a restaurant with his paternal grandmother when she migrated in 1983. His father's family had been tortured. His father was also in danger of being drafted into the military, a common experience for Salvadoran males at that time. Alessandro explained that the Salvadoran government continued to pursue his father, even after he left the country. When she left, his mother was about 18 to 20 years old and had one son who she took with her. His mother's best friend had been killed. From Alessandro's understanding there was a lot of death and misery and he stated, "I guess it was just a danger, a threat."[31] He believes that his father hitched-hiked and that his migration experience was not too difficult. On the contrary, what he knows about his mother's migration story is that it was more complicated; it took her a total of three months to cross, with most of this time spent waiting in Mexico. When his mother did manage to cross, the route they took required about 7 days of walking accompanied by her young son. The story of Alessandro's parents described the way that the political violence of the war impacted their departure. Their stories describe how persecution, deaths and threats during the war were not distant from the experience of ordinary civilians.

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[31] Interview with Alessandro Marroquin. May 21st 2012.

Maritza is also the daughter of two Salvadoran parents. Her father migrated to the U.S. in 1979, as events that led to the war were escalating. Before he migrated, her father did not have a formal occupation; he was "working the fields." As Maritza explains, there were not many jobs or career opportunities during the war. Her father migrated due to the deepening economic instability caused by war. He sought to provide economic assistance to his family through sending remittances back home. Her mother, on the other hand, lived through half of the war in El Salvador. Before migrating, her mother was a student; she had just graduated from high school when she left in 1986. Her mother did not necessarily want to leave El Salvador. Her goal was to become a nurse and possibly a doctor and she had plans to pursue her goals in El Salvador. It was her maternal grandfather who determined that it was dangerous for women to remain in El Salvador due to the high degree of sexual abuse that women were subjected to during the war. He ultimately made her leave.

Maritza's mother's migration experience was similar to Alessandro's mother. It was complicated. It took about a month to cross, with most of the time spent in Tijuana, Mexico. She crossed, along with 80-100 other people, with the guidance of a *coyote*. Her mother experienced an attempted sexual assault during this journey. Her father, on the other hand, had a smooth migration experience. Maritza describes that her father's migration was partly for economic reasons; however, she acknowledges the interrelationship between the economic motives and the context of war. Throughout the interview she referenced the context of political violence of the war as highly influential in her parents' experiences, especially her mother's, and, at times, although distant, the violence did present a threat to her family.

Claudia is the daughter of a Salvadoran mother whose story differs from the ones mentioned above. Her mother left El Salvador in 1987 just as she had graduated from high school where she had been studying to pursue a career as a nurse practitioner.

Her mother had seen the raped and murdered body of a friend from school in the street. Although her mother was well aware of the violence, even to an intimate extent, she attributes her departure to other influences. Claudia said that for her mother "it was more like family problems […] she was trying to escape torture in her own personal life." Claudia's maternal grandmother had migrated out of the country in the early 1980s and left Claudia's mother to be raised by Claudia's great grandmother. However, her great grandmother was abusive towards Claudia's mother. In this case, understanding why Claudia's grandmother initially migrated, the conditions under which she left and why she did not take Claudia's mother with her would be helpful. However, Claudia did not have any information on the story of her grandmother's migration. She only knew that her mother, as a child, was left behind, another common experience during the war. Regardless, this story demonstrates a case of cyclical migration, when one person migrates and that prompts another to follow, in this case, to flee a bad situation and for family reunification.

All interviewees acknowledged and discussed the role political violence played in their parents' experiences and its influence on their ultimate decision to migrate. As the interviews demonstrate, the motives for migration were diverse; however, the migrants described the condition and context in El Salvador to their children as a collective memory. In terms of the portrayal of the context of exit that was passed down to their children, as reflected in the information the children provided in the interviews, the stories were very similar. For example, they all call attention to the wide-spread political violence. This memory is represented across all the stories regardless of the primary reason offered for migrating. However, as some of the stories indicate, some migrants were indeed fleeing direct dangerous situations. One such example is Blanca's father whose brother had been assassinated for his political affiliations. As became increasingly apparent during the conflict, association or familiarity with someone who had been targeted was cause enough for fear. However, according to the

U.S. government's definition of asylum, this would not constitute legitimate "fear of persecution." As Claudia indicated, not all Salvadoran migrants identified the war as their main motive for migrating, although it can be seen to play a role in her mother's case. As Maritza's mother's story illustrates, not everyone sought to leave the country primarily to seek refuge but many others did in order to escape the collateral consequences of the war, which, in her case, directly related to her being a woman.

These interviews shed light on the stories that are marginalized in the economic vs. political categorizations of migration and the migrant vs. refugee binary. These seven stories do not seek to represent the experience of all Salvadoran migrants; rather, they seek to provide personal narratives that demonstrate the vast diversity of migration stories. The stories provide a sense of the context in which migrants fled and offer insights into the interrelated and complicated causes of migration.

Discussion and Conclusion

The origins of the increasing Salvadoran presence in the U.S. correlates with the Salvadoran Civil War because it is during those years that the Salvadoran population in the U.S. significantly increased, Salvadorans established their presence and formed communities in the U.S. As Sociologist Cecilia Menjivar explains "the upheaval within which this massive emigration unfolded was not the result of a sudden crisis. Rather, it was the outcome of a lengthy history of reluctance (on the part of the elite) to fundamental economic reform, of abuses by a military entrenched in power, and of external intervention that supported this structure."[32] My research sought to focus on this last aspect, specifically on the role of U.S. intervention in influencing the out-migration of Salvadorans during the war.

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[32] Cecilia Menjívar, *Fragmented Ties,* 57.

Following Mexicans, Salvadorans constitute the second largest group of undocumented migrants in the U.S. The mainstream immigration discussion from both ends of the spectrum, anti immigrant advocates to migrant rights advocates, tends to focus on undocumented immigrants' "negative" or "positive" economic and social impacts on the United States. Undocumented migration is frequently condemned; however, the discussion often fails to address the roots or causes of migration and the distinct experiences of different groups. Examining the relationships between the U.S and migrant sending countries, such as El Salvador, provides a greater understanding of how transnational relations impact migration flows. In this case, examining the extent of U.S. military and economic intervention during the Salvadoran Civil War and how it correlates to out-migration flows would aid in the development of a more nuanced understanding of the role of the U.S. in migrant sending countries. This aspect, the role of the U.S, is often overlooked and disregarded by those who sought to deny protection to migrants fleeing violent conditions in U.S. supported countries.

The Reagan administration's classification of Salvadorans as economic immigrants set the foundation for the discriminatory immigration practices that Salvadorans experienced during the 1980s. This characterization led to the disregard for the stories of those who did not migrate for solely economic reasons. I argue, and sought to provide evidence to demonstrate that the narrative that attributes these migrations to economic reasons was overly simplistic and designed to legitimize the lack of protections provided to the majority of Salvadorans entering the U.S. It also served to mask the role the U.S. played in the war. This paper does not seek to represent a generalized story of Salvadoran migration to the U.S., rather through the highlighted stories, it aims to provide some among the many, of the diverse stories of Salvadoran migration to the U.S. during the Salvadoran Civil War.

Concerns over increased border deaths and violence against Latina/o migrant communities require a move towards interrogating the dominant discourse on migration that plays a significant role in influencing the public's perceptions of the causes of migration and migrants themselves. The struggle for legalization of undocumented migrants in the U.S. continues, as rights remain linked to legal status. However, as important as it is to examine struggles to attain legalization, it is also important to examine the causes of global migration movements and the phenomenon of large undocumented presence in "developed" countries. As U.S. economic relations do not end at the border, when examining 'immigration' the discussion cannot be contextualized within the borders of the U.S. but requires incorporating an informed and transnational perspective.

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Civic Integration without Intercultural Engagement? Analyzing the Casualties of Multicultural Backlash

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Abstract

Since the end of World War II, political movements for cultural recognition accompanied a rise of cultural diversity in Western liberal democracies, culminating in multiculturalism policies set to address claims such as state support for ethnic organizations, affirmative action, and multicultural curricula in education. Since the mid-1990's, a retreat from multiculturalism has questioned the effectiveness of such policies on various grounds. This questioning has led to "civic integration" policies such as citizenship tests that focus more on socio-economic integration than on cultural recognition. The shift towards civic integration has created shortcomings with regard to building cultural inclusiveness. In this paper, I analyze these shortcomings as problematic aspects of civic integration. In order to do so, I turn to the most recent works of political theorists Will Kymlicka, Christian Joppke, and Steven Vertovec. I juxtapose their observations with Seyla Benhabib's idea of transformation of cultures through public dialogue in a deliberative model of democracy. Together these observations reveal how civic integration policies ignore modes of cultural engagement that can foster cultural inclusiveness and cultural transformation as a goal for multicultural democracy. I argue that intercultural dialogue needs to be resuscitated as a vital component of civic integration if it is to retain the cultural inclusiveness that has always been at the heart of multiculturalism and meet civic integration's proclaimed goal of social cohesion.

Introduction

The latter half of the 20th century saw a rise in claims for cultural recognition in Western liberal democracies. In Europe, this was part of a post-WWII phenomenon that stemmed from the decolonization of former European colonies. In the United States, cultural recognition was a facet of a larger movement for social, economic, and political equality and justice that included the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s. Thus, multiculturalism policies were created to address claims for social and political legitimacy. For some, this legitimacy came through cultural preservation. For others, legitimacy came through justice and equality by addressing the injustices from cultural discrimination. Classic defenses of the value of multiculturalism policies include promoting respect, reducing ethnic conflict, and building more inclusive and just societies. Critiques beginning from the mid-1990s suggest, however, that multiculturalism policies exacerbate ethnic divisions, reduce inter-ethnic solidarity, perpetuate illiberal practices, and push social breakdown, all in the preservation of culture. Focusing more on the critiques than the defense of multiculturalism has initiated a shift toward "civic integration" policies that emphasize socio-economic integration rather than cultural recognition. Civic integration policies highlight immigrant integration through employment, bilateral recognition between the state and the immigrant, respect for basic liberal-democratic values, basic knowledge of the state, and an implementation of anti-discriminatory policies. The question I undertake in this paper deals with the role of intercultural dialogue in fostering an inclusive democracy by evaluating the stances liberal democracies have taken to address cultural diversity and examining the extent to which these meet or fail to meet the goal of fostering a space where intercultural dialogue between cultural groups can occur.

Literature Review

This literature review will explore the most recent observations of political theorists who are main contributors to the discussion on the shift from multiculturalism policies to civic integration policies. It will also explore Seyla Benhabib's conception of a model of democracy that allows the various cultures of a democracy to engage in the process of deliberation in the public sphere. These two topics, the shift to civic integration and the deliberative model of democracy, are centerpieces of a larger conception of what a multicultural democracy should encompass. There is agreement amongst scholars that the latter half of the 20th century has seen a rise and fall of multiculturalism. Disagreement lies in whether there really is a retreat from multiculturalism evidenced in the shift toward civic integration.

Some scholars find the shift towards civic integration to be evidence of the retreat from multiculturalism. Joppke (2004) offers the perspective that there has, in fact, been a retreat from multiculturalism in both theory and policy. He suggests that the factors for this retreat include a lack of public support, failures of multiculturalism policies to address socio-economic issues, and a new imposition of liberal principles by the liberal state. He critiques immigrant multiculturalism stating that integrating minorities through cultural recognition leads to accepting all cultures as equal and therefore accepting and recognizing the oppressive (illiberal) practices that are embedded within those cultures.

Joppke (2004) charges multiculturalism with having unilateral cultural recognition requiring only that the state recognize minorities with no similar reciprocal effort required by the minority group toward the state. He addresses the turn of states to "civic integration" policies in Australia, the Netherlands, and Britain, suggesting that the reason for this turn lies in both the above-mentioned factors as well as a turn to address socio-

economic issues in minority communities. The importance of this is that Joppke finds the retreat from multiculturalism to be manifested in a switch towards civic integration policies that address socio-economic issues and attempt to forge a common national identity through language/history/culture courses and tests (like citizenship tests) that are obligatory for political membership. However severe these requirements may seem, Joppke argues, they should not be seen as a return of assimilation.

Joppke (2007) further states that the different models each liberal state is using to integrate immigrants are actually converging and finding common ground around mandatory requirements for citizenship. France, the Netherlands, and Germany have different national models with different levels of mandatory measures/requirements, and interpret and implement civic integration differently. However, he stresses that what is more important here is the similar feature in civic integration that liberal goals are being achieved through illiberal means, resulting in repressive liberalism. Building from his previous critique that multiculturalism was unilateral in cultural recognition, he adds that the Council of the European Union in 2004 suggested a bilateral process where both the state and the immigrant changes; the state would address socioeconomic issues by helping immigrants be self-sufficient and autonomous while immigrants were responsible for respecting liberal democratic values and the state's language and history.

Joppke (2007) goes on to say that these expectations of immigrant integration become repressive when states create obligations for naturalization. Civic integration has become illiberal in the sense that when applied obligatorily it makes naturalization conditions mandatory rather than a civic duty. One important difference between the countries that have mandatory conditions and those that do not are their immigrant selection processes. States with easier conditions (Canada, Australia) tend to

select higher skilled and educated immigrants than do other states that cannot select due to family reunification (European states).

Although he tends to be critical of multiculturalism, Joppke (2012) recognizes that the alternative to multiculturalism policies (civic integration) has some drawbacks. He identifies a challenge faced by states that are using civic integration policies in finding a balance between being restrained enough to respect the moral autonomy of the immigrants and being aggressive enough to further the goal of a more cohesive and integrated society.

Other scholars interpret the shift away from multiculturalism policies differently. Kymlicka (2010) argues that the post-multicultural narrative mischaracterizes the nature and goals of multiculturalism, exaggerates the retreat, and misidentifies the difficulties multiculturalism projects have faced. He finds critiques from the Right to be motivated by fears that new cultures will threaten their established lifestyle and identifies center-Left beliefs that these policies have failed to help immigrant groups. He suggests that in light of the patterns that come from multiculturalist policies (indigenous empowerment, autonomy for sub-state national groups, and multicultural citizenship for immigrants), post-multiculturalist critics of multiculturalism do not understand the goals of multiculturalism well. Many of their critiques actually reaffirm essential goals of multiculturalism. In short, he argues that multiculturalism is alive, well, and has great potential for legitimate political membership he calls "citizenisation."

Perhaps the shift away from multiculturalism is simply rhetorical because it is not evident in policy. In their conference presentation, Banting and Kymlicka (2012) argue that the widespread perception that multiculturalism has failed to integrate immigrants and minority groups is merely rhetorical (popular public discourse) and does not reflect an actual policy retreat. They draw on an updated version of the Multiculturalism Policy Index to show the growing general strength of 21 European countries in

adopting multiculturalism policies. Those countries that are strongest against multiculturalism, such as Germany, have never actually implemented multiculturalism or embraced it; those states that have embraced multiculturalism seem to implement policies that emphasize immigrant integration and provide methods for immigrants to do so as opposed to making it the immigrants' duty to integrate. Kymlicka and Banting argue that these "civic integration" policies are actually being formed on top of existing multiculturalism policies showing a fused approach to integration and diversity and thereby falling short of being a different and better alternative to multiculturalism. Overall, Banting and Kymlicka argue that a liberal implementation of civic integration is compatible with multiculturalism and thus multiculturalism is still alive.

Vertovec (2010) identified the same critiques of multiculturalism from the Left/Right spectrum as these previous scholars. The line of reasoning of the critiques he identifies is as follows: the separation between cultures comes from multiculturalism's preservation of cultural differences and accounts for the lack of socioeconomic mobility and disintegrating social relations that breeds grounds for growing conflict. He finds that post-multiculturalists blame multiculturalism for state failure to integrate immigrants. He suggests two things. First, perhaps the concept of multiculturalism is not dying, but just the word itself. Taylor (2012) supports this claim. Taylor (2012) discusses the differences between the terms "multiculturalism" and "interculturalism" and argues that there is not much difference in their respective policies but that interculturalism may still be better suited for European countries. In light of Quebec's political position in Canada having a different language and history, Taylor defines *multi*culturalism as closer to the recognition of diversity while *inter*culturalism as moving closer to integration. For states sharing a political history of language and cultural struggle within the state, similar to Quebec's, interculturalist viewpoints may be better suited.

Second, Vertovec suggests that what should hold more focus are the new migration trends that lead to what he calls "super-diversity." Super-diversity is the complex makeup of current migration as it is different from past trends of migration that were driven by labor. The migration flows for labor no longer characterize the current migration trends that account for diversity in liberal democracies. New migration trends characterized by differing countries of origin, different migration channels, and different legal statuses require a reworking of policies that address diversity in light of all these factors that intersect and constitute "super-diversity."

Levey (2012) agrees that interculturalism is not that different from multiculturalism and thus argues that there is no reason for interculturalism, a policy framework intended to emphasize integration, to be considered superior to multiculturalism. He elaborates on the distinction between interculturalism and multiculturalism, arguing that dialogue is inherent in both as well as the critiques that they are culturally bound. He suggests that the European discourse on interculturalism may be politically motivated. In addition, he finds that interculturalism wants more recognition for a majority group/culture and to see that culture as foundational for a national identity, whereas multiculturalism refuses to hold such a singular notion of national identity. However, he recognizes that the term multiculturalism has too many negative associations and therefore creates a need for the use of a new term.

Weighing in on the backlash against multiculturalism from a sociological perspective, Bloemraad (2007) argues that there is reason to believe that multiculturalism policies facilitate political integration which in turn facilitates socioeconomic integration. She compares immigrant integration in Canada with immigrant integration in the US and finds that Canada has higher ethnic political incorporation rates than the US because Canada promotes

immigrant integration by providing their immigrants with official recognition that legitimizes their place in society and also offers resources to facilitate their mobility. For her, multiculturalism policies are important factors in creating that difference. Similar to Kymlicka, she argues that claims that multiculturalism has failed to incorporate immigrants socioeconomically fail to understand that multiculturalism is primarily a theory of political inclusion and citizenship and not about socioeconomic integration.

As this literature review suggests, there has been more focus on multiculturalism and civic integration rather than on interculturalism or any theoretical tool with which to analyze the current theorizing of multiculturalism and integration. Dhamoon (2006) provides an example of such a theoretical tool. She argues that switching from "culture" to "the cultural" widens the theoretical capabilities in issues of identity and difference in liberal multicultural discourses. She argues that the concept of "culture" essentializes groups in order to ask how and to what extent "we" can address diversity whereas using "the cultural" shifts these questions to analyze how identities are made and their consequences. The end goal of the shift is to disrupt the significations attached to identities so that the discussion of identity politics can be more transformative.

On a slightly different note, Benhabib (2002) proposes cross-cultural engagement and transformation between cultures through dialogue as a means for building and sustaining inclusiveness. She lays this idea out in a deliberative model of democracy where maximum cultural contestation can take place in the public sphere. Benhabib leads to this by challenging the commonly held notion that cultures are homogenous, whole, and clear and suggesting that cultures are in fact products of social interactions, a "web of locutions" (56). This process of socialization accounts better for how individuals and collectives come to indentify who they are. The view of cultures as static is a misunderstanding that she calls "strong multiculturalism" and

argues that this misunderstanding has consequences for how we think injustices should be addressed (16). Instead of asking for specific resources for cultural preservation, she advocates for universalizing resources that will target and ameliorate common issues faced across cultural groups so that the focus remains in the name of justice and equality as opposed to a preservation of cultures. In this regard, she would also agree with the critique of multiculturalism as an enabler and sustainer of separated cultures. She argues for a "double-track" model of deliberative democracy that allows groups to solve their differences through the public sphere and social movements with impartial civil institutions acting as referees in case the dialogue were to become a hostile environment.

A review of this literature demonstrates that the focus of these scholars lies in the consequences of whether or not multiculturalism policies are in retreat and in favor of civic integration policies. Therefore, I examine the opening in the literature left unfilled. I ask whether there is still a role for intercultural dialogue in civic integration that can foster a culturally inclusive democracy.

Methods

I did a comparative analysis of the scholarly interpretations of the shift from multiculturalism to civic integration. I looked at academic articles and papers presented at conferences between 2002 and 2012. Articles were written by scholars such as Will Kymlicka, Christian Joppke, Steven Vertovec, Irene Bloemraad, Seyla Benhabib, Rita Dhamoon, and Charles Taylor. Papers presented at conferences in the past year were written by Will Kymlicka, Keith Banting, and Christian Joppke. These sources were strictly the interpretations of scholars in the field on the policy transformations arising from the critiques of multiculturalism. I did not look at primary documents, such as specific policies, because time constraints would not allow me to

look into the history of multiculturalism policies in each liberal democracy over an extended period of time and then compare them. The only source I examined that was not an academic article was the Multiculturalism Policy Index that measures the degree to which a liberal state is multicultural. This measurement tracked each liberal state's degree of multiculturalism since 1980 based on policy implementations including affirmative action, dual citizenship, legal recognition of diversity, and multiculturalism in education.

Findings and Conclusions

Together, the political theorists' observations reveal how civic integration policies ignore modes of cultural engagement that can foster cultural inclusion and cultural transformation as a goal for multicultural democracy. There is a need for a renewed role for intercultural dialogue and transformation in civic integration for fostering a culturally inclusive democracy. Therefore I argue that intercultural dialogue and transformation need to be resuscitated as vital component of civic integration if civic integration is to retain the cultural inclusion that has always been at the heart of multiculturalism and meet its proclaimed goal of social cohesion.

I begin with Benhabib's model of deliberative democracy. Benhabib provides a model for the kind of inclusiveness multicultural democracies should attempt to achieve and provides a way to sustain it that civic integration lacks. In her argument that processes of communication within civil society further cross-cultural understanding, it becomes clear that if the transformation between cultures comes through the interaction of individuals of the many cultures then this must occur in the public sphere. This is also beneficial for cultivating active participation in democratic processes that push groups to be politically engaged, from the civil arena to the institutions. Uniting her view of cultures as fluid and transformative projects along with her desire to accommodate diversity through justice and equality, I find this model of

democracy to bring cultures into a public sphere where they can engage in intercultural dialogue. This kind of dialogue would transform the cultures engaged via the ongoing process of socialization. If this model of democracy can balance diversity and political engagement, then it is an appropriate model for fostering inclusive multicultural democracies. By highlights the transformative role of intercultural dialogue, Benhabib's model highlights civic integration's inability to address how the maintenance of diversity can be coupled with social cohesion.

Some of the common defenses of multiculturalism advocated prior to the rise of the critiques in the 1980s and 1990s suggested that multiculturalism helped ease ethnic tensions, helped build inclusive and just societies, promoted respect, and increased political participation. As stated in the introduction, critiques, beginning in the 1980s, however saw multiculturalism as increasing ethnic divisions, reducing inter-ethnic solidarity, and perpetuating the illiberal practices inherent in non-liberal cultures (Banting and Kymlicka, 2012, 7). These critiques held that multiculturalism preserves cultural difference, leads to ethnic separation, which then entails poor socioeconomic mobility, poor social relations, and potential for conflict (Vertovec 86).

The focus of the literature and public discourse on multiculturalism is weighted more heavily towards its critiques than its defenses. In response to those critiques, states began to implement "civic integration" policies that focused less on cultural recognition and more on socioeconomic ills, strengthening social cohesiveness, and a strong national identity (Vertovec, 2010, 91). The latter three foci are the main thrust and overall goals of civic integration. Joppke (2007) summarizes civic integration into mainstream society as focusing on employment, respect for liberal democratic values, basic knowledge of the state's language, history, and values, and anti-discrimination laws (3-5).

On various grounds, I find that civic integration policies fall short and are problematic for fostering cultural inclusion and cultural transformation. First, the shift in focus to socioeconomic issues through employment support would aim at socioeconomic integration but even if successful would still be shy of changing the social perceptions of these immigrant groups and thus an inclusive multicultural democracy would still be lacking. Second, civic integration policies show an inability to provide a space for intercultural dialogue and cultural transformation because their scope is limited to the testing of the immigrant's knowledge of the state's history, language, customs, and (liberal democratic) values. As Joppke suggests, "policy may not be the most efficient means to get [social cohesion]" (2012, 1). The most policy can do is to test the immigrant's knowledge of the state's history, language, and values through tests such as citizenship tests; it cannot arbitrate their behavior. To suggest that by knowing the history, language, and values of a state the immigrant will thereby be successfully integrated and the state would be more socially unified would obscure the difference between tested knowledge and actual behavior. When states, such as France, want to go beyond tested knowledge to effect behavioral change, their policy implementations become instances of illiberal means to reach liberal goals, especially if the consequences when failing to complete these requirements result in the denial of residency and citizenship.

A notable example of this occurred in 2008 when a Muslim woman was denied French citizenship on the basis of wearing a burqa. The Conseil d'Etat's found that the burqa was "incompatible with the essential values of the French community, especially equality of the sexes" (Joppke, 2012, 4). Two things can be concluded from this example. First, civic integration, if not controlled, has potential for illiberal promotion of liberal democratic values and second, although this is one of few outliers in civic integration policy implementations, this potential highlights the state's assumption of what cultural markers

represent (that the burqa meant support for gender inequality) as a result of prejudice and lack of intercultural dialogue. A strong exercise of liberalism that leads to moral intrusiveness and undermines individual liberties (another liberal democratic value) is self-defeating, as Joppke suggests (Joppke, 2012, 7). Cultural inclusion in democracies cannot be achieved if the state continues to assume what cultural markers represent. Joppke adds that integration may best be left to labor markets or education systems. Perhaps intercultural dialogue and cultural transformation would be appropriate for the integration of immigrant groups and a better alternative for social cohesion and foster a culturally inclusive democracy since dialogue and transformation would find and strengthen common ground.

It is also important to note that civic integration policies frame cultural integration as a problem whose solution rests in state-group relations. This is in addition to assuming a dominant unitary host society on behalf of which the state works. With the state as the spokesman of the national and cultural identity, it then has the task of finding and implementing ways for "outsiders" to integrate. Civic integration fails to address any horizontal relationship between diverse groups living in that state by placing this relationship as a vertical relationship between the state and the immigrant/ethnic group. Not only does this vertical relationship neglect any horizontal relationship, it assumes and suggests that the state represents and speaks for only one group to which all incomers need to adapt.

In order to advance a basis for intercultural dialogue and cultural transformation to take place, I turn to Kymlicka's understanding of multiculturalism. Kymlicka's conception views multiculturalism as a political project rising from a human rights revolution. I find this conception to provide solid grounds from which to advance a space for intercultural interaction and transformation. In his view, the claims and movements for cultural recognition came from a human rights revolution that transformed

the previous cultural diversity that was characterized by undemocratic and hierarchical binary relations into relations of "liberal-democratic citizenship," a process of democratic "citizenisation" that challenges the idea that citizenship needs the suppression of difference (Kymlicka, 2010, 100). This project changes both the vertical state/ethnocultural group relations and the horizontal relations between groups. Unless intercultural dialogue and cultural transformation are stressed, the horizontal relations between groups will not progress, as a groups relation to the state will that precedence over intergroup engagement. Additionally, reaching a culturally inclusive democracy is also a goal of multiculturalism in its rejection of a single-culture citizenship.

Kymlicka also states that the principles of liberty, equality, and justice from which multiculturalism was born also constrain the goals and means of this political project. Understanding multiculturalism this way sheds light on the validity of the critiques of multiculturalism that led to the adoption of civic integration policies. For example, multiculturalism as a political project rather than a "cultural sensibility" denies the critiques that multiculturalism ignores socioeconomic and political exclusion, forces the acceptance of illiberal practices such as forced marriages, sees cultures as never-changing, and reinforces power inequalities within groups (Kymlicka, 2010, 99).

Drawing from the Multiculturalism Policy Index (MPI), I find that multiculturalism policies have persisted even throughout the perceived backlash against it, as Kymlicka would argue. The MPI measures the degree to which liberal states are multicultural based on how far beyond simply assuring basic individual rights and liberties and accommodating for cultural claims and diversity these liberal democracies extend. Eight policies are used to measure this accommodation over three decades and suggests that the retreat from multiculturalism is evident in public discourse and rhetoric rather than in actual policy: legislative recognition of

multiculturalism, multiculturalism in education, representation in media, exemptions from dress codes, dual citizenship, funding of ethnic group organizations, bilingual education, and affirmative action ("Multiculturalism Policy Index"). In 1980 at the highest end were Australia and Canada scoring 5 of the 8 policies and with a 20% and 15% of foreign-born population respectively. The majority of the rest of the states came in with a score of 1. By 2010, Australia scored 8, Canada scored 7.5, and the majority of the rest of the states scored between 1 and 3.5. The noticeable trend suggests that multiculturalism is not in retreat as other scholars may suggest and that multiculturalism is still an option for liberal democracies. As Bloemraad (2007) points out, multicultural citizenship may facilitate immigrant integration since it has not caused cultural chaos (322).

As the Multiculturalism Policy Index suggests, the retreat from multiculturalism is misguided. It is misguided because it is based on a superficial view of multiculturalism and ignores the three modes of multiculturalism that Kymlicka identifies: immigrant, indigenous, and sub-state multiculturalism. To suggest that multiculturalism is in decline based on the noticeable shift away from using the term multiculturalism with regards to immigrant integration is misleading. The critique that immigrant multiculturalism negatively affects social cohesion is misleading because the assumption is that immigrants inherently threaten and diversify the national identity and social bond that ties the state together. However, based on the claims by indigenous groups to land rights, rights to have their own separate government and educational systems apart from the larger state, would present a greater threat to social cohesion and a national identity, yet generally liberal states seem fine with the idea of accommodating indigenous demands. Thus, since the retreat is specifically about immigrants and not about multiculturalism in a general or theoretical sense, it is misleading to suggest that multiculturalism as a whole is in retreat.

Kymlicka states that "there is no universally-accepted definition of a 'multiculturalism policy' that would differentiate it from anti-discriminatory or citizenship and integration policies" because different states would have different conceptions of what these policies constitute (Banting and Kymlicka, 2012, 6). Merging Kymlicka's point that it is difficult to concretely distinguish multiculturalism policies from anti-discrimination policies and Joppke's declaration that anti-discrimination policies increased as multiculturalism began to be questioned, I posit that the MPI's rising trend towards the adoption of multicultural policies shows that civic integration policies are layered on top of existing multiculturalism policies. This follows the reasoning that if multiculturalism policies are similar enough to anti-discrimination policies to argue that they strive for similar goals, then to say that civic integration emphasizes anti-discrimination is equivalent to saying civic integration emphasizes multiculturalism.

In the end, for a culturally inclusive democracy, intercultural dialogue and cultural transformation would build solidarity and social cohesion. It would create a more dynamic national identity and build cooperation between group leaders. By achieving these goals, intercultural dialogue and cultural transformation can achieve both the multicultural goals of cultural diversity and inclusiveness and the civic integration goal of social cohesion in a more dynamic way. Civic integration falls short of allowing this to occur due to its renewed desire to forge a similar and static identity for all immigrants in order to maintain social cohesion. Intercultural dialogue and transformation would support a process of socialization that allows cultures to experience new engagements with new practices, new ideas, and cultures that together inevitably cause individual and collective transformation.

Future Research

Future research might focus on the two recent books written in 2000 and 2007 by Bhikhu Parekh titled *Rethinking Multiculturalism* and *The New Politics of Identity*. I would examine these works for his perspective on what intercultural dialogue and cultural transformation would look like as opposed to a policy-driven attempt at cultural inclusion. I would also dive into the theory of multiple identities that is advanced by Chicana theorist Gloria Anzaldua.

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Overcoming Academic Adversity: Latino/a Undergraduates' Path to Success

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Abstract

This pilot study explores the strategies that first-generation, Latino/a undergraduate college students at a public, West Coast university employed to overcome adversities in their academic lives. Four first-generation students were recruited to participate in semi-structured interviews pertaining to this topic. Interview transcripts were analyzed using a phenomenological approach (Moustakas, 1994) which focused on the descriptions of the paths of academic resilience taken by participants. From the significant statements produced by the participants, a composite description of the essence of academic resilience was created (Creswell, 2007). Results indicated twelve emergent themes that were categorized into two sections, Barriers (e.g. citizenship as a barrier, finances as a barrier, lack of information and knowledge about college, tracking students into non-college preparatory courses, feeling culturally uncomfortable), and Academic Resilience (e.g. taking personal initiative, having a positive attitude, parental support, teacher and counselor support, peer support, and financial assistance). Implications for practice, research, and policy are discussed, as well as study limitations and recommendations for future research.

Introduction

In 2005, the college enrollment rate immediately after high school graduation for white high school graduate students was 73%, while for Latino/a high school graduates it was only 54% (Diversity Web, 2007). According to the Pew Hispanic Center in 2009, nearly 9 in 10 Latino young adults ages 16 to 25 said that a college education is important for success in life, yet only 48% say that they themselves plan to get a college degree (Pew Hispanic Center, 2009). Overall, Latino/a students are less likely than white or black students to attend a 2-year community college or 4-year university (NCES, 2007). Barriers such as financial responsibilities, family obligations (Haas & Phinney, 2003) and possibly the guilt of leaving home or needing to support family often keeps these students from continuing their education. However, despite the challenges that some Latino/a students face in attaining an education, studies show that these students are often able to overcome difficulties and succeed despite setbacks, in other words, to display academic resilience (Martin and Mash, 2003). The current study offers a holistic, phenomenological analysis of Latino/a college students' paths to academic resilience. Specifically, responses to the following research question were qualitatively explored: What are the paths that first-generation, Latino/a undergraduate students take in order to achieve academical resilience despite facing adversities?

Literature Review

While studies have been conducted exploring the general barriers (Zalaquett, 2005; Zalaquett & Lopez, 2006) and resilience factors (Zalaquett & Lopez, 2006; Clauss-Ehlers & Wibrowski, 2007; Cabrera & Padilla, 2004) in Latino/a student populations, relatively few studies have focused on Latino/a resilience in academics. In particular, there is a lack of information about the actual paths that Latino/a individuals take towards academic resilience.

Barriers to Academic Resilience

Despite the low number of Latino/a students enrolling in college directly after high school graduation, Zalaquett (2005) showed that students often want to obtain a postsecondary education but certain barriers block their path towards achieving success. In Zalaquett's study, twelve Latino/a students enrolled in a large, urban university reported that the absence of adult supervision, misinformation about the college application process, and poorly informed choices caused by the lack of knowledge about college were all barriers they faced in order to overcome adversity.

An additional barrier that some Latino/a students face is having parents who lack the knowledge to help them navigate the college application process (Cabrera & Padilla, 2004). In addition to lacking knowledge about the college application process, there is often misinformation or misunderstanding among parents about the college preparatory high school track and the college application process provided to students in certain schools. In fact, many educators offer little guidance about postsecondary education or show minimal interest in the future of Latino/a students (Zalaquett, 2005; Cavazos et al. 2010), delaying the college application process for these students. For example, Granada's 1995 study indidicated that teachers and administrators often use curriculum tracking to discourage Latino/a students from pursuing a higher education. In another study on educational barriers for Latino/a students, parents identified challenges that prevented their children from achieving success, such as fear of gangs, violence, crime, and police harassment, as well as stigmatization by those outside the community. Student participants in the study agreed that peers and community violence, as well as having a low-income background, tend to be negative factors and create barriers to success in their academic lives. This research shows that violent and unsupportive communities are

barriers that greatly affect the chances of Latino/a students being successful in their education (Shetgiri, Kataoka, Ryan, Askew, Chung, & Schuster, 2009).

Further research has focused on the stressors that can ultimately impact the success of Latino/a students in college. For example, a particular study indicated that acculturative stress experienced by Latino/a college students can have a negative impact on their college experience (Finch and Vega, 2003). An additional study found that Latina/os who experienced intragroup marginalization by family members were less able to adjust to college and less resilient than those who did not experience intragroup marginalization (Llamas & Morgan Consoli, 2012).

An additional barrier that has been talked about very little is the topic of legal status for Latino/a college students. Relevant literature has examined the various challenges created by the legal status of these students (Perez, 2011; Arbona et al., 2010). Perez (2011) specifically documents the socioemotional hardships and systematic barriers such as being ineligible to apply to for financial aid for Latino/a community college students. However, despite these challenges, students are often able to reframe their experiences as something positive and become actively involved as student advocates to educate college personnel on the issues of unauthorized college students (Perez, 2011).

Academic Resilience Factors

Sources of Support. In Zalaquett's study (2005), participants indicated the following sources of support as some of the critical factors in helping them achieve academic resilience in the face of adversity: family, friendships, community support, and school personnel. In an additional study (Castro et al., 2010), having interpersonal relationships was seen as a source of support. Further studies have shown the presence of sources of support in Latino/a students' lives which have aided individuals in building a

path towards higher education. Mentorship, monetary support (Zalaquett & Lopez, 2006), summer educational enrichment programs (Clauss-Ehlers & Wibrowski, 2007), peer support (Schneider & Ward, 2003) and familial support (Cabrera & Padilla, 2004) have helped Latino/a students on their journeys towards college.

Mentors are an important part of an student's life because they can be skilled and knowledgeable visionaries who commit to the project of improving a student's skills (Young & Wright, 2001) while coaching, nurturing, teaching and modeling behaviors that encourage and promote the growth of a student (Zalaquett & Lopez, 2006). The related phenomenon of sponsorship may also play a crucial role by providing financial support during the college years and allowing students to focus on school without the pressure of full-time employment. Furthermore, students who participate in summer educational enrichment programs, such as the Educational Opportunity Fund Program, show a significant increase in resilience and experience a sense of social support from program staff and peers which develops into a trusting relationship where students are able to reach out to advisors for assistance in their academic lives (Clauss-Ehlers & Wibrowski, 2007).

Emotional support from others has also been shown to be relevant in Latino/a college student success. For example, Schneider and Ward's (2003) research study found that peer support among Latino/a college students is associated with better social adjustment. Familial support has been shown to keep individuals grounded in their values and culture and to positively influence them on their paths toward higher education by reminding them of their background and the importance of success (Cabrera & Padilla, 2004; Shetgiri, Kataoka, Ryan, Askew, Chung, & Schuster, 2009; Zalaquett, 2005). Family support has also been positively correlated with such positive aspects as resilience and thriving in Latino/a college students (Morgan Consoli et al., 2011).

Internal Factors. Additional factors that were identified as playing a role in high academic achievement and resilience include: goal setting, intrinsic motivation, internal locus of control, and self-efficacy (Castro et al., 2010). Goal setting which included individuals making academic goals such as obtaining some form of education beyond the baccalaureate level (Castro et al., 2010) was shown to be important in the participants' lives because they personally committed to accomplishing these goals. Additionally, being intrinsically motivated to do something altruistic such as being part of the student government, teaching children and helping the community has been shown to increase feelings of joy. Furthermore, participants explained how having an internal locus of control or having control over a situation, was important to them to accomplish their academic endeavours. Participants also discussed other internal qualities which they felt allowed them to become successful in college, such as working hard and persevering in the face of adversity. In an additional study about Mexican American college students and academic life satisfaction, findings indicated that college self-efficacy, or ones' beliefs about their ability to succeeed in college, predicted beneficial outcomes such as pursuing a college education, progress toward academic goals, and academic satisfaction (Flores, Navarro, & Ojeda, 2011).

Methods

Researchers

The primary researcher identifies as a female, first-generation, Mexican-American college student. At the time of this research she was completing her senior year of undergraduate studies. Her interest in conducting this study grew out of her own personal academic struggle and how she was able to become a successful Latina college graduate. She began the study with the belief that any individual can be resilient under the right circumstances. This study is primarily driven by her interest in this

area and her desire to explore the successful experiences of other Latino/a students.

The second author identifies as a Mixed heritage (Latina/European) female. She is a Counseling Psychology faculty member and has conducted and supervised many qualitative studies. Her research interests are in Latino/a resilience and thriving, immigration, and social justice issues. She served as the advisor for the first author.

Participants

Participants included four students (two male and two female) attending a public university on the West Coast. Participants were first, third, fourth and fifth year undergraduate students with ages ranging from 18 to 22. To protect their identities, pseudonyms were given to each of the participants.

David. David was 20-years-old at the time he was interviewed. He was a third year college undergraduate and identified as an undocumented, first-generation Mexican. He was born in Mexico and immigrated to the U. S. with his parents at a young age. David has two older siblings, a sister who graduated with a Bachelor's degree and a brother who graduated from high school. His mother received a 5th grade education while his father obtained an Associate's degree from a university in Mexico.

Teresa. Teresa was 21-years-old at the time of the interview. She was a fourth year undergraduate and identified as an undocumented, first-generation Latina. Teresa was born in Belize and her parents brought her and her sister to the U.S. to "attain a good education." Teresa's sister graduated from a four-year university. Teresa's mother completed some primary education and her father obtained a high school diploma.

191

Edgar. Edgar was 18-years-old at the time of the interview. He was a first-year undergraduate and identified as a Mexican-American and a first generation college student. Edgar was born in the U. S. along with his two younger brothers. Both of his parents were born in Mexico and immigrated to the U.S. to "experience the American Dream" and are now citizens of the U. S. Edgar's youngest brother is in elementary school and the other one attained a high school diploma through a special education program. Edgar's mother and father both completed their high school diplomas in Mexico.

Noelia. Noelia was 22-years-old at the time she was interviewed. She was in her fifth year of undergraduate work and identified as an undocumented, Chicana/Latina first-generation female. She was born in Mexico and immigrated to the U. S. when she was six to reunite with her father. Noelia is an only child. Her mother, now deceased, received her high school diploma while her father obtained some primary education in Mexico.

Instruments

Screening Questionnaire. The screening questionnaire was developed by the researchers for the purpose of this study. It was administered to particpants to determine if they met the criteria for the study. The questions asked for the participant's age, year in school, if the participant was a first-generation college student, and if they identified as a Latino/a.

Demographic Survey. Prior to the interview, participants also filled out a demographic survey designed by the researcher specifically for this project. The items on the survey included general background information such as gender, ethnicity, and employment status. The survey also requested information about parental education history, parents' occupation, sibling education history, and the family's socioeconomic status.

Interview Protocol **and Procedures**

The interviews consisted of five, open-ended questions about academic barriers and how participants overcame them (see Appendix A). These questions were created by the researchers based on relevant literature about barriers and academic resilience for Latino/a college students.

After receiving approval from the university's Institutional Review Board, the researcher recruited participants utilizing the snowball method of data collection (Faugier & Sargeant, 1997). This method entails participants helping to recruit if they desire by giving the researcher the contact information of other students who may be eligible for the study. The researcher then contacted the potential participant and provided information about the study. The researcher made sure that the participant met the criteria for the study by having the students fill out the screening questionnaire which included the following criteria: 1) eighteen years of age or older, 2) undergraduate, first-generation college student, and 3) self-identifying as Latino/a.

The researcher went over informed consent with all participants prior to beginning the study. Participants were notified that they could stop their participation in the study at any time without penalty and could skip any questions they preferred not to answer. The possible risks and benefits associated with this study were also discussed and participants were given referral resources in case they experienced any uncomfortable feelings. Participants completed demographic surveys and participated in semistructured interviews which lasted 25-55 minutes. All interviews were audiotaped with the permision of the participants.

Data Analysis

Qualitative methodology is often used by researchers to bring to light the life experiences of members of marginalized

populations (van den Hoonaard, 2008) and to allow stigmatized populations to make meaning of their experiences (Morrow, 2007). Specifically, a phenomenological approach allows for a thorough exploration of academic resilience through deriving the "essence" of this phenomenon by creating a composite description of participant accounts. More specifically, through the transcendental phenomenological approach, the participant's knowledge about the phenomenon as they experienced it emerges as the person "is open to see what it is, just as it is, and to explicate it in its own terms" (Moustakas, 1994, 41).

In phenomenological research, investigators must set aside their own experiences with the phenomenon by "bracketing" out their views before proceeding with analyzing the experiences of others (Creswell, 2007). Bracketing is when the investigator sets aside personal beliefs, feelings, and perceptions in order to be more open to the rich data that emerges from the participants (Colaizzi, 1978).

Interviews were transcribed by the researcher and coded using the transcendental phenomenological approach (Moustakas, 1994). This approach entailed first extracting significant statements from the interviews in which participants discussed specific ways of dealing with barriers in their lives to achieve academic resilience. The significant statements were given meanings, which were developed by the researcher through composite textural and structural descriptions. A textural description answers the "what" of the appearing phenomenon making sure that "nothing is omitted and and every dimension or phase is granted equal attention" (Moustakas, 1994, 78). The structural descriptions "involves conscious acts of thinking, judging, imagining, and recollecting" (p. 79) of the participant's experiences. These two types of descriptions complement each other to form the experience of the phenomenon. After giving meaning to the significant statements they are then placed into theme clusters by the researcher. These

emergent themes allowed the researcher to understand the phenomenon of academic resilience.

Results

From the 4 transcripts, 194 significant statements were extracted. Table 1 includes three examples of significant statements with their formulated meanings. Arranging the formulated meanings into clusters resulted in 12 themes. The twelve themes were categorized into two sections: themes pertaining to barriers in which the participants shared the different obstacles they had to overcome throughout their lives, as well as themes pertaining to academic resilience in which the participants discussed the different factors that helped them achieve academic resilience despite these adversities.

TABLE 1: Selected Examples of Significant Statements of College Students and Related Formulated Meanings

Significant Statement	Formulated Meaning
That's the biggest problem. It's not having financial aid. Not being able to go to the school that I want just because of money…I couldn't apply to financial aid because of my status.	Being an unauthorized immigrant in the U.S. causes difficulty in applying for financial aid, which at times can prevent him/her from entering the institution he/she wanted to attend.
My path is to not think about it, and just make myself as busy as I can so that I am not thinking, so that I don't have time to think about that. And so I am super active.	Individuals may choose to get involved in activities to distance themselves from problems they are dealing with.
I have also seeked help from counselors. I tried to talk to them, like, "Oh what can I do?" And they kind of helped me out, but at the same time, it was me letting out my anger, letting out those feelings cause sometimes I would cry to counselors like, oh this is happening and I don't understand.	Seeing a counselor and expressing emotions helps an individual make sense of a struggle.

Themes Pertaining to Barriers

Theme 1: Citizenship Status as a Barrier. Three of the four participants in this study identified their citizenship status in the U. S. as unauthorized. Being an unauthorized student in the U. S. often presents barriers which are not easy to deal with, for example, not being able to go to the school of one's choice and not being able to apply for financial aid. Additionally, some scholarships required the student to be a U.S. citizen which excluded these individuals. In 2011, the California Dream Act was signed into law by Governor Jerry Brown. This allows unauthorized students in California to apply for the Cal Grant and other state financial aid (csac.ca.gov). Noelia mentioned the difficulty she had in dealing with the university's administration in filling out the California Dream Act application to receive funding.

Noelia also described frustration in having others expect unauthorized students to be the 'model student' and to be perfect to be accepted by others. She also stated that she never knew that her status as an unauthorized citizen in the U.S. would affect her and that she was often afraid of others finding out about her status. She stated:

> I knew I was undocumented but I didn't think that it mattered when applying to college. And I always thought that being documented was something that affected my family and my Dad, but not me. Because I figured that education would give me that privilege.

Immigration status would also at times cause changes in career plans for participants because the career he/she wanted to pursue required U.S. citizenship. Additionally, one participant had to deal with being part of an internship and not getting paid due to his unauthorized status.

Theme 2: Finances as a Barrier. Participants described facing barriers due to lack of money for college. Because some of the participant's families have limited incomes, they were not able to help pay for the expenses of Advanced Placement tests and college tuition. Teresa mentioned only needing two more classes to finish a double major, but because it would require her to stay an extra quarter beyond her four years at the university, she was not able to afford it. That same participant also mentioned having to put her goal of attending graduate school on hold due to the lack of funds. She stated:

> I can't do things 'cause I am undocumented. Like primarily, when I was younger, I wanted to be a nurse but coming here that was something that I had to change…because I need to be a resident in order to practice.

Theme 3: Lack of Information and Knowledge about College. Because none of the participants' parents had attended college in the U. S., these parents had difficulty providing information about applying to college. Participants mentioned that they would look to their school administration for this information, but it was rarely given. Some of the participants had difficulty looking for scholarships as well. Another major difficulty mentioned in the interviews was that parents often did not understand the rigourous nature of being a full-time student and felt that working for pay was more important. One participant stated that his parents thought that, "Yeah school is important, but work is more important."

Some participants mentioned their own lack of knowledge about what to expect in college as being a barrier. David made the following statement:

> I think another big barrier that I think I've had was being an engineering student and being in those

classes…half the students would drop out from mechanical engineering. And a lot of those end up being Latinos students…we come here and we are taking all these classes we have never seen before.

Theme 4: Tracking Students into Non-College Preparatory Courses. Three of the participants mentioned being put on certain tracks throughout their early academic careers that prevented them from following a path towards college. For example, Edgar spoke about being put on the English Learning track in elementary school when he actually spoke better English than the other students in the classroom. He stated, "And pretty much like the academic barrier was that I was placed into the English learning track. And it was funny because I knew better English than pretty much all the other little kids." Edgar further described having to take certain classes to place out of that track. All three of the participants discussed having difficulty getting the college preparatory classes they wanted in high school. Teresa mentioned that she was automatically placed into a non-college preparatory track in high school and therefore struggled academically in college because she felt she was not prepared. Teresa described high school counselors encouraging Latinos/as to enter the workforce after graduation instead of attending college. Eventually, parents and teachers had to petition for the participants to get the classes they needed to be on the college preparatory track. Teresa stated the following:

> I can get into the whole education system for Latinos and how it is just horrible! In high school, they tried to put me on track…your classes were more about flowery like woodshop…like they don't even care about you, they weren't trying to put you in the science classes or GE requirements.

Theme 5: Feeling Culturally Uncomfortable. All of the participants mentioned feeling uncomfortable at least once in their

lives due to cultural differences ranging from language barriers to being in a class with only white students. For example, coming to the U.S. from another country without knowing English caused Noelia to feel uncomfortable in elementary school. David enrolled in engineering classes and found that being a minority in these classes made him feel uncomfortable but he eventually got used to it. The other participants talked about other experiences such as being the only Latina in the Gifted and Talented Education program (GATE) and wanting to place out of it because she did not feel comfortable being in a class with just white students. Additionally, one participant explained feeling out of place in his high school environment because he could not identify with the students around him. He mentioned this: "I like Jack Johnson, I like *bandas* and there is this other side, this double culture I need to handle, and that also has been a big barrier."

Themes Pertaining to Academic Resilience

Theme 6: Taking Personal Initiative. Two of the participants explicitly stated the kind of action plans they followed to overcome the barriers they were dealing with. David spent a lot of time during high school searching for scholarships and also invited his family, friends and teachers to joing him on the search. David also mentioned becoming involved in college so that he would not have to think about his citizenship status. Noelia described how she "started working as junior in high school at a restaurant to start saving." While in college, she continued to find ways to raise money. For example, she trained to run a marathon to fundraise money for tuition.

Theme 7: Having a Positive Attitude. Although all of the participants had faced various barriers throughout their academic careers, most said they tried to remain optimistic about their situations. For example, David mentioned, "I don't know how, but somewhere along the lines I am going to become an American citizen or resident." Noelia also discussed using self-talk to remind

herself of how hard she had worked to be where she is and to keep herself motivated. She stated, "And it was kind of like being more forgiving of myself, that I wasn't going to take the same path as everyone else."

Theme 8: Parental Support. Parental support was one of the most frequently mentioned themes in this study. Participants indicated that their parents were one of the most important sources of support that they received in their academic career. Parents brought their children to the U. S. so that they could receive a better education than they would otherwise in their country of origin. One of the participants stated that his parents would not let him work as long as he was in school. Other participants discussed how their parents would always find a way to place them in academic achievement programs and that they also helped paid for their college tuition. They mentioned that their parents would always push for them to get good grades by using their inability to get an education in a foreign country as an example. Noelia talked about how her father would help her in academics as long as he knew the material. Participants also discussed how their parents would give them advice about getting good grades and supporting them emotionally, while also keeping them away from danger outside of the home. Edgar stated:

> And then I would tell me Mom, what's the best way to do it… and she told me, "You need to get a 4.0 in middle school, to get the hall of fame." Cause all the hall of fame kids were going into honors in freshman year. So then I put myself in a challenge.

Theme 9: Teacher and Counselor Support. Two participants discussed receiving support from their teachers. Noelia told of one one teacher who spoke Spanish to her and how other teachers paid extra attention and offered encouragement. David mentioned a specific teacher and how he pushed and challenged

him to apply for scholarships where he eventually raised $60,000 for school. Noelia mentioned the following: "There were two key counselors who were looking for scholarships for me and who were always researching on how I was gonna apply to college." They also connected her to community resources which were essential for her in entering the university she currently attends. For Edgar, counselors were there to listen to his problems and support him emotionally.

Theme 10: Peer Support: Participants mentioned joining support groups who shared similar experiences with them. In particular, three of the participants mentioned a university support group that was comprised of AB-540 students and allies. They all discussed feeling accepted, relating to each other's experiences, expressing emotions and talking to each other about their problems. Teresa specifically mentioned, "I feel very accepted when I am with them and they know what I am going through, so it's like they can relate." Teresa also spoke of a mentor in high school who would give her advice while David mentioned his sister giving him the courage to continue succeeding in school. For Edgar, his resident assistant gave him that same advice.

Theme 11: Financial Assistance. Receiving financial assistance is one of the ways many students are able to attend college. For Teresa, a program she was part of provided her with monetary aid to apply to public and private universities. She also stated the following about the program, "They helped me prepare for college. They gave me classes, like SAT prep." Edgar mentioned receiving financial aid from the state and federal government to pay for his school and supplies.

Discussion

This phenomenological study revealed the paths that four first-generation Latino/a college students took to achieve academic

resilience. Although the findings are consistent with much of the relevant literature, several important findings emerged.

A prominent theme dealing with a barrier that arose and is less talked about in relevant literature is the theme of "Feeling Culturally Uncomfortable." Not speaking the English language fluently as a child, being in a predominantly white classroom, and feeling the responsibility of keeping two cultures alive are relevant problems in these Latino/a student's lives. These are issues that to be addressed because these feelings may lead an individual to think he/she is not culturally adept to function as a student in the United States, thus leading to early withdrawal from education.

A second prominent theme was "Citizenship as a Barrier." Although this theme is consistent with relevant literature, the data extracted from the significant statements is important to discuss. Through the conversations with the three participants who identitified as 'undocumented,' each one of them noted additional barriers such as having the inability to apply for financial aid, being expected to be a 'model student,' and having limited career options and opportunities. One particular participant mentioned the difficulties administration in colleges and universities are still having getting the application system set up. What is most important is the fact that the Dream Act will open up many opportunities for unauthorized students.

Another prominent theme pertaining to barriers was "Lack of Information and Knowledge about College" which focused on the lack of knowledge parents had to help their children navigate the college application process. Such findings are consistent with Cabrera and Padilla's 2004 study. One participant stated that their parents saw that work was more important than going to school; something that is contrary to other literature about parental support and parental beliefs about education. Literature that focuses on Latino/a parents providing support for their children discusses how parents constantly motivated their children to pursue their

academic goals (Zalaquett, 2005). This alternative response may be because parents get instant gratification from their children working, whereas getting a college education can take up to four or five years.

An additional theme dealing with barriers was "Finances as a Barrier" which indicated most of the participants' difficulty in paying for school, most notably because of their unauthorized status in the U.S. This is consistent with Perez's 2011 book which examines the challenges that undocumented students undergo, specifically difficulty in paying for school due to being ineligible to apply for financial aid. Because of the passage of the California Dream Act, unauthorized students now have the ability to apply to financial aid which can potentially decrease the burden of having to pay for college. Although the financial aid may not cover all of tuition and related expenses, relieving any kind of stress for these students would help them focus more on their studies and increase their chances for success.

 "Tracking Students into Non-College Preparatory Classes" is another theme that is consistent with the literature on curriculum tracking (Granada, 1995). This theme highlights the many disadvantages associated with being tracked into non-college preparatory courses. Some literature (e.g. Granada, 1995) focuses on how curriculum tracking discourages Latino/a students from pursuing higher education; most of the participants mentioned being put in classes that they had to test out of to be in normal classes or even had to petition to their counselors to let them take college preparatory courses. This is a concern because being placed into non-college preparatory tracks can possibly debunk a Latino/a student's potential for being prepared for college.

The themes "Peer Support" and "Financial Assitance," are consistant with the literature regarding peers providing socioemotional support (Schneider & Ward, 2003) and financial assistance programs helping students by providing monetary

support (Zalaquett & Lopez, 2006). These two sources of support are beneficial to Latino/a students because both provide assistance that allows these students to stay focused on school while minimizing the stress accumulated from different challenges in college. Additionally, the theme "Parental Support" is consistent with much of the literature discussing familial support and its connection to promoting resilience amongst Latino/a students (Zalaquett, 2005; Consoli et al., 2011). The findings in this study showed participants' parents advocating for their children in their academic goals by helping them with their homework, paying for their college when they could and speaking up for them when it came to curriculum tracking. This kind of support is most essential in Latino/a culture because of the close relationships within families. This is a value in Latino/a culture known as *familismo* which Coohey (2001) describes as "the attitudes, beliefs, behaviors, and family structures occurring within Latino/a families." On the other hand, this close kinship might also be a reason can why some families may pressure their children to stay at home and take care of family responsibilities instead of pursuing a higher education.

In constrast with relevant literature about the paucity of guidance and support that educators give Latino/a students during high school about college (Zalaquett, 2005; Cavazos et al. 2010), this study indicated that the "Teacher and Counselor Support" theme was an important part of these participants' experiences in high school. Although some had trouble with curriculum tracking, participants stated that there were particular teachers and counselors who did provide assistance and emotional support. This may be due to economic discrepancies between schools; educators in certain affluent school districts are required to have credentials in college guidance and tend to be more knowledgeable about resources for helping students to enter college.

The study's findings about the themes "Taking Personal Initiative" and "Having a Positive Attitude" are consistent with the

Cavazos et al. 2010 study about positive internal factors that played a role in the student's academic achievement. Participants in our study developed ways of facing challenges while being optimistic in order to make the best out of their situations. This may be because participants have faced multiple barriers at a time thus learning the ability to multi-task and have a balance in their life which allows them to succeed.

Implications

This study is significant because according to a demographic survey conducted in the fall of 2009 at the university from which the students were recruited, 22% of the undergraduate enrollment population identified as either Latino/a or Chicano/a which is the second highest ethnicity enrolled in the university after Caucasian (50%) (The Regents of the University of California, 2011). Because of the growing Latino/a student population, it is almost certain that in the near future, this university will become a Hispanic Serving Institution (HSI), defined as " a college, university or system/district, where total Hispanic enrollment constitutes a minimum of 25% at either the undergraduate *or* graduate level" (hacu.net, 2011). This means that university administrators and campus leadership will need to address the academic needs of Latino/a students by enhancing resources and programs while at the same time assisting individuals with eligibility for internships, scholarships, international programs, and leadership forums provided by the Hispanic Association of Colleges and Universities (HACU) (hacu.net, 2011). Through this association the university will be able to generate more academically successful Latino/a students by providing additional funding for much needed resources that promote retention and academic excellence while at the same time potentially preparing individuals to enter graduate studies. Results from the current study could help to inform this initiative by indicating what university resources are most helpful and what

resources need improvement to address the needs of Latino/a first generation students.

One strategy for increasing the number of Latinos/as at the university from which the students were recruited is to explore the lives of successful Latinos/as currently enrolled. By doing so we were able to identify the strategies that work for these students to continue fostering educational excellence while inviting others to adapt to similar paths towards academic resilience. This study allows us to do begin that exploration.

Limitations and Future Directions

Although this study provided valuable information on the phenomenon of Latino/a students facing academic adversities and how they overcame them, there were some limitations. First, this was a pilot study with only 4 participants. A future study should include more participants to get a better picture of the range of individuals in this situation. A second limitation lies with the kinds of questions asked. While the interview was semi-structured, more freedom for the participants to discuss their answers at length would have provided more qualitatively rich data to further understand resilience.

There are several possible future directions that build on this study, including examining how students navigate their university resources and exploring if and how the university is serving the students' needs by asking specific questions about the resources the university provides and what improvements they would like to see to better serve the Latino/a students. Another possible direction might be studying the impact of the California Dream Act on the lives of unauthorized students in California. This is important because these students will have the opportunity to gain access to resources that were previously unavailable to them. Another future direction might be to expand and conduct a mixed methods study after the university becomes an HSI to compare the

level of student satisfaction before the implementation of resources provided by HACU and after. This implementation would indicate the success of this federal program and provide guidance for future policy change to better serve HSIs.

Overall, the current study addressed the paths that first-generation Latino/a undergraduate students at the university take in order to be academically resilient despite adversities through a holistic, phenomenological analysis of the student's experiences. This study captured themes that identified barriers faced by participants and factors that the participants described which helped them gain academic resilience. This information will be helpful in informing future studies in this relatively little researched area, possibly informing policy, and working with Latino/a undergraduate students to maximize their college experience and achievement.

Appendix

Semi-Structured Interview Questions

1. Describe any academic barrier or setbacks you encountered while trying to achieve academic success.
2. What path did you take in order to overcome the barrier?
3. Describe any sources of support that helped you overcome the barrier?
4. What is the role your parents played in you entering UC Santa Barbara?
5. How do you feel the academic barrier has influenced your choices and life today?

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The "Lost Boys" Narrative: How the Power of Story Can Change Lives

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Abstract

This project builds upon Laub and Sampson's (1993) research on reconciling alienated youth given meaningful turning points. It is designed to examine the efficacy of the 'Freedom4Youth Leadership Program' at Los Prietos Boys Camp and Academy, a program designed to reduce recidivism rates by facilitating the development of student's life skills, which enables them to secure employment and increase their educational opportunities. The curriculum addresses self-esteem and respect for self and others through promotion of tolerance, empathy and positive change.

This research addresses the question: Does participation in leadership programming (which focuses on building communication skills, leadership and personal narrative development, and community integration) improve juvenile "offenders" re-entry into school, work and family? Does the storyline of the "lost boy" shift when self-worth and a culturally wealthy personal narrative are developed? I hypothesize that graduates of the 'Freedom4Youth Leadership Program' will re-enter their communities with a higher sense of self-worth and greater ability to navigate familial and educational institutions. Additionally, they will have increased high school graduation rates, enrollment in college or participation in the workforce, and demonstrate overall improvement in their interpersonal relationships.

Statement of the Problem

Juvenile correctional populations have been steadily declining in California since 1998 (CDCR, 2010). However, according to the California Department of Corrections analysis of the state budget, California spends about three times more on security than it spends on rehabilitation programs and services (CDCR, 2010). Do these statistical measures indicate that more punitive practices deter delinquent youth from the propensity to engage in criminal activities? The 2010 CDRC report found that juveniles released from the Division of Juvenile Facilities (DJF) have a re-arrest rate of 80 percent within 3 years of their release, most over the age of 18 at their re-arrest and thus considered adults. This implies that the DJF is not successful in preparing youth for community reentry or deterring criminal activity (CDCR, 2010). The state provides limited funding for rehabilitation programming; nonprofits, philanthropists and the private sector subsidize various projects. National data show that rehabilitation, reentry services, and aftercare programs that connect youth with professional case managers, mentors, or employment can reduce recidivism, and are more cost effective (Heller de Leon & Teji, 2012). As of January 1, 2012, California counties are responsible for an annual cost of $125,000 per incarcerated youth (Dept. of Finance, 2011). Due to budget restraints, the state of California's correctional facilities has been targeted for realignment. The state has reduced its state prison populations by assigning minimum risk offenders to county jails or releasing them. This new way of managing populations has had a ripple effect on juvenile probation departments throughout the state.

Theoretical Framework

The targeted realignment of California's correctional facilities requires a critical analysis of the ideology behind how California has designed these facilities. Through the lens of relative deprivation, strain theory, cultural wealth, and turning

points, evidence-based solutions for California's juvenile justice system realignment is examined.

Extremely affluent areas leave specific communities vulnerable to relative deprivation (Aries, 1962). Vast inequality between the wealthy and the working classes living in close proximity creates an internal and external tension. "People at almost all income levels, not just the poor, do worse in more unequal societies" (Wilkinson & Pickett 2010, p. 191). Relative deprivation, this sort of separation or alienation among people, is experienced when certain groups have access to resources and other groups do not. This concept of separation refers to the "conscious experience of a negative discrepancy between legitimate expectation and present actualities" (Schaefer, 2008, p. 69). The legitimate expectations of having access to healthcare, housing, and education are compromised when there is a lack of monetary resources. Previous research shows that having access to fewer resources closely correlates to poor nutrition, family stress, housing complications, and limited access to educational tools for learning (Aries, 1962). Historical precedent still holds true: when individual's goals do not match their means it may lead to deviant behavior (Merton, 1938).

Sociologists continue to cite relative deprivation as a potential cause of social deviance (Merton, 1938). In *Wage Labour and Capital*, Karl Marx provides an analogy for the negative effects of relative deprivation on individuals and communities:

> "A house may be large or small; as long as the neighboring houses are likewise small, it satisfies all social requirements for a residence. But let there arise next to the little house a palace, and the little house shrinks to a hut. The little house now makes it clear that its inmate has no social position at all to maintain, or but a very insignificant one; and however high it may shoot up in the course of

civilization, if the neighboring palace rises in equal of even in greater measure, the occupant of the relatively little house will always find himself more uncomfortable, more dissatisfied, more cramped within his four walls" (Marx, 1919).

The pressures of relative deprivation are the greatest in social structures where there is close proximity to wealth.

The theory of relative deprivation has significant effects on behaviors, attitudes, stressful feelings, and political alliances causing strain in the social fabric (Walker & Smith, 2001). Strain theory was first introduced by Robert Merton and later expanded by Robert Agnew (Merton, 1938 & Agnew, 1992). The premise of this theory is that when a source of strain is introduced, such as a failure to achieve goals or have the resources similar to others in ones communities, it may cause a disjunction between expectations and achievements (source of strain). There could also be the removal of a positive stimuli and/or introduction of negative stimuli, for example, a tragedy in the family, divorce, introduction of drugs or alcohol, or removal from school and sports activities. These various strains direct the individual's negative affective states, which include anger, frustration, disappointment, depression, and fear. This negative state of being has a natural progression towards anti-social behavior which may include drug abuse, delinquency, violence and/or dropping out of school (Agnew, 1992). Punitive measures within educational and "correctional" institutions are immediately utilized when a student acts out in an anti-social manner. Restorative solutions are seldom offered. Zero tolerance policies, on campus security, and expulsion are the current preferred methods of behavioral control.

The prevailing attitudes of youth impacted by society influences the formation of their cultural wealth (Yosso, 2005) or cultural capital. Bourdieu explains cultural capital as forms of knowledge, skill level, and education.. These can be advantages

that people have that give them access to a higher status in society (Bourdieu, 1986). Tara J. Yosso (2005) notes that shows how Bourdieu's explanation of cultural capital "exposes white middle class culture as the standard, and therefore all other forms and expressions of 'culture' are judged in comparison to this norm" (Yosso, 2005). Previous theories viewed cultural capital through the lens of this hegemonic norm. "Cultural wealth" in "Communities of Color" as referred to by Yosso (2005), encompasses a broad array of linguistic competencies, manners, preferences, and orientations. Communities that experience relative deprivation are not lacking in cultural wealth or capital. In fact, according to Yosso (2005), there are six different forms of capital these communities possess: aspirational, navigational, social, linguistic, familial and resistant capital (Delgado, 1997, 2001; Auerbach, 2001; Stanton-Salazar, 2001; Solorzano & Delgado, 2001; Faulstich, 2003). In other words, communities that experience relative deprivation (possibly Communities of Color) are wealthy cultures filled with aspirations, advanced linguistic communication capabilities, strong familial connections of kinship, and abilities to navigate through rigid social system not designed with all cultures in mind (Yosso, 2005). These forms of cultural wealth are advantages for social resistance, which creates advancement in society.

Social capital is generated through social processes between the family and the larger society and is made up of social networks (Yosso, 2005). Whereas cultural capital focuses on education, attitudes and skill level, social capital emphasizes social networks relative to ones upbringing and neighborhood. In colloquial terms, *it's not what you know – it's who you know*. The maturation process youth experience has a natural influence on the development of social and cultural wealth. The acknowledgments of an individual's cultural wealth are developed through interactions and comprise their self-narrative. Everyone develops this story of self through exchanges "proposed, suggested and posed on him by his culture, his society, and his social group"

(Foucault, 1988, p. 11). The personal narrative shifts as a result of social networks and conditions. "Appraisals from those around us, modeling, and structural obstacles and opportunities all influence the process of identity change" (Becker, 1964). Laub and Sampson's (1993) research shows that "when social ties (that is attachment, commitment) that bind an individual to key societal institutions (such as family, school, work) are loosened, the risk of crime and delinquency is heightened." However, the fact is that while "it is true that most adult offenders showed signs of being delinquent children, the majority of juvenile delinquents do not become adult offenders" (McCord, 1980). Turning points throughout one's life course, such as education, legal justice, employment, and marriage (Laub & Sampson, 1993) present themselves and the influence of cultural and social capital lights the path.

Research Question

Laub and Sampson (1993) have shown that turning points in an individual's life course can shift patterns of deviance. Cultural wealth or capital according to Yosso (2005) holds all the possibilities for a person to develop a pro-social self-story. Shadd Maruna (2000) argues that sustained "desistance" requires a fundamental shift in in a person's sense of self. Does the storyline of the "lost boy" shift when self-worth and a culturally wealthy personal narrative are developed? Does participation in leadership programming that focuses on communication skills, leadership development and community integration improve juvenile "offenders" re-entry into school, work and family institutions?

There are very few quantitative or qualitative studies that show how programming that focuses on the attainment of communication and leadership skills, forming community bonds and developing a culturally wealthy personal narrative can deter youth from deviant behaviors. This study will extend the research to show how a youth focused, culturally conscious leadership

program can increase poise, interpersonal skills and empathy, which in turn translates to positive life changes, healthy communication patterns and interpersonal relationships. When juvenile delinquents find their voice and acquire skills and tools, self-worth increases allowing for the development of a new self-story that may have the potential to reduce violence or reoffend.

Literature Review

In the review of the literature on the relationships between juvenile delinquency, social class, and, cultural wealth and capital, I uncovered three main themes: 1) community and school; 2) juvenile correctional programming; and 3) the power of story.

Theme 1: Community and School

One-third of the children living in Santa Barbara are below the poverty line (County Health Rankings, 2010). Eighty-one percent of these children are of Latino backgrounds (as compared to 66% across California). Throughout California, only Imperial County (91%) has a greater proportion of its children in poverty who are of Latino heritage (County Health Rankings, 2010). The gap between those who have and those who do not is systemic and growing in Santa Barbara County. Social class isolation limits opportunities and creates stress "zones" where social and economic advancement is challenging. There are certainly racial elements at play; however, this study focuses on socio-economic factors.

Research shows that children who live in poverty are at a higher risk of being acculturated into delinquency. "Violent offenses and more public forms of **delinquency** are found to be high among lower-class boys, whereas covert types of **delinquency** are high among the middle and upper-class students" (Gutierrez & Shoemaker 2008, p. 55). Economically challenged parents have to work hard and they have little social support from their employers: "Families today don't have the luxury of spending

as much time together as our own parents spent with us, teaching us the lessons of the heart" (Lantieri & Patti 1996, p. 5). In past studies, the strains of poverty, poor living conditions, and household crowding, have been linked to delinquency (Laub & Sampson, 1993). Larzelere & Patterson (1990, p. 307) state that couples who have a lower socioeconomic status are marginally skilled as parents, in part because of the increased pressures of merely surviving and the limited access to resources.

The consequence of low intergenerational mobility is that some people are more likely to suffer then others. A startling fact is that the United States "far from enabling the ideology of the American Dream, … has the lowest mobility rate" (Wilkinson & Pickett 2010, p. 159) of any developing country. As a result, some parents are working two, and in some cases three, jobs in order to survive and are unavailable to supervise their children. Consequently, their children are more likely to be left without formal guidance. "The way parents behave in response to relative poverty mediates its impact on children" (Wilkinson & Pickett 2010, p. 111). Some families are resilient while others are unresponsive "even to the extent of becoming abusive or neglectful" (Wilkinson & Pickett 2010, p. 111). These sources of strain for a child within a low socio-economic status are prevalent and can lead to anti-social behavior (Agnew, 1992).

Children who are born into a low socio-economic status have unequal access to educational opportunities (cultural capital), which may decrease opportunities for social and economic fulfillment. Jonathon Kozol shares numerous stories exposing the inequalities in the educational system. Alliyah, from a disadvantaged neighborhood and school, sums it up best: "you have…we do not have" (Kozol 2005, p. 44). For students who come from neighborhoods with low property taxes, the schools are a reflection of the relative deprivation certain communities face. Since schools are funded by property taxes, the cycle perpetuates; neighborhoods with more money have better Parent-Teacher

organizations, better facilities, and rank higher in test scores. Kozol sheds light on how this translates into dollars per child spent on public school education. For a poor child, the average spent is usually $8,000 per child, for a child in a wealthy suburb, the dollar amount increases to $12-18,000 (Kozol 2005, p. 45).

The access to educational outlets that promote socio-emotional learning processes is unequally distributed based on income. Examples of this include smaller classes, music, art, technology resources such as computers, IPads and plasma televisions, extra staff available in the classroom, and other on-campus facilities such as libraries and computer labs, as well as safe and well groomed basketball courts, playgrounds, sports equipment, etc. The schools with limited resources have limited access to these activities and experiences. (Kozol 2005, p. 62). Thus, providing children with an enriching and safe place to learn and interact is critical to positive development and successful outcomes. When that nurturing academic environment is available children become connected to education and learn to embrace their cultural wealth. Children in low performing schools with few resources are not exposed to as many of the opportunities that others within their same community are receiving. The schools may be within miles of each other but in different neighborhoods.

When superior levels of education are offered purely based on income there is an unequal playing field within one community. Van Leeuwen explains how unequal access to education translates to the job market: "education is an artificial device for monopolizing access to lucrative positions. Elites have the funds to pay the cost of their children's attendance at 'good' schools – elites who do not need income from child labour and who enjoy a way of life that better prepares children for these 'good' schools, for example through motivation or simply by helping with homework" (Van Leeuwen 2009, p. 405). As a result, those with the financial wherewithal have access to better education and receive higher paying jobs.

Socio-economic status is inherited from one generation to the next, but whether people will accept the transmission or reject it often depends on whether they believe in the prospect of social mobility (Tilly, 2003). It is very hard to break through imbedded class structure within social patterning of one's heritage. Plus, when there is less interaction with others, "Our position in the social hierarchy affects who we see as part of the in-group and who as out-group – "us and them" – so affecting our ability to identify with and empathize with other people" (Wilkinson & Pickett 2010, p. 51). The disparity between the privileged and the underprivileged translates to fewer interactions with other groups of people. This can fracture trust and ties between the two groups, leading to this "us" and "them" mentality.

Charles Tilly discusses how this social stratification works. The clique, which Tilly (2003) defines as the ruling regime, gains control over value producing resources, (i.e. land, labor, financial capital, scientific knowledge and the media). Second, the clique deploys resources in relationship of exploitation, and opportunity hoarding, which means keeping a larger portion of the value produced for themselves. Then policies are put in place that deny access to these resources and promote opportunity hording, i.e. access to schools, associations, organizations, government, employment (Tilly 2003, p. 34). Tilly's "clique" lives and thrives in areas with relative deprivation.

Theme 2: Juvenile Correctional Programming

Robert Martinson's 1974 study "What Works?" looked at rehabilitative practices for offenders. The study posited that nothing worked in terms of rehabilitating offenders. Martinson's work influenced policy toward more punitive rather than rehabilitative practices. Evidence shows, however, that the punitive process is not effective (CDCR, 2010). Reentry services and aftercare programs that connect youth with professional case

managers, mentors, or employment opportunities can reduce recidivism (Shaw & Mckay, 1992). Since realignment is the focus of California correctional systems, it's time to revisit the rehabilitative vs. punitive practices arguments.

Individuals who know how to "talk the talk," can "walk the walk" and navigate through social norms and institutions. "The importance of communication is fundamental and basic to life skills" (Sanger 1999, p. 90). Researchers have shown that there are "high incidences of communication problems among juvenile delinquents" (Sanger 1999, p. 90). A lack of communication skills may lead to more violent and socially unacceptable behavior. However, several studies indicate that when young people are taught social skills at an early age they are less likely to commit violent crimes as adults (Eron, Heusman, & Dubow, 2002). Culturally conscious leadership programs that focus on the advancement of an individual's personal narrative, while wholeheartedly embracing their ethnic individuality, may deter future criminal behaviors. "Learning communication skills help young people navigate their world and prepare for workforce, civic, and family roles they will assume as young adults" (Silliman 2007, p. 1). When leadership, communication, and self-efficacy skills are improved, self-confidence increases and turning points become accessible. There is a new hope and belief in oneself. This can lead to additional opportunities to uplift ones economic and social status.

The notion that communication deficiencies develop into a series of violent behaviors was examined in a publication by the American-Speech Language Hearing Association. The study emphasized that communication abilities are vital to the achievement and "development of basic life skills, learning, school success, emotional stability, problem solving and the regulation of internal states and external conditions" (Sanger, 1999). A related article illustrated how violent, aggressive behavior is correlated with a lack of communication skills and juvenile delinquents have

more pronounced communication challenges than non-incarcerated youth. (Sanger, Creswell, Dworak & Shultz, 1999). It is important that youth have the ability to communicate clearly so that their needs and wants can be heard. Studies show that incarcerated youth suffer from communication deficiencies as a result of poor social conditions. "Dealing with the deleterious communication interactions that some youth potentially experienced as youngsters could have followed them through life and affected their communication patterns" (Sanger 1999, p. 90). When young individuals are exposed to negative communication patterns, they often feel like their voice doesn't matter and that becomes their self-story. For many years the studies have also showcased how a lack of these same communication skills can lead to more violent behavior. Early delinquency is likely to continue if children lack the social skills necessary to find work or develop interpersonal relationships (Patterson & Yoerger, 1993). According to Sillman, "Public speaking promotes confidence, life skills and subject knowledge, with benefits extending far beyond the event itself" (Silliman 2007, p. 2). The evidence is clear on the benefits of learning communication skills at an early age.

Theme 3: The Power of Story

Educational programs that focus on communication and personal narratives can have a profound impact on personal transformation. "The transformative power of stories, proverbs, slogans, and folk sayings may be a neglected area of study for social scientists" (Bassin, 1984; Shoham & Seis, 1993), "but the power of the meta-narratives is well known to rehabilitation practitioners and, most importantly, to desisting ex-offenders" (Maruna, 2000, p. 167). A youth attached to a personal narrative that only serves to entrench their dissonance can experience a shift in "story" when they are truly heard. The self-narrative of a "gang member" or "criminal" serves a distinct psychological purpose. "According to McAdams's theory of the life story identity, modern adults create this internalized life story – or personal myth – to

provide their lives with unity, purpose, and meaning" (Maruna, 2001, p. 7). This self actualized myth creates a separation – a sense of "US" and "THEM." In order "to desist from crime, ex-offenders need to develop a coherent, pro-social identity for themselves. As such, they need to account for and understand their criminal pasts (why they did what they did) and they also need to understand why they are now 'not like that anymore'" (Maruna, 2000, p. 7). This project will track examples of personal narratives that shift and what they are replaced with.

Methods

Freedom4Youth (F4Y) is a 501(c)(3) nonprofit organization supporting juvenile justice involved youth throughout Santa Barbara County. F4Y's mission is to deliver vital transformational life skills and re-integration support services to youth in "the system" by improving their ability to positively interact with and impact their community following release. F4Y was developed and co-founded by youth and adults involved in the Toastmasters Soldiers Youth Leadership program that was started at the Los Prietos Boys Camp and Academy in 2008. F4Y currently runs three programs: the Freedom4Youth Leadership Program at Los Prietos Boys Camp and Academy (LPBCA), the Freedom4Youth Advocates, a UCSB student mentorship program, and a re-entry program that supports youth formerly detained in Santa Barbara County. In the interest of full disclosure, I am one of the co-founders of the nonprofit organization and each of its programs. F4Y receives funding from the Santa Barbara Foundation, The Fund for Santa Barbara, the Community Affairs Board at University of California, Santa Barbara (UCSB), Associated Students UCSB, The Howard Lazar Foundation, Santa Barbara County Probation, and dedicated individual donors.

Freedom4Youth addresses the revolving door of recidivism on an individual and societal level, providing a cost effective solution for "correctional" systems. This is the entity through

which I am going to gather respondents. Freedom4Youth (F4Y) Leadership Program volunteers are actively engaged in providing a communication program for the youth detained at Los Prietos Camp and Academy facility. F4Y Leadership Program offers a unique formula for reducing risk for recidivism and anti-social behavior by building communication skills, providing civic engagement opportunities and making rehabilitation for incarcerated youth a much more effective, healthy process. "Skills such as writing, self-expression and listening are essential to living a healthy, meaningful life, both when young people are incarcerated and after they have been released" (Spencer Cross, Deputy Probation Officer). The F4Y Leadership Program also brings to light the creative thinking, talents, and skill sets of the youth. These talents are revealed to the local community through speaking engagements at public forums and local colleges.

The Freedom4Youth (F4Y) nonprofit organization will send out the solicitation letter asking for participation in the program evaluation of the Freedom4Youth Leadership program. All of the youth or adults (including Los Prietos Boys Camp program graduates and family members and other professionals) involved in or with the Freedom4Youth (F4Y) programs have released their contact information in order to receive emails, Facebook notifications, phone calls, and letters from the nonprofit for events and for future involvement with the organization. The letter will end by asking them whether they would like be involved in the study and if so, to please contact F4Y. All interviews and transcriptions for this program evaluation will be performed by research assistants to avoid any bias on the part of the researcher. When the researcher receives the transcriptions, the interviewees' information will have been de-identified to protect their privacy. Interviews are expected to last 20-60 minutes. Thematic analysis (Boyatzis, 1985) will be used for the coding process in order to extract themes from patterns identified throughout the interviews. This approach is beneficial because it allows the researcher to identify themes by "coding" or

grouping together similar pieces of data under one main theme. In order to ensure validity of the interviews, a pilot youth and staff interview will be held prior to the scheduled interviews. The goal of the pilot interview is to assess the quality of the interview protocol, and modifications will be made as needed.

In addition to the interview, participants will be asked to fill out a demographic survey which will include general background about the participants such as age, gender, ethnicity, employment status. The survey will also request information about their parental education history, parent's occupation, sibling's education history, the family's socioeconomic status.

I also have existing field notes based on four years of in class observations – these notes were not collected for research purposes. I am re-purposing prior observations and performing a qualitative analysis on previously collected field notes. It's impracticable to go back and get consent from every student that has been through the program over a four year period. All of the field notes will be de-identified. I originally collected this information to keep track of student progress, monitor students and maintain working relationships with mental health practitioners at LPBCA to ensure students receive the support they need. Now five years later I am interested in analyzing these field notes. The data I am extracting and re-purposing could not put anyone at risk as it is not remotely possible to be linked to any individual. No private information will be used. I am looking for large emerging patterns and trends and will avoid using individual quotes where a person(s) might recognize themselves.

The project design includes both quantitative and qualitative data collection and analysis. This mixed methods or multiple factor approach embraces traditional sociological variables such as community characteristics, culture, delinquent peer associations, and stratification (Tilly, 2003). In addition, social factors are examined such as, the accessibility to turning

points in the life course (Laub & Sampson, 1993) in relation to education and employment opportunities.

The quantitative analysis will use surveys and probation records to evaluate former residents' life outcomes including education, employment status, and current relationship to the justice system. Program graduates will be asked to fill out a demographic survey which will include general background about the participants such as age, ethnicity, and employment status. The survey will also request information about their parent's education history, parent's occupation, sibling's education history, and the family's socioeconomic status. The analysis will include the following variables: age, ethnicity, years of education, family composition, length of program participation, language fluency, immigration status, age of exposure to the Juvenile Justice System (JJS), severity of criminal behavior, drug involvement and gang association. Potential research subjects will be contacted via phone and internet (i.e. email, Facebook). I am in the process of obtaining human subjects approval through the Institutional Review Board in the Office of Research at University of California, Santa Barbara.

The qualitative portion of this project will use in-depth interviews to develop an understanding of the factors that mediate participant behavior. Research assistants will ask broad questions to elicit open-ended responses that I will analyze for emerging themes. I will make connections between the survey, probation record and interview data to corroborate my hypothesis and triangulate my findings. The interviews will be conducted with program graduates and non-graduates, family members, and other professionals associated with the institution. They will be contacted via phone and internet (i.e. email, Facebook). Research assistants will make and transcribe audio records of the interviews. Interviews are expected to last 20-60 minutes.

Expected Findings

I hypothesize that students who are program graduates will re-enter their communities with a higher sense of self-worth and enhanced ability to navigate through social institutions, have increased high school graduation rates and enrollment in college and/or the workforce, and demonstrate an overall improvement in their interpersonal relationships.

Research Setting

Research Setting Community Context

The City of Santa Barbara is the overall large setting – the context for relative deprivation and strain. *The key question here is: How does a child experience relative deprivation in Santa Barbara?* It means you feel like an outsider in your own town because most of the city's expression of who it is not designed for you. The relative deprivation is blatant in what people wear, the phone or game console they have, and the neighborhoods in which they dwell. This inherent lack or inferiority based on clothing, electronics, and housing stability may be a source of strain. This is evidenced by the youth in their cars (Mercedes, Range Rover, BMW), driving out of Santa Barbara High School and the youth who are walking or remaining on campus for lunch. Youth who attend Santa Barbara High School are from communities in Montecito where celebrities like Oprah Winfrey lives and from neighborhoods on the lower Eastside where the homeless shelter and dump are right across the street from each other. The ability to accomplish the goals of having what others have is reduced and "when we expect to be viewed as inferior, our abilities diminish" (Wilkinson & Pickett 2010, p. 113). The relative deprivation is also evidenced in basic needs such as food and shelter.

Food. Families with small children stand in the food bank line at the Adams Elementary School, literally a few hundred feet

from a country club and within a half mile of some of the wealthiest people in America. How close but oh so far, between the economic status of the 1% and those who are experiencing relative deprivation.

Housing. Housing is a commodity in America; it's an investment. The owners or landlords naturally want the greatest return on their investment. Low rent is an anathema to them. Where do working class families find a place to rent that is equal to one-third of their income? Low-income housing in Santa Barbara has a waitlist of up to three or four years. Many families and people have had to cohabitate. For example single mom, Ms. L and her five children, (ages 2-10) are living in a two bedroom apartment that they share with four other men. The mom and children share one room and the rent is $825 per month for their portion, plus, utilities. This illustrates that "children living in low income families experience more family conflict and disruption and are more likely to witness or experience violence, as well as to be living in more crowded, noisy and substandard housing" (Wilkinson & Pickett 2010, p. 111). One of the prevailing attitudes of the affluent in town that is difficult to change is the idea that "Santa Barbara has never been affordable, why should it be affordable now?" (Former Santa Barbara City Council Member).

Alienation. Here in Santa Barbara there is a symbiotic relationship between those who have and those who serve those who have. That relationship is not valued, it's ignored. According to Karl Marx, "humans as social beings are alienated. That is they are estranged from their own creative capacities and from their capacity to empathize with one another" (Marx, 1844). When people are ignored they feel hurt and "hurt people hurt people" (Ms. L former inmate Chowchilla Women's State Prison). The children may become hardened by the trauma of poverty and their experiences in it. This creates a shield around their hearts that protects them from pain and numbs any empathy for themselves or others. "With greater inequality, people are less caring of one

another, there is less mutuality in relationships, people have to fend for themselves and get what they can – so inevitably there is less trust" (Wilkinson & Pickett 2010, p. 56). The fight or flight response is the behavior children living in relative deprivation know well. Their inability to trust and self-regulate goes out the door and they become disjointed. Without trust, people do not feel secure; they worry more and tend to compete rather than cooperate (Wilkinson & Picket, 2010, p. 56). When people become fragmented from each other, it can be difficult to differentiate between an actual threat and a perceived threat. This may cause strain and crumbling of one's emotional state. Youth engaging in deviance have not learned how to manage their emotions or reactions through behavior modeling. The alienation from their peers and the community are reflected in their experiences. Young people experiencing this relative deprivation have not been to the University, theaters, or the Santa Barbara Bowl. Some of the youth find it incomprehensible to relate to another person who lives four blocks away from them.

Hope. When Maslow's basic survival needs of a human being such as food and shelter are not met, one may resort to whatever means necessary to survive. Hope for a future is not on the radar – it is just hope for another day. Hope comes out of a sense of movement and when there is no change over a period of time hope diminishes and life becomes static. Some of the children who experience relative deprivation in Santa Barbara have lost the capacity for hope and "the capacity for hope is the most significant fact of life. It provides human beings with a sense of destination and the energy to get started." (Krieger & Ong, 2005). For the last four years I have worked with youth weekly at a Santa Barbara detention facility and their despair is palpable.

Specific Intervention Research Setting

The Freedom4Youth Leadership Program takes place at Los Prietos Boys Camp and Academy. Mountains, forest, trees,

and a long winding road lead to a place chosen for its remoteness. There are small herds of deer, a flock of turkeys, and sometimes you may even see a fox. You turn to the right off the main road then you see the sign *Los Prietos Boys Camp & Academy*. It's always shady here because the old growth oak trees have been here for hundreds of years.

You pull up to a chain link fence. There is no barb wire but you must press a code on a little black box and announce your arrival before the gate will open. You drive past a soccer field with LPBC hand crafted by former campers in rocks on the hillside. As you follow the asphalt road you pass a main office building that looks like a small cabin. There by some lichen covered boulders is what looks like an old outhouse, maybe it was at one time. Now it houses surveillance cameras.

You park in one of two areas reserved for visitors and there is always ample parking. There is a dining hall also used as an auditorium, two large cinderblock dormitories and a building that looks more like a home but you see the sign for *Los Robles High School*. There are basketball courts with weight sets and boys off in the distance with their hard hats on weed whacking and chopping wood. Other boys in a line formation with their hands behind their backs count off loudly and head to the dining hall for chow time, their favorite time.

Tucked away within a predominantly affluent coastal county, the facility is an institution, a boot camp, a juvenile detention facility; yet, the space is serene and even the gravel has been raked in zen garden style. There is a conference room with a flat screen TV, a white board, four tables pushed together to form a large rectangle. Twelve male students enter with bright eyes and big smiles. They are just boys really between the ages of 13 and 18, all in the same grey shorts and navy blue t-shirts with matching navy blue baseball caps with white letters that read LPBC. They come in single file and sit around the table. There is one juvenile

institution officer and three facilitators. The walls are white except the back wall which displays an unfinished mural painted by a former camper. Each student stands up, one at a time and begins to share about their lives.

Significance of the Study

The application of funding to resources that are most effective may have a great impact on recidivism rates. More effective allocation of funding for "correctional" attunement could allow for resources to be diverted to education, health care, social services etc. Determining effective programming early on could potentially reduce the tendency for youth to engage in criminal activity. This study hopes to uncovering new and effective solutions for deterring youth that are participating in deviant behavior. The solutions in this study are coming directly from youth who are currently engaged in deviance. I am uniquely positioned to proceed with this study. Currently, I am a fourth year undergraduate at the University of California, Santa Barbara and Ronald E. McNair Scholar. For the last five years I have facilitated the Freedom4Youth Leadership Program at Los Prietos Boys Camp and Academy. The Santa Barbara County Probation Department has provided full support and access to conduct this program evaluation. I live in the neighborhoods with youth most affected by the relative deprivation. Over the years I have developed significant trust with the families of the youth. Feedback from this evaluation will hopefully result in improvements to the programs at Los Prietos Boys Camp and Academy

Future Direction

Future research would include F4Y Leadership Program development, implementation, and evaluation for the females within the Department of Juvenile Justice (DJJ). According to Cheryl Maxson, (2011) "females in the DJJ receive far fewer services." In addition, my objective in undertaking program

evaluation research is to create more positive, educational, and evidenced- based programs for juvenile justice involved youth, particularly the underserved female population. The overarching goal is to influence juvenile justice and education policy to move towards restorative rehabilitation and away from punitive measures.

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Nationally recognized for his work in laser physics and the recipient of numerous fellowships, honorary degrees, and commendations, Dr. McNair was also a sixth degree black belt in karate and an accomplished saxophonist. In 1978, while working at the Hughes Research Laboratory, he was selected for the NASA space program. He was the second African American to fly in space. On January 28, 1986, Dr. McNair, along with 6 other astronauts, died when the space shuttle Challenger exploded and crashed into the ocean moments after lift-off.

After his untimely death, Congress provided funding to start the Ronald E. McNair Post-Baccalaureate Achievement Program. UCSB's McNair Scholars Program is dedicated to helping promising students follow Ronald E. McNair's path of scholarship and service.

The cover features a mural on Elings Hall, one of the most unique academic structures at UCSB, the home to the California Nanosystems Institute (CNSI). Internationally recognized architect Robert Venturi, known widely for both his buildings, writings, and for coining the phrase "less is bore" in response to Mies vander Rohe's "less is more maxim," designed both the building and the distinctive and colorful mural that catches visitors' eyes as they enter the campus. Robert Venturi won the Pritzker Architecture Prize in 1991.